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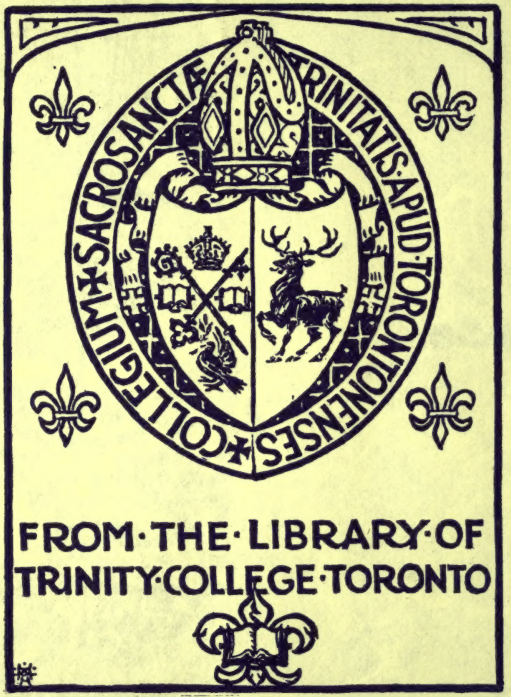

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THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

A HISTORY FOR THE PEOPLE

BY THE

VERY REV. H. D. M. SPENCE-JONES, D.D.

DEAN OF GLOUCESTER

VOL. III.

THE ENGLISH REFORMATION

SPECIAL EDITION

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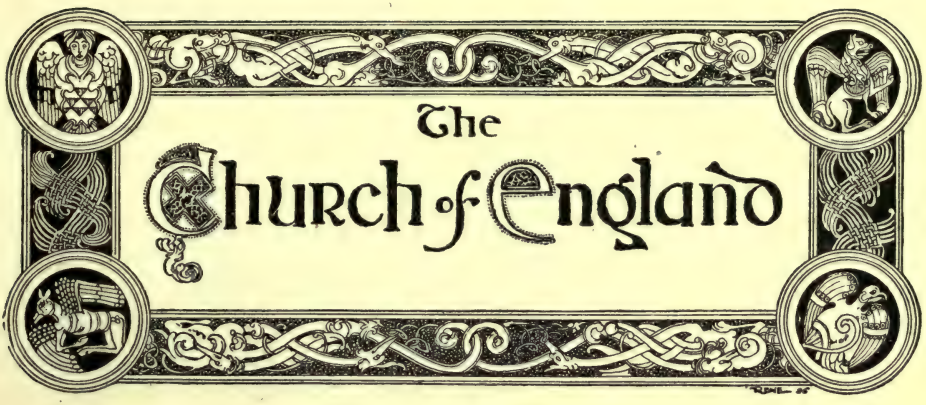


CHAPTER XLI.

THE SECULAR POPES.

Character of the Popes who preceded the Reformation—Sixtus IV. a purely Political Ruler—Open Immorality of Innocent VIII.—Alexander VI. and the Borgias—Pius III. also the Father of a Family—Julius II.—Shameless Intrigues of Pontifical Elections—Political Ability of Julius—Founder of the Papal States—Extraordinary Contemporary Satire upon this Pope—The Medicæan Leo X.—His Magnificence and Patronage of Art and Letters—Attempted Reform under Adrian VI.—His Sincerity, but utter Failure—Clement VII.—His Simoniacal Conduct—Sack of Rome under his Papacy—Paul IV. and his Illegitimate Family—Papal Patronage of Art and Letters.

THE line of Popes who filled the principal and most influential position in the religious world of the west during the half century which preceded the Reformation in England, no doubt largely contributed to the public feeling which demanded and obtained the great change. With rare exceptions, they were worldly men rather than spiritual guides; energetic and often unscrupulous statesmen and princes, rather than churchmen. Purely secular and self-seeking men, with a cynical disbelief in the doctrines they professed to teach, and with a shameless disregard of the ascetic virtues held in estimation by the church in which they were the chief pastors, it may well be conceived that such men utterly failed to see what was lacking in the church of their time; they were blind—utterly blind—to the wants and needs of the peoples whose religion they professed to guide and direct.

Indeed, such men as Innocent VIII., Julius II., and Leo X. could never have been expected to enter into any questions connected with vital religion. They lived in another atmosphere altogether than that breathed by Colet and More in England, or Luther and Melancthon in Germany. Vital religion to the Popes of this period, distinguished and for the most part able men that they were, was quite outside their lives. The principal work under-

taken by a Sixtus IV. and a Julius II., and more or less adopted by the other Popes of this period, was the foundation of a secular kingdom, in which the Pope was the monarch. The building up of the States of the Church was the great feature in the story of the Papacy, at the time when the mighty questions which resulted in the Reformation were agitating men's minds in central and northern Europe.

Let us rapidly glance over the careers and characters of this line of mighty prelates, with their awful claims to a supreme spiritual power.

Sixtus IV., who filled the papal chair A.D. 1471 to 1484, began what may be termed the secularisation of the Papacy. Of him Machiavelli writes: "He was the first Pope who began to show the extent of the papal power, and how things that before were called errors could be hidden behind the papal authority." The historian of these popes thus explains these weighty words: "The papal power which Machiavelli had before his eyes was not the moral authority of the head of Christendom, but the power of an Italian prince who was engaged in consolidating his dominions into an important state . . . This object Sixtus IV. pursued passionately, to the exclusion of the other duties of his office." *

His successor, Innocent VIII. (A.D. 1484 to 1492), who pursued the same policy, in his private life openly disregarded the most venerable traditions of the mediæval church: preferring his relations, among them his own acknowledged son, to high and important offices. Indeed, with bitter but not untrue irony this pontiff has been described as setting the example of an estimable father of a family. His example, as might have been expected from a Pope who openly recognised in the Vatican a son and daughter, was generally disastrous to the discipline and the whole moral tone of the church. Bacon, alluding to a bull of privileges granted by Innocent VIII. to king Henry VII., in grateful return for a complimentary oration delivered by the English ambassador, writes: "The Pope, knowing himself to be lazy and unprofitable to the Christian world, was wonderfully glad to hear that there were such echoes of him sounding in so distant parts."

Alexander VI. (cardinal Borgia), who reigned in Rome from 1492 to 1503, was yet more active in the work of the secularisation of the Papacy. His career as head of the Christian church of the west was rather that of an active and utterly unscrupulous statesman, than that of a Christian bishop of the highest rank. None can deny that he was devoted to business and state affairs, and unsparing of himself in the discharge of his public duties as a ruler. He ever punctually discharged the ecclesiastical duties of a Pope so far as mere ritual was concerned. But his private life before his election to the Papacy was notoriously immoral, and these immoralities continued, without any attempt to conceal them, after he became Pope. Of his children, Cæsar and Lucretia have become historical, and the story of the first is disfigured with shameful intrigue and even crime.

* Bishop Creighton: "History of the Papacy during the Reformation," book v., chap. iv.

Alexander VI. (Borgia) was followed by cardinal Piccolomini, who took the title of Pius III. He only lived a few months. He, too, is known in the history of these popes as the father of several children. He was a man, however, of some learning, and his character in other respects generally stood high.

Julius II. (cardinal Rovere) took up the thread of the tortuous papal policy the same year (1503), and for ten years until 1513 was a prominent figure in European history. As a secular prince, his reign was distinguished for conspicuous ability. He carried on and developed the plans of his predecessors, which aimed at making the Papacy an important territorial power in Italy, and was successful generally in these purely secular schemes; but nothing was done in his reign to restore a spiritual tone into the Roman court. Still, it must be conceded to Julius II. that he endeavoured to provide for a purer election of future popes, and to infuse some spirit of earnestness into the college of cardinals.

The manner of life, the greed and lawlessness of these princes of the church, during this period, is one of the saddest chapters in a generally sad history. They gave and received bribes; they lived with all imaginable ostentation. Their stately Roman palaces were fortified and strengthened with towers; great numbers of armed retainers were housed in these palace-fortresses; and there they too often bid defiance to all justice and right. These men, often relations of the reigning pope, had most of them sons and nephews whom they enriched with the spoils of the church, regardless of the open scandal which their conduct occasioned. There were, of course, some exceptions; but the general reputation of the members of the once famous and still most powerful college of cardinals was evil. One of the gloomiest features of this time was the network of intrigue and plotting which enveloped every succeeding papal election. The choice of the supreme pontiff was entirely in the hands of the cardinals; and as the choice necessarily fell upon one of their body, the antecedents, the public and private life, the ambitions, tastes, aims, and hopes of the cardinal deliberately chosen for the august office of bishop of Rome, was intimately known to the electoral body. Yet with *the knowledge of the man*, these electors, after long and careful consideration, with ceremonies handed down from a remote antiquity, in solemn conclave assembled, elected a cardinal Borgia (Alexander VI.), a cardinal Rovere (Julius II.), a cardinal Medici (Leo X.) to fulfil an office which carried with it such enormous responsibilities and which involved such tremendous claims.

Apart from utter lack of spirituality, and from a merely secular point of view, this was a great reign. Julius II. made the Papacy the centre of the politics, not of the religion of Europe. Guicciardini, the Florentine historian, writes of the Pope how, "had he been a secular prince, he would deserve the highest glory; how he was extolled by those who, having lost the right use of words and confused the distinctions of accurate speech, judge that it is the office of the Popes to bring empire to the apostolic seat by arms and by the shedding of Christian blood, more than to trouble themselves by setting an example of holy life and arresting the

decay of morals, for the salvation of those souls for whose sake they boast that Christ set them as His vicars on earth."

Julius II. may be looked upon as the Pope who completed the foundation of the Papal States, the dissolution of which strange and unhappy mixture of spiritual and secular things our own age has witnessed. In this curious reign of a bishop of Rome, we see the so-styled head of Christendom leading his armies to attack his enemies—those who were opposed to his schemes for territorial aggrandisement. It was this Pope, with his wars and intrigues, who was the subject of a bitter contemporary satire, in the shape of a strange dialogue with St. Peter at the gate of Paradise. In this dialogue he is represented as claiming, but claiming in vain, the right of entry:—

Peter (to the shade of Julius): "Have you taught true doctrine?"

Julius (replies): "Not I. I have been too busy fighting. There are monks to look after doctrine, if that is of any consequence."

Peter: "Who are those dark ones with the scars?"

Julius: "Those are my soldiers and generals who were killed fighting for me. They all deserve heaven. I promised it them under hand and seal if they lost their lives in my service, no matter how wicked they might be."

Peter: "How about the duke of Ferrara?"

Julius: "I wanted the duchy of Ferrara for a son of my own, who could be depended on to be true to the church, and who had just poniarded the cardinal of Pavia."

Peter: "What! Popes with wives and children?"

Julius: "Wives! No, not wives. But why not children?"

Peter: "Were the opposition cardinals bad men?"

Julius: "I know no harm of their morals. The cardinal of Rouen was sanctimonious—always crying for reform in the church. Anyhow, death relieved me of him, and I was glad. Another, the cardinal of St. Cross, a Spaniard, was also a good sort of man, but he was rigid, austere, and given to theology, a class of man always unfriendly to the Popes."

Peter: "How have you increased the church?"

Julius: "I found it poor; I have made it splendid."

Peter: "Splendid with what? With faith?"

Julius: "These are words. I have filled Rome with palaces, troops of servants, armies and officers, with purple and gold, with glory, hoards of treasure."

Peter: "At any rate, this is the worldly side. How about the other?"

Julius: "You are thinking about the old affair, when you starved as Pope, with a handful of poor hunted bishops about you. Time has changed all that. Look now at our gorgeous churches, our priests by thousands, bishops like kings, with retinues and with palaces, cardinals in their purple gloriously attended, horses and mules decked with gold and jewels, shod with gold and silver. Beyond all, myself supreme Pontiff, borne on soldiers' shoulders in a golden chair. Hearken to the roar of cannon, the bugle notes, the drums—kings of the earth

scarce admitted to kiss my holiness's foot. Look at all this, and tell me, is it not magnificent?"

Peter: "I look at a very worldly tyrant."

trophies, spoils, shouts that rent the heavens, and I carried aloft, the head and author of it all!"

Peter: "Enough — enough! The heathen were humane compared to you—

POPE JULIUS II.
(From the portrait by Raffaele in the National Gallery.)

Julius: "You would not say so had you seen me carried in state at Bologna and at Rome after the war with Venice, or when I beat the French at Ravenna. Those were spectacles! Carriages and horses, troops under arms, generals galloping, pomp of bishops, glory of cardinals, you who triumphed because so many thousand Christians had been slain for your ambition; you, a Holy Father in Christ, who never did good to any single soul in word or deed!"

The strange dialogue concludes with St. Peter asking the familiar spirit

accompanying Pope Julius, "O miserable churl! tell me, spirit: are the bishops generally like this one?" The spirit replies, "Yes, a good part of them, but this is the chief, far and away." Peter closes the conversation with: "I am not surprised that so few apply now here (at the gate of Paradise) for admission, when the church has such rulers."

This unheard-of piece of scurrility, directed against the acknowledged chief bishop of western Christendom, with his claims to an awful power, was so popular that it was brought on the public stage at Paris.* It may have been, probably was, grossly exaggerated; but it reflects the feelings with which many at that time regarded the greatest of the line of those secular Popes who reigned at the Vatican in the early years of the sixteenth century. Yet when this renowned warrior, statesman, and Pope died, in 1513, Rome, her turbulent, pleasure-loving citizens, her magnificent cardinals and nobles, unfeignedly mourned. "Men felt that a great man had passed away."

Pope Julius II. was a notable example of an illustrious churchman, in those dark days when Christianity had well-nigh vanished from the church. Such a head of the western church, in no slight degree precipitated the great crash. The life of the Pope was too faithfully copied by many of his subordinates in the countries of northern and central Europe. He was imitated by lesser men, who possessed the worldly tastes but were not actuated by the lofty aims and patriotic ambitions of their master, who loved Italy and Rome. Sceptics often at heart, they used the still mighty influence of the church for their own selfish ends. Such men were, alas! numerous among the cardinals, the archbishops, the bishops, and the higher clergy of the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

"The most precious memorial of Julius II. is his portrait by Raffaele, on which many of us have gazed with curious admiration. It is a veritable revelation of his character. Seated in an arm-chair, with head bent downwards, the Pope is in deep thought. His furrowed brow and his deep-sunk eyes tell of energy and decision. The down-drawn corners of his mouth betoken constant dealings with the world. Raffaele has caught the momentary repose of a restless and passionate spirit."* Alas! the spirit of the great Pope was that of a thoroughly worldly, not of a religious man.

The cardinals chose as successor to Julius II. one of their number well fitted to carry on the now traditionary policy of the line of secular Popes. Cardinal Medici, the moving spirit of the powerful and famous Florentine house of that name, who assumed the title of Leo X., is perhaps the best known of these stately and magnificent pontiffs, whose lives and policy excited in minds like Luther's so intense a feeling of sorrow and almost of despair. Leo X., cardinal Medici, reigned some eight years, A.D. 1513 to 1521, a period which included the early years of the revolt of Germany under the influence of Luther and his com-

* For these extracts also we are indebted to Mr. Froude's translations in the "Oxford Lectures" "Life and Letters of Erasmus." (Longmans & Co., 1895.)

* Bishop Creighton: "History of the Papacy during the Reformation," book v., chap. xvii.

panions. (The theses of the reformer against the doctrine of indulgences were nailed to the Wittenberg church door in 1517.) The cardinals desired a kindly, magnificent Pope, perhaps less politically active than the dead Julius II., less bellicose, but still a pontiff who would maintain the secular dignity rather than the spiritual position of the chief pontiff. Such a man they found exactly in cardinal Medici. There was a story widely circulated, that one of the first sayings of the new Pope to his elder brother, Giulamo Medici, was, "Let us enjoy the Papacy, since God has given it to us."

The reign of the Medici Leo X. was long looked back to in Rome and Italy as the golden age—as the period of its greatest glory. Under his rule Rome was the real capital of Italy, the centre of arts and letters. The court of Leo was magnificent, and considering the age and the lax code of its society, no especially glaring immorality disfigured it. The entertainments at the Vatican were numerous and splendid, and the guests not unfrequently numbered as many as two thousand. It was to supply means for all this lavish expenditure, that such devices as the sale of indulgences, which stirred the heart of Luther, were pressed, though the ostensible reason for the urgent need of money was the prosecution of the costly works in the new church of St. Peter's.

His latest historian* tells us how Leo X. was also a keen sportsman, and that as soon as the summer heat began to abate, he withdrew from Rome and devoted a couple of months to field sports, including hawking, fishing, and the more active sport of the chase of deer and wild boars. He was always the kindly and liberal patron of art and literature, and in his days Rome was ever the favourite home of the great architects, painters, and sculptors, who made that eventful age in Italy so famous. In spite of all his devices to raise money, when he died his treasury was empty and his debts enormous. This was the pontiff who represented the mediæval church at the time when its very existence was threatened by the German revolt; at the time when, in every country of Europe, men's minds were turned to the urgent necessity for a thorough reform in the church's doctrines and practices.

Something of a reaction in the college of cardinals, probably largely aided by the influence of the emperor Charles V., took place on the premature death of Leo X., and resulted in the election of the emperor's tutor, cardinal Adrian of Utrecht, a man sixty-three years old, with a wide reputation for piety. Pope Adrian VI. was no mean theologian, and was earnestly desirous of promoting a real reformation in the Papacy and in the church at large. He had, however, no sympathy whatever with the new learning, and he was bitterly hostile to Luther and his theological views. A curious change at once passed over the Vatican court. Instead of the lavish profusion and gorgeous magnificence of Leo X. and his predecessors, Alexander VI. (Borgia) and Julius II., the household of Adrian VI. was of the simplest description. An old Flemish woman presided over the kitchen, and the Pope was waited on at table by two Spanish pages. He pressed upon the luxurious cardinals the urgent

* Bishop Creighton.

need for reform in the church's manners, and called upon them to set the example of devotion and of a stern frugality.

The result of these sharp measures was to win him much unpopularity, and even hatred, in Rome. Abroad he pursued the same measures of retrenchment, and pressed upon foreign churches the necessity of immediate change in their way of living and working. "The time is past," he wrote, "when God will connive at our faults. The age is changed, and popular opinion no longer thinks that the charges brought against us are partly false. The axe is laid at the foot of the tree, unless we choose to return to wisdom. Let the Pope and the curia do away their errors, by which God and man are justly offended; let them bring the clergy once more under discipline. If the Germans see this done, there will be no further talk of Luther. The root and the cure of the evil are alike in ourselves."

It was, indeed, time that something should be done at headquarters if the church were to be saved. Personal profligacy had long surrounded the pontiff's throne; everything connected with Rome was rotten to the core, at home and abroad. The Tetzel scandal in the matter of indulgences was, in fact, repeated—perhaps with less coarseness and openness, but still repeated—in England in every great and small town, as well as in a thousand centres on the Continent. Everything connected with the supreme authority at Rome was sold — legal justice and spiritual privileges, promotions, dispensations, pardons, indulgences; the very revenue of the holy see depended largely on simony; and at the same time all the officials, from the senior cardinal down to the lowest clerk in the chancery, were naturally averse to any inquiry, reform, or alteration in a system upon which their income for daily bread or daily luxury absolutely depended.

Adrian VI., in his honest longing for reforms, looked round in vain for helpers in his formidable task. Alas! he soon died. He was, as has been well suggested, helped out of life, perhaps, by the hopelessness of his task. 1522 witnessed his election, the following year (1523) witnessed his obsequies. "He is," writes his biographer, "a pathetic figure in the annals of the Papacy. A man whose very virtues were vain, because he had not force to clothe his ideas with such a form that they appealed to men's imagination. He had no impressiveness, no fire, no attractiveness. The cynical diplomatists and self-seeking ecclesiastics who were around him were never moved, even for a moment, by any consciousness that they stood before a man whose life was built higher than their own. All that he could do was to raise a barren protest, which created no sympathy on either side. He forgot that the old-fashioned conception of a pope, which he strove to restore, had entirely faded from men's minds, and his revival was only a caricature. An old and feeble man, without resources, without a party, he hoped to convince a stubborn and distracted world by the mere force of an example of primitive piety."* But Adrian died all too soon, perhaps of a broken heart. Still, he will ever shine out among that long line of secular dissolute popes as a noble, self-denying man, but who was

* Bishop Creighton.

unequal to the great task to which he had set himself.

THE INTERIOR OF ST. PETER'S, ROME.

Adrian VI. was succeeded by another cardinal of the powerful Medici house, who took the name of Clement VII. He was an Italian of the old school of worldly ecclesiastics, trained in the courts of Alexander VI. (Borgia) and Julius II. His election was mainly due to intrigues among the cardinals. He engaged to divide among the members of the college by lot the many benefices which he held. This simoniacal bargain gives some index to the character of the new pontiff, and to the spirit which actuated the cardinal princes in whose hands lay the all-important choice.

The Roman folk were full of joy, however, at the prospect of the restoration of

Photo : Alinari.

THE EXTERIOR OF ST. PETER'S, ROME.

the brave days of Leo X., with a lavishly spending court. There was no longer any talk of reform or change; but things went

on in the papal circle as they had done aforetime. This pontificate is especially remarkable for the awful disaster which befel Rome itself. We are not concerned here with the story of the tortuous intrigues of Italy. Clement VII. became pope at the close of 1523. In 1527 the western world was startled and horrified at the news that a large army of mercenaries, nominally under the banner of the Empire, disappointed of its pay, had mutinied and marched upon Rome; had stormed it after a feeble and ill-directed resistance, and had then proceeded to sack the magnificent city, under circumstances of unexampled barbarity.

This terrible catastrophe, of course, for ever destroyed the prestige of Clement VII., of whom we shall hear again when we relate the unhappy story of the divorce of king Henry VIII. of England. It was this Pope Clement who played fast and loose with Henry VIII. and Katherine of Arragon; now playing into the hands of Katherine's nephew, the emperor Charles V., who supported his aunt, the unhappy queen; now holding out hopes to the infatuated English king that the church would break the bonds of the marriage, in accordance with Henry VIII.'s passionate wish. In the end, having pleased and satisfied neither Englishman nor Spaniard, Pope Clement found that his faithless policy had created that rift between England and the Papacy which, save once for a few short disastrous years, has never been bridged over since, though more than three centuries and a half separate us from the days when the sad tragedy of king Henry VIII.'s divorce was being played in Rome and London.

We may add one sombre detail to our grey, sad-coloured picture. When Clement VII. passed away, the college of cardinals in 1534 was pleased to elect in his room one of their number, the cardinal Farnese, known in history as Paul III. This prelate, like so many of his predecessors in the Papacy, had a family of illegitimate children. Immediately on his accession he created two of his grandsons—still boys of fifteen and fourteen years of age—cardinals of the church, "as props, he pleaded, for his old age." The Italian writer, Pallavicino, as an apology for this act, pleads that cardinal Farnese, Paul III., had been trained in an age of wickedness "the very memory of which cannot be recalled without a shudder of horror and indignation."

Here must close this hasty sketch of the Popes who reigned during the half century which immediately preceded the Reformation of the English Church. It has been drawn for the purpose of showing how utterly unfitted was this line of secular Popes (not to bestow on them a harsher epithet) to oppose any barrier to the rapid march of circumstances which led to the great change; indeed, the lives and policy of this succession of acknowledged heads of western Christianity in no small degree contributed to the catastrophe. As religious men, as heads of the spiritual power of the western world, a position they claimed, and which in the sadly mistaken age in which they lived was largely conceded to them, they were indeed weighed in the balance and found utterly wanting. But the fair historian must

not omit one title to honour which they have fairly merited from the generations which followed them. They were, generally speaking, true and magnificent patrons of art in its highest and noblest sense. The two greatest of these "secular" Popes, Julius II. and Leo X., were conspicuous examples of such enlightened patronage, and as such have earned the undying gratitude of all who are sensible of the ennobling and purifying power of true art.

The pontificates of Julius II. and Leo X. lasted from A.D. 1503 to A.D. 1521, a period of nearly twenty years. Julius II. was, if not the discoverer of the mighty genius of Bramante, Raffaele, and Michael Angelo, at least the munificent patron who gave these men the means and opportunity to carry out and develop their schemes of work, which have been for more than three centuries and a half the admiration of the civilised world.

Bramante, the great architect of the Renaissance, has left behind him many specimens in Rome of his unrivalled genius in the magnificent palaces he built for certain of the wealthy cardinals, and in the vast conceptions he carried out in the old Vatican palace; but his master-work was, of course, the new church of St. Peter's, built on the site of the older and more venerable building, with its innumerable memories. Bramante died more than a hundred years before the completion of the St. Peter's known to us. Considerable changes were made in the original design; but the splendid conception of the vastest church in Christendom belonged to Bramante, the architect of Julius and Leo. In many respects our own St. Paul's is a copy, of course on a smaller scale, of the Renaissance temple of these magnificent Popes whose story we have been telling.

What Bramante, under the patronage of Julius and Leo, did for architecture, Raffaele and Michael Angelo accomplished for painting and sculpture. Pilgrims who love art, from every country of the civilised world, for three and a half centuries have reverently gazed at, and many of them carefully studied and vainly tried to imitate, the works of these true masters.

Leo X. was, however, more than a munificent and discerning patron of art. He earnestly encouraged and promoted the cultivation of the new learning, providing well-nigh a hundred professors for the education of students, and from all quarters in his days famous scholars were attracted Romewards. In one of his bulls he wrote "that his design was to make the city of Rome the capital of the world in literature as it is in everything else." A still more accurate knowledge of Greek was the greatest object aimed at, and a series of valuable and costly editions of forgotten classical works were published at Rome. While, however, we read with curious interest the titles of some of these: Pindar, Theocritus, scholia on Homer or Sophocles, etc., we look in vain for editions of the Greek New Testament. The book loved by Christians above all books in the world, was ignored by the Roman school of learning fostered by the great secular Popes; the Greek New Testament was left to other and different hands to disinter, to print, to revise, and to comment upon. The worldly Popes of that wonderful age took little interest in such matters as these.

CHAPTER XLII.

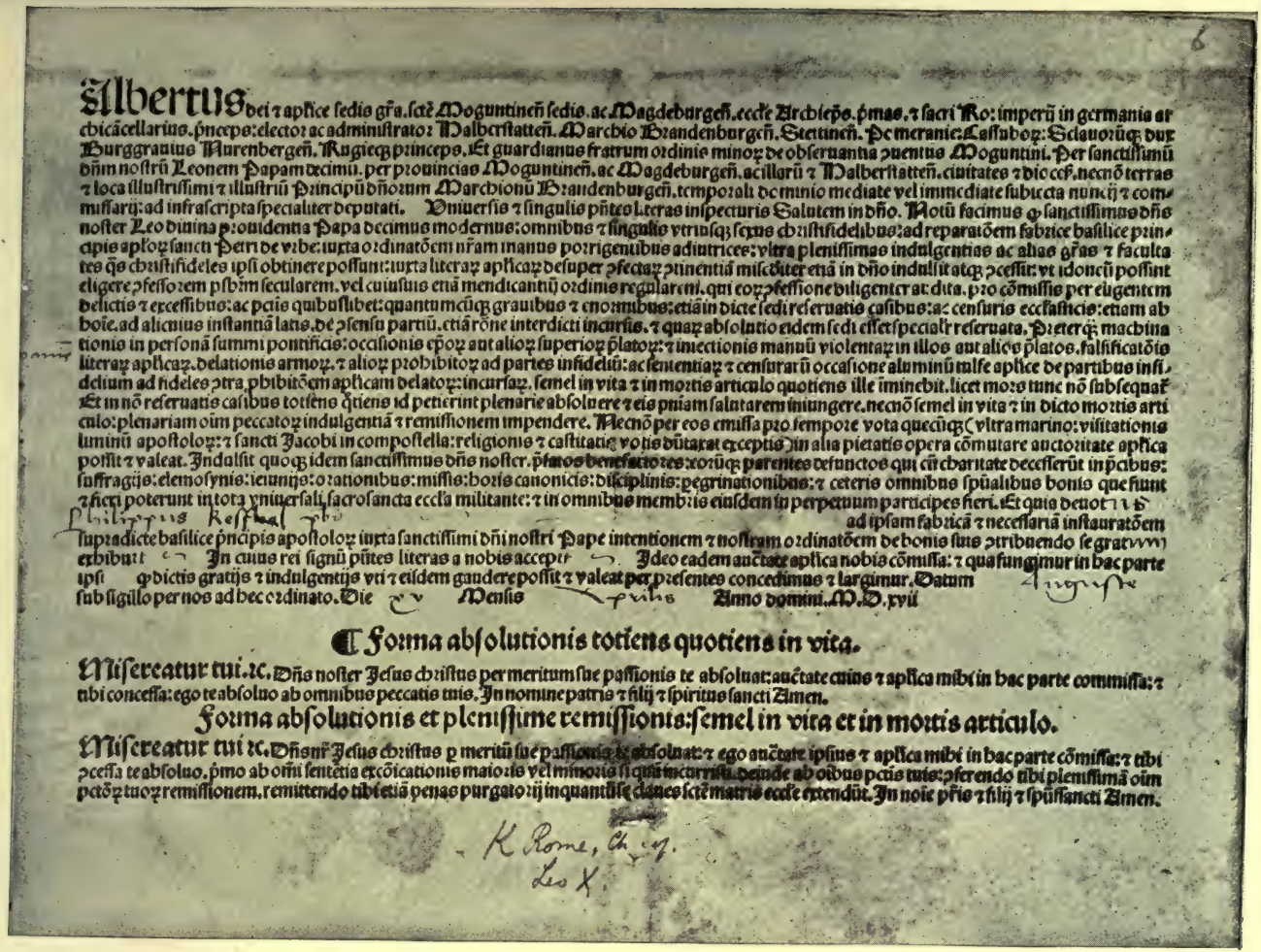
LUTHER AND THE GERMAN REFORMATION.

Luther's Birth and Parentage—Early Life—His Visit to Rome—Tetzel and the Indulgences—Luther's Indignation—Publishes his Theses—Carelessness of Leo X. about the Matter—The Pope anathematises Luther, and Luther burns the Bull—The Diet of Worms—Luther's German Bible—His Marriage—What the Protestants really "protested" against—The League of Schmalkald—Appearance and Character of Luther—Basis of his Theology—Excesses of the Lutheran Reaction—Luther and Erasmus—Sir Thomas More's Opinion—Pamphlets of the Reformation Period—Reuchlin—True Sources of the Reformation.

WE sketched in our last volume the chief English pioneers of our own Reformation: Colet and More belonged, of course, to our country; and Erasmus, as we have seen, not only did most of his Greek New Testament in England, but received the principal inspiration for his great work from his English friends. There is a fourth figure we must now attempt to paint. He was indeed in no sense an Englishman; but his work had so vast an influence upon the momentous religious change about to pass over our church, that it is impossible to tell the Reformation story of England, without dwelling for a brief space on the life, the character, and the doctrines of the German teacher who brought about so tremendous a change in doctrinal teaching and religious rites in Germany and on the continent of Europe. No such history as ours can be complete, without some attempt to sketch the mighty figure of Martin Luther.

He was born in Thuringia, a province of North Central Germany, in A.D. 1483, some sixteen years later than Erasmus. His parents were honest enterprising mechanics who by patient industry raised themselves to a position of fair competence, which enabled them carefully to educate their boy Martin, who early showed promise of future distinction. He set his heart upon being a priest, somewhat against his father's wish, and when still young became a monk in an Augustinian monastery in his native country. There he distinguished himself by his passionate love of study and by his stern, ascetic way of life. His superiors, anxious to provide the young and earnest monk with suitable useful work, procured for him the post of teacher or professor in the newly-founded university of Wittenberg in Saxony, where he soon became a power as a teacher and preacher.

In 1511, when he was twenty-eight years of age, he was sent to Rome on some business connected with the affairs of his Augustinian order. His enthusiastic spirit longed to see Rome, and it is said, when he first caught sight of the city, he threw himself in intense devotion on the ground, crying out, "Holy Rome, I salute thee!" But, alas! what he saw there sadly disappointed him. Julius II. was Pope, and the character and life of the pontiff and his cardinals were utterly at variance with



Albertus dei ⁊ aplice sedis gr̃a. sc̃te Moguntinen̄ sedis. ac Magdeburgen̄. ecc̃le Archiepo. pmas. ⁊ sacri Ro: imperij in germania archicācellarius. ꝓnceps: elector ac administrator: Halberstatten̄. Marchio Brandenburgen̄. Stetinen̄. Pomeranie. Cassubo⁊: Sclauo⁊ūq; dux Burggrauius Nurenbergen̄. Rugieq; princeps. Et guardianus fratrum ordinis minor⁊ de obseruantia ꝓuentus Moguntini. Per sanctissimū dñm nostrū Leonem Papam decimū. per ꝓuincias Moguntinen̄. ac Magdeburgen̄. acillarū ⁊ Halberstatten̄. ciuitates ⁊ dic̃ec̃. necnō terras ⁊ loca illustrissimi ⁊ illustriū Principū dn̄oꝝ Marchionū Brandenburgen̄. tempo⁊ali dominio mediate vel immediate subiecta nuncij ⁊ commissarij: ad infrascripta specialiter deputati. Vniuersis ⁊ singulis p̃sentes literas inspecturis Salutem in dn̄o. Notū facimus q̄ sanctissimus dn̄us noster Leo diuina ꝓuidentia Papa decimus modernus: omnibus ⁊ singulis veris⁊q; xpi⁊ne christifidelibus: ad reparatōem fabrice basilice principis apl̄o⁊ sancti Petri de vrbe: iusta ordinatōem nr̃am manus po⁊rigentibus adiutrices: vltra plenissimas indulgentias ac alias gr̃as ⁊ facultates q̄s christifideles ipsi obtinere possunt: iusta literaꝝ aplicaꝝ desuper ꝓfectaꝝ ꝓtinentiā misc̃ōiter etiā in dn̄o indulsit atq; ꝓcessit: vt idoneū possint eligere ꝓfessorem p̃sbm̄ secularem. vel cuiusuis etiā mendicantiū ordinis regularem. qui eor⁊ ꝓfessione diligenter at diuta. ꝓ cōmissis per eligentem delictis ⁊ excessibus: ac pcis quibuslibet: quantumc̃unq; grauibus ⁊ enormibus: etiā in dicte sedi reseruatis casibus: ac censuris ecclasticis: etiam ab hoīe. ad alicuius instantiā latis. de ꝓsensu partiū. etiā rōne interdicti incursis. ⁊ quaꝝ absolutio eidem sedi esset specialr reseruata. Preterq; machinationis in personā summi pontificis: occasionis eōr⁊ aut alio⁊ superio⁊ p̃lato⁊: ⁊ iniectionis manuū violentaꝝ in illos aut alios p̃latos. falsificatōis literaꝝ aplicaꝝ. delationis armo⁊. ⁊ alio⁊ prohibito⁊ ad partes infidelium: ac sententiaꝝ ⁊ censuraꝝ occasione aluminū tulse aplice de partibus infidelium ad fideles ꝓtra. ꝓhibitōem aplicam delato⁊: incursaꝝ. semel in vita ⁊ in mortis articulo quotiens ille imminebit. licet mo⁊s tunc nō subsequat. Et in nō reseruatis casibus totiens q̄tiens id petierint plenarie absoluere ⁊ eis pniam salutarem iniungere. necnō semel in vita ⁊ in dicto mortis articulo: plenariam oīm peccato⁊ indulgentiā ⁊ remissionem impendere. Necnō per eos emissa ꝓ tempore vota quecūq; c vltra marino: visitationis luminū apostolo⁊: ⁊ sancti Jacobi in compostella: religionis ⁊ castitatis: vo⁊is dūtaxat exceptis: in alia pietatis opera cōmutare auctoritate aplica possit ⁊ valeat. Indulsit quoq; idem sanctissimus dn̄us noster. p̃fatos benefactores xo⁊ūq; parentes defunctos qui cū charitate decesserūt in p̃cibus: suffragijs: elemosynis: ieiunijs: o⁊ationibus: missis: horis canonicis: disciplinis: pegrinationibus: ⁊ ceteris omnibus spūalibus bonis que fiunt ⁊ fieri poterunt in tota vniuersali sacrosancta eccl̃a militante: ⁊ in omnibus membris eiusdem in perpetuum participes fieri. Et quis deuot⁊ ad ipsam fabricā ⁊ necessariā instauratōem

Philippus Kesselaer

supradicte basilice p̃ncipis apostolo⁊ iusta sanctissimi dn̄i nostri Pape intentionem ⁊ nostram o⁊dinatōem de bonis suis ꝓ tribuendo se gratum exhibuit ⁊ Jn cuius rei signū p̃sentes literas a nobis accepit ⁊ Jdeo eadem auctate aplica nobis cōmissa: ⁊ qua fungimur in hac parte ipsi q̄ dictis gratijs ⁊ indulgentijs vti ⁊ eisdem gaudere possit ⁊ valeat per p̃sentes concedimus ⁊ largimur. Datum sub sigillo per nos ad hec o⁊dinato. Die xv Mensis Octobris Anno domini. M. D. xvii

Augusti

¶ Forma absolutionis totiens quotiens in vita.

Misereatur tui. ⁊c. Dn̄s noster Jesus christus per meritum sue passionis te absoluat: auctate cuius ⁊ aplica mihi in hac parte commissa: ⁊ tibi concessa: ego te absoluo ab omnibus peccatis tuis. Jn nomine patris ⁊ filij ⁊ spiritus sancti Amen.

Forma absolutionis et plenissime remissionis: semel in vita et in mortis articulo.

Misereatur tui ⁊c. Dn̄s noster Jesus christus p meritū sue passionis te absoluat: ⁊ ego auctate ipsius ⁊ aplica mihi in hac parte cōmissa: ⁊ tibi ꝓcessa te absoluo. ꝓmo ab oīni sententia excōicationis maio⁊is vel minoris si quā incurristi. deinde ab oībus peās tuis: ꝓferendo tibi plenissimā oīm peā⁊ tuo⁊ remissionem. remittendo tibi etiā penas purgato⁊ij inquantū ille clames sc̃te matris ecc̃le extendūt. Jn nom̄e p̃ris ⁊ filij ⁊ spūssancti Amen.

K Rome, Ch. 17.
Leo X.

INDULGENCE ISSUED BY POPE LEO X. TO RAISE MONEY FOR THE RE-BUILDING OF ST. PETER'S.

[*This was the Indulgence sold by Tetzel* (*see p.* 14) *as sub-commissary under Albert, Bishop of Mentz and Magdeburg. The name in writing is that of the recipient. Dated April* 15, 1517.] (*British Museum.*)

what the young Augustinian professor had pictured. He returned home disillusioned, even shocked, but once more devoted himself with renewed earnestness to the work of preaching and lecturing, striving to do his little share of duty even while the heads of the church were so conspicuously ignoring theirs. His fame as a preacher grew. The Elector Frederick, listening to him, one day said, "This monk has strange ideas."

Then came an incident, small in itself, but which, coming under the very eyes of Luther, already ill at ease and unhappy when he remembered what was going on at Rome and in other important centres of religious life, excited his deepest indignation and sorrow. Leo X. had succeeded Julius II., a magnificent, liberal, sceptical prelate, utterly devoid of all real spiritual earnestness. The court of Rome was extravagant. Large sums of money flowed into it from various sources, but the expenditure of Leo X. far outstripped his revenues, great though they were. One of this pontiff's dreams was to complete the vast and splendid buildings of the new St. Peter's church; especially for this object the many agents of Rome throughout Europe were pressed to gather extra money for the papal exchequer.

Among the frightful corruptions in the church life of the day, stood pre-eminent the strange and unnatural traffic in "indulgences." The monstrous fiction gradually had gained ground, that in the spiritual treasury of the Pope were accumulated the superfluous merits of all the saints from the days of the Apostles downwards. These were the Pope's own property, to dispose of as he pleased. A large revenue yearly accrued to the holy see from the sale of these indulgences. It is difficult to believe that either buyer or seller could really persuade themselves that such a traffic in good earnest benefited the soul, either of quick or dead; but the traffic, urged on by various motives—some based on foolish superstition, some on mere greed—went on unhindered in all the countries in communion with Rome.

It was in A.D. 1516–1517 that a Dominican named Tetzel appeared in the neighbourhood of Wittenberg, where Luther lived and worked. This monk had been entrusted with raising a sum of money for the needs of the papal court, and especially for the costly building works of St. Peter's, by means of these indulgences. He seems to have travelled from town to town, advertising these strange wares after the fashion of a wandering pedlar or chapman. The story, as we read it, sounds incredible, were it not supported by such ample evidence. The churches were decorated to receive this unworthy representative of the bishop of Rome. A red cross was fixed on the altar, a silk banner with the Papal arms floated over it, an alms-dish to receive the purchase-money for the indulgences was placed near, and the Dominican from the pulpit exhorted the bystanders to come and purchase forgiveness for their sins. Even grave iniquities—so taught Tetzel—might be covered by the purchase of these indulgences.

Shocked and dismayed by this shameless prostitution of at best a precarious and shadowy priestly claim, Luther, having remonstrated in vain, openly protested, and in the October of 1517 nailed on the door of the church of Wittenberg his

famous challenge to Tetzel or any emissary of the Pope to prove from Holy Scripture that a certificate signed by the bishop of Rome had the power of putting away sin. The protest consisted of ninety-five theses on the various features of these papal indulgences or pardons, which were especially sought for by anxious souls fearing for relatives or dear ones suffering the unknown pains of purgatory, and who hoped, possibly in some cases against hope, that the pardon of the Pope would free these departed souls, or at least shorten the period of their anguish. Luther boldly asserted that the papal assertion was monstrous. The church might cancel penances which it imposed, but the church's pardon could not reach to purgatory, on the other side of the grave. Those, he said, whom God had condemned, must there remain till He Himself was pleased to set them free.

The story of the act and words of Luther rang through Germany and most of Europe. The protest of the bold teacher of Wittenberg was generally applauded. Even many churchmen, faithful and loyal to the Pope, heartily approved. The scandal of the sale of indulgences was absolutely indefensible. It had long been felt by many to be a gross abuse, and the exposure of Tetzel brought the question to a head. As yet, however, Luther remained loyal to the Pope. He only demanded a disclaimer of Tetzel and his proceedings from Rome; and if that had been given the matter, so far as he was concerned, would probably have ended.

But the disclaimer never came. At first, Pope Leo X. treated the affair as of no importance. Luther, however, was in bitter earnest, and stoutly defended his bold theses. Disputations on the subject were held at Heidelberg. Other and grave charges came up against the exactions of the papal court through its varied emissaries, and in the end Luther was summoned to Rome. He refused to go. The German princes were urged by Leo to arrest the daring heretic, as he was soon styled. The princes, however, declined to take any step against one who unmistakably had public opinion on his side. Luther demanded that a General Council of the church should be held to consider these grave accusations. The whole question of the papal supremacy, its enormous claims, its crying abuses, was soon brought to the front; and actual revolt against the old order of things in the religious world had begun.

Rome curiously underrated the influence of Luther in Germany. No real attempt was made to understand his remonstrances, or to reply to his charges. The Pope and his cardinals dreaded the General Council, for which so many earnest men were hoping, and a bull anathematising Luther was published. This bull brought things to an absolute crisis. Luther replied by publicly burning the papal bull at Wittenberg, before a crowd of professors and students who sympathised with him. The decretals and other traditional documents, upon which the claims of the bishop of Rome were largely based, were tossed by the daring reformer into the same bonfire. This public and insulting renunciation of the Roman supremacy by Luther and his friends took place in A.D. 1520.

Charles V. had recently been crowned emperor, and his first Germanic Diet met

at Worms in the following year (1521). The principal business before that august and important assembly of the German sovereign princes, electors, and magnates was "to check the progress of new and dangerous opinions." Luther was summoned to appear before the Diet. Although a safe-conduct was promised him, he was urged to keep away. The burning of Huss at Constance, in spite of a similar guarantee, was in vain urged upon him. Luther's celebrated reply to these friendly warnings is well known: "Though there were as many devils in Worms as there are tiles upon the houses, I will go there."

As might have been expected, the Diet condemned him, although he had many friends in the Council—some open, more perhaps unavowed. But it was impossible for the supreme Council of the Empire to sanction an open rupture with the established order of religion. Luther, of course, declined to submit to Rome, and was formally placed under the ban of the empire as an excommunicated heretic. The edict of Worms styled him "the evil fiend in human form," and ordered that his writings should be burned and never reprinted; but before the time granted him by the imperial safe-conduct had expired, his friends forcibly seized him and placed him in safety in the castle of Wartburg in Saxony. There he remained shut up, but strictly guarded by his well-wishers from harm, for nearly a year. In the meantime the edict of Worms remained practically unheeded, and the revolt against Rome spread with strange rapidity over Germany. The details of this rapid German Reformation lie, of course, altogether outside the scope of our present work, and are only referred to in this brief sketch as bearing on the more general question of the Reformation of the church. The people of Germany took the reform of their own church largely into their own hands. The monasteries were generally dissolved. The old church courts were abolished. Images were removed from the churches. Private masses were abolished, and the Mass itself was changed into a Communion Service. The church lands were sequestrated. To all these startling changes there was little resistance. The free German cities became "Lutheran" in doctrine and practice almost without exception.

We return to the great Reformer who had kindled this mighty, widespread conflagration. During his seclusion in the castle of Wartburg he prepared, mainly from the Greek Testament recently published by Erasmus, his German version of the New Testament. This was published in 1522. The Old Testament was added after a year or two. This German Bible had an enormous and rapid sale, and advanced the cause of the Reformation with an influence no invective, however bitter, or merely human argument, however powerful, could have possessed. It has been well said that it was the disinterment and subsequent publication of the Greek New Testament by Erasmus, and the translation of it into English and German a few years later, "which did the work of the Reformation; without this divine witness it would inevitably have failed."

In 1524 Luther abandoned the monastic dress, and in 1525 he married Catherine von Bora, somewhiles a nun, who had left her convent some two years before.

LUTHER BURNING THE POPE'S BULL.
(From the picture by F. Martersteig.)

Much both of warm praise and bitter blame has been awarded to his casting off his early monastic and priestly vows, and adopting, about the age of forty, the married life and the responsibility of a home and family; but we are not concerned here with the wisdom or the righteousness of his action. His own defence is powerful, and from his own standpoint difficult to answer. He had for years inculcated the advantage of the married state, and had pointed out the evils attendant upon enforced celibacy; surely, he argued, he was bound to endorse his teaching and that of his friends by his own example. The picture we possess of Luther's home is unmistakably a beautiful one. His loving devotion to his wife was ever unbroken, and his relations to his children are at once touching and admirable. No regrets for his action in this respect seem ever to have darkened the atmosphere of that loving home circle.

In the same year (1524) a council was held at Augsburg, which in 1526 adjourned to Spires; but nothing was done on either side in the direction of conciliation or agreement. The rift grew broader and ever broader. In 1529–30 met, under the summons of the emperor Charles V., the famous Diet of Augsburg, from which may be dated the final and formal separation of a large part of Germany from communion with Rome. The Lutheran confession of faith, known as the "Confession of Augsburg," drawn by Melancthon, was formally presented to the emperor by the elector of Saxony, who ranked as the first of the German sovereign princes. But still no compromise between the opposing parties was arrived at. The emperor put out another edict, confirming the edict of Worms of 1521, and insisted on uniformity of observance in religious matters. The married priests were ordered to put away their wives. The laity were recommended to attend mass, to pray to the Virgin and saints, and to restore the monasteries. Each prince was enjoined, under penalties, to enforce the law in his own province. On the other hand, a General Council of the church was promised immediately.

The reply to the edict of Augsburg was the League of Schmalkald, half of the states and cities of Germany agreeing to band together in defence of their liberties. The name of "*Protestants*" now appears generally on the stage of church history; as the appellation of the men who "protested," not so much against doctrines in themselves, as is the too common view, but *against being coerced* into accepting doctrines which they believed to be false, or into practising ceremonies they held to be idolatrous.

Luther survived these events some sixteen years, dying in 1546 at Eisleben. He was interred with all possible honours at Wittenberg, the scene of his first protest against the indulgences of Leo X., the act which immediately led to all these mighty changes.

For the purposes of our history of the English Church, the above bare sketch of events connected with the Reformation in Germany is sufficient; but something more is necessary in regard to the remarkable man, to whom in the providence of God the reformation work in Germany is mainly due. It is indisputable that the theology of Luther and of his associates—men like

Melancthon—in no inconsiderable degree influenced the views of our own English reformers, upon which we must presently dwell at length, and inspired at least portions of the formularies of faith which they put forth; formularies which have been adopted as the basis of all the teaching of the Church of England from the Reformation period downwards.

We have briefly alluded to the circumstances of Luther's early career. In appearance he was a stalwart man; he seems to have been sensuous, passionate, imaginative, tender, easily moved to laughter or to tears, susceptible of the strongest love or hate. His eyes, men say, were especially remarkable. They were black, with a yellow rim round the iris, such as one sees in the eyes of a lion. His passionate devotion, his intense earnestness, his student's work—work as translator, commentator, lecturer, preacher—never flagged. Much of his work is enduring, and likely to endure.

Luther in his private life was never the gloomy ascetic. He loved music, and was himself no mean composer, assigning to this popular art a place second only to theology itself. He was also an ardent admirer of painting, and his are among the earliest works made interesting by the help of engravings. Like so many of the great and eminent men of God in different ages, he had a curious and strange intimacy with the animal world, and like Francis of Assisi and our English Cuthbert, the birds of the air knew him and loved him as their friend.

What shall we say of his theology? What was there in Luther's belief and teaching which won so quickly an empire over countless human hearts; an empire which is enduring, and which shows no symptom of change or of decay? The dominant thought in his own mind has been well expressed in the following terms: "He possessed, what is perhaps the most awful and imperious creation of Christianity —the sense of sin. . . . Such a sense is at root a passion for the possession of Deity, in a man who feels Deity too awful in His goodness to be possessed by him. . . . He knows the impossibility of being worthy of God, yet feels the necessity to him of the God who seems so unapproachable, so inaccessible. To such a man reconciliation, to be real, must be of God and to God, a work of infinite grace; and religion, to be true, must be the way or method of such reconciliation. The Christian doctrine of sin would be intolerable, were it not transfigured by the Christian doctrine of grace; indeed, it is the splendour of the one which makes the shadow lie so dark on the other."*

In his earlier studies Luther had come across the Vulgate version of the New Testament, not much studied in the schools of his time, save in the Epistles and Gospels selected for the church's services. With this Latin version he was aided by the treatises of Augustine, of which he was ever a diligent student. Deep thoughts had begun to work in his mind. Then came the Greek New Testament of Erasmus; and with this before him, the awful mistakes which the church was propagating in her teaching, flashed upon him in all their extent. The New Testament came to him, not as the voice of the church, but as the voice of God. "The first Christian age rises before him, wakes into life, stands out in vivid contrast with his

* Dr. Fairbairn: "Christ in Modern Theology."

own. Here are no indulgences, penances, pilgrimages ; all is simple, of grace through faith without works. . . . He stands in the immediate presence of Christ ; . . . in the light of the New Testament, duty becomes clear : there must be a return to

In other words, the dominant idea in Luther's theology, as set out in his lectures, sermons, and commentaries, was the utter impossibility of meriting the forgiveness of sins by good works. Men must be directed to turn alone to the Lamb of God. This,

LUTHER, MELANCTHON, POMERANUS, AND CRUCIGER TRANSLATING THE BIBLE.
(*From the painting by P. A. Labouchere.*)

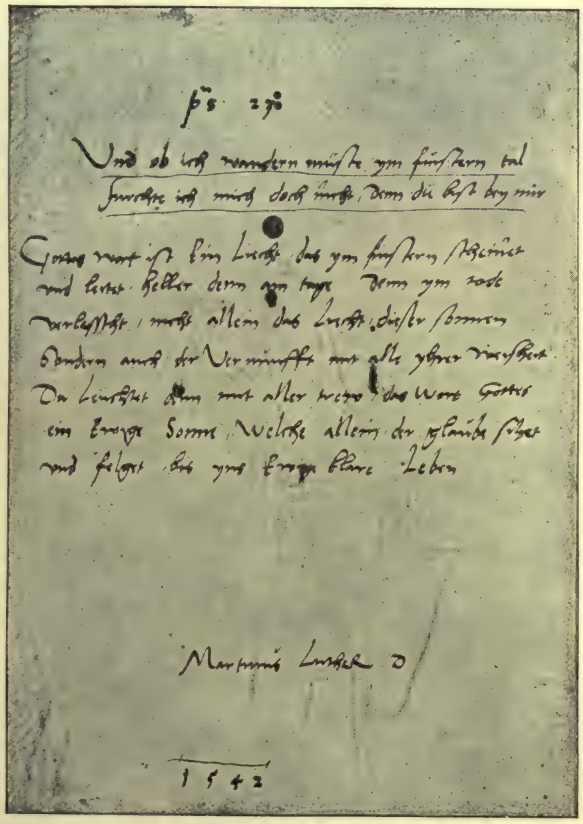
Apostolical Christianity. For Luther this return was summed up in the idea of redemption by the free grace of God in Christ, justification by faith without any work or contributory merit on the part of man. . . . What he saw before him was an immense system of salvation by works, the works mere ceremonial." *

* Dr. Fairbairn: "Christ in Modern Theology."

the German reformer felt, was emphatically *not* the teaching of the church of his day. The prevalent error, which taught that it *was* possible to merit the forgiveness of sins by good works, was the basis on which was built the whole monstrous system of indulgences, against which he had protested so earnestly in the extreme case of the Dominican Tetzel at Wittenberg. It

will be seen later on, how largely this central point of Luther's theology affected the doctrine and the formularies which embodied the teaching of the reformers of the Church of England.

But great though Luther was, and eminently useful as his work and teaching was in sweeping away the false system which had grown up in the Middle Ages, obscuring and veiling many of the precious truths and doctrines of primitive Christianity, it is indisputable that Lutheranism was full of inconsistencies; sparing much which ought to have perished, over-emphasising its great ideas, binding itself hastily to definitions and formulæ which produced new divisions. It has been accepted generally as the form of reformed Christianity adopted in Germany; but the dispassionate observer is forced to come to the conclusion that the result, so far as Germany is concerned, has not been satisfactory. In England it will be seen that, while adopting much that was true and real and in accordance with primitive Christianity in Luther's teaching, our own reformers avoided a large proportion of the errors which disfigured Lutheranism, and which have gravely impaired the influence and power of religion over the lives and conversation of men in those countries where Lutheranism was adopted.



AUTOGRAPH INSCRIPTION BY LUTHER ON THE FLY-LEAF OF THE SECOND VOLUME OF THE GERMAN BIBLE, PRINTED AT WITTENBERG IN 1541.* (*British Museum.*)

A few words seem still necessary on the relations between the two men whose life-work alone rendered the

* Translation: Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil if thou art with me. God's word is a light which shines in darkness and leads more clearly than daylight. For in death is extinguished not only the light of this sun, but also the light of reason with all its wisdom, whilst the word of God shines in all faithfulness an eternal sun which alone faith sees and follows to the eternal clear life.

English Reformation possible — Luther and Erasmus. It is not too much to say that these great reformers disliked each other, mistrusted each other. The grounds, however, of their mutual dislike and mistrust were not by any means the same.

When in 1516 Luther, then a professor at the new university of Wittenberg, was ardently pursuing those studies which equipped him for his after work, we can easily imagine the eagerness with which the fervid Augustinian monk welcomed the Greek Testament with its annotations, put out by the famous scholar Erasmus; how he would study it for the first time in the original language, hoping to find in the learned and brilliant exposition which accompanied the precious text, his own views definitely and clearly stated. He was bitterly disappointed. Erasmus, he quickly found, had missed what he felt was the true keynote to the great Epistle to the Romans. The illustrious scholar, whose praise was on the lips of every reformer, had interpreted "the deeds of the law" (Rom. iii. 20), by the keeping of which no flesh shall be justified in the eyes of God, as referring to the Jewish ceremonial law only. He (Luther)—and this was the ground idea of his theology—referred these "deeds of the law" to the observance of the *whole Decalogue*. And this was the keynote to all Erasmus's interpretation of St. Paul. Every day, said Luther, as he read more and more of Erasmus, he lost liking for him. With all his Greek and Hebrew, he said that the illustrious scholar was lacking in Christian wisdom. "May God give him," wrote Luther in one of his letters, "understanding in his own good time!" The rift between the two grew broader as time went on.

The grounds of Erasmus's dislike of Luther were very different from the grave and weighty doctrinal points which so agitated the fervid German reformer. They were more general—more belonging, so to speak, to the history of the world. Especially important and interesting to ourselves were the sources of the hostile feelings of Erasmus towards Luther and his reforms, for they found many an echo in English hearts; and indeed the reverent love for antiquity, and the dread of too violent and sudden changes, which actuated Erasmus in his later years, largely contributed to the conservative spirit which happily guided so much in the Reformation work in England. Erasmus, with all his knowledge of the corruptions of the ecclesiastical system of his day, with his clear view of Christianity as mirrored in the New Testament, with his earnest longing to see a thorough reformation in the doctrine and practice of the church, feared revolution, with its sure sequel in the sweeping destruction of so much that was venerable and helpful. He dreaded the release of incalculable forces; possibly fearful animosities, disunion, even religious war with its attendant horrors. And in Luther he saw one who, he thought, was likely to precipitate such a revolution. Hence, with a really unfeigned admiration for his daring, unselfish spirit, he misliked him, and persistently held aloof from him. The thoughts of Erasmus were largely the thoughts of men like Colet and More. They were shared too by king Henry VIII., as we shall see, and were never quite absent from the thoughts of the leading

reformers of England. We will cite a few of Erasmus's comments upon Luther; they will help us to understand the spirit which partly guided the acts and writings of Cranmer and Ridley, who will so shortly come before us.

At the beginning of Luther's public career, when attention was fairly aroused by his bold denunciation of the scandal in the matter of the indulgences, Erasmus strongly sympathised with the brave protest, and strongly deprecated the Pope's action. The latter, instead of calmly examining the grounds of Luther's righteous indignation, assumed a haughty, bullying attitude, sending utterly unfit men to inquire into the transactions which excited such wide-spread indignation. "I am amazed," wrote Erasmus, "that the Pope should have commissioners on the business so violent and arrogant. Cardinal Cajetan is overbearing and haughty; Miltitz is little better; Aleander is a maniac." To Luther he wrote, urging moderation: "Quiet argument may do more than wholesale condemnation. Old institutions cannot be rooted up in an instant. Do not get angry. Do not be excited over the stir you have made."

Writing on the same subject to a young cardinal of the great house of Croy, Erasmus observes that the "best men were least offended by Luther," but adds, "I am sorry that Luther's books have been published. I tried to prevent it, as I thought they would cause disturbance; however, while men may not entirely approve them, they will read them, and pardon much for the sake of the rest." He defends the champion of the truth thus: "What unworthy motive could Luther have had? He wants no promotion. He seeks for no money." Yet Erasmus deprecated the violence of the Lutheran writings. In a letter to Warham, the archbishop of Canterbury, we find the following: "Luther has made a prodigious stir; would that he had held his tongue, or had written in a better tone. Luther has been sent into the world by the genius of discord; every corner has been disturbed by him. All admit that the corruptions of the church required a drastic medicine. But drugs wrongly given make the sick man worse."

In another letter to Luther's friend and wisest counsellor, the theologian Melancthon, he expresses himself in this wise: "I do not object generally to the evangelical doctrines, but there is much in Luther's teaching which I dislike. He ruins everything which he touches, with extravagance. I would have religion purified without destroying authority. Practices grown corrupt by long usage might be gradually corrected without throwing everything into confusion. Luther sees certain things to be wrong, and in flying blindly at them causes more harm than he cures. . . . What good is done by telling foolish young people that the Pope is antichrist, that they cannot do right if they try, that good works and merits are a vain illusion, and that man can do nothing of himself? . . . Would that Luther had tried as hard to improve Popes and princes as to expose their faults."

As Erasmus grew older he became gradually more conservative. Lutheranism alarmed him. He feared greatly the construction of a new dogmatic theology, of which the denial of the human will was a marked feature. In a letter, dated 1529,

he alludes to some of the wilder Lutheran ideas. "The notion that any Christian may consecrate or absolve or ordain I think pure insanity. . . . Doubtless I have wished that Popes and cardinals and bishops were more like the Apostles, but never in thought have I wished these offices abolished. . . . Never will I be exasperated or tempted into deserting the true communion."

What Erasmus feared in Lutheranism, but shrank from expressing to the full, Sir Thomas More openly said, and in England there were many earnest reformers who felt like More. In a letter to Erasmus written in 1525, the year of Luther's marriage to Catherine von Bora, when the revolt of Germany against the old religion had already attracted the attention of Europe, More says: "Do it [that is, reply at length to Luther]; you have nothing to fear. Luther himself is not so cowardly as to hope, or so wicked as to wish, that you should be silent. I cannot say how foolish and inflated I think his letter to you. He knows well how the wretched glosses with which he has darkened Scripture, turn to ice at his touch. They were cold enough already. If for some reason you cannot make a public rejoinder, at least set down your private thoughts in writing and send me the MS.; the bishop of London and I will take charge of it." But this we know Erasmus never did. Although he disliked sorely much that Luther did and taught, he knew that on many points the German reformer was right. In the matter of any public rejoinder to Lutheranism, Erasmus held his peace. He would not be found fighting against God.*

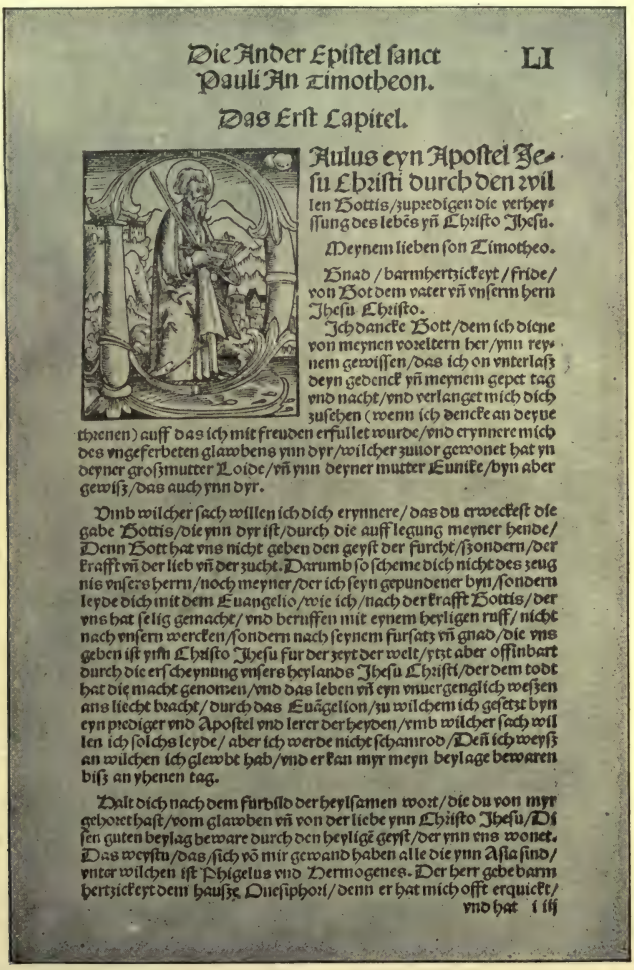
* Cf. Froude: "Life and Letters of Erasmus."

The first thirty years of the sixteenth century witnessed the newly-discovered printing-press in full activity. As might have been expected, such a time was prolific in controversial literature; little, however, of which was worth preserving or even remembering. But the bitterness of the attack on the many and crying abuses of the church, and obstinate defence on the part of many who were interested in the continuance of the scandals in question, evoked not a few pamphlets, as we should term them, bearing on the great controversy and the many questions it stirred up. The most popular and important of these, the "Praise of Folly," by Erasmus, we have already briefly described. Luther's pen was also frequently employed in the contest. His violent invective and passionate remonstrances were, however, in the highest degree regrettable, and his productions as a pamphleteer, though they were numerous and often pungent, are best forgotten. Luther has other and nobler claims, by far, to the respect and veneration of the generations who followed him.

Of this school of ephemeral literature, after Erasmus's "Praise of Folly," the "Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum" perhaps holds the most prominent place. This remarkable satire appeared in 1516, and is generally understood to have been largely, though not entirely, the work of Ulrich von Hutten, who has been well described as a noble, a warrior, and a rake—a theologian withal, and an ardent reformer. All things, it is said, were welcome to Hutten—arms and love, theology and debauchery, a disputation with the disciples of the mediæval schoolmen, a controversy

with Erasmus, or a war to the knife with the dunces of his age.* Von Hutten died still comparatively young; he was passionately attached to Luther, who nevertheless

attention. These "Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum" were written in exaggerated monkish Latin, and professed to be letters of simple monks unknown to fame, bring-



Die Ander Epistel sanct Pauli An Timotheon. LI

Das Erst Capitel.

Aulus eyn Apostel Jesu Christi durch den vil len Gottis/zupredigen die verheyssung des lebēs yn Christo Jhesu.

Meynem lieben son Timotheo.

Gnad/barmhertzickeyt/fride/von Got dem vater vñ vnserm hern Jhesu Christo.

Ich dancke Gott/dem ich diene von meynen voreltern her/ynn reynem gewissen/das ich on vnterlasz deyn gedenck yñ meynem gepet tag vnd nacht/vnd verlanget mich dich zusehen (wenn ich dencke an deyne threnen) auff das ich mit freuden erfüllet wurde/vnd erynnere mich des vngefarbeten glawbens ynn dyr/welcher zuuor gewonet hat yn deyner groszmutter Loide/vñ ynn deyner mutter Eunike/dyn aber gewisz/das auch ynn dyr.

Vmb welcher sach willen ich dich erynnere/das du erweckest die gabe Gottis/die ynn dyr ist/durch die auffleygung meyner hende/Denn Gott hat vns nicht geben den geyst der furcht/szondern/der krafft vñ der lieb vñ der zucht. Darumb so scheme dich nicht des zeugnis vnsers herrn/noch meyner/der ich seyn gepundener byn/sondern leyde dich mit dem Euangelio/wie ich/nach der krafft Gottis/der vns hat selig gemacht/vnd beruffen mit eynem heyligen ruff/nicht nach vnsern wercken/sondern nach seynem furszatz vñ gnad/die vns geben ist ynn Christo Jhesu für der zeyt der welt/yetzt aber offinbart durch die erscheynung vnsers heylands Jhesu Christi/der dem todt hat die macht genomen/vnd das leben vñ eyn vnuergenglich wesen ans liecht bracht/durch das Euāgelion/zu welchem ich gesetzt byn eyn prediger vnd Apostel vnd lerer der heyden/vmb welcher sach willen ich solchs leyde/aber ich werde nicht schamrod/Denn ich weysz an welchen ich glewbt hab/vnd er kan myr meyn beylage bewaren bisz an yhenen tag.

Halt dich nach dem furbild der heylsamen wort/die du von myr gehoret hast/vom glawben vñ von der liebe ynn Christo Jhesu/Disen guten beylag beware durch den heyligē geyst/der ynn vns wonet. Das weystu/das sich vō mir gewand haben alle die ynn Asia sind/vnter welchen ist Phigelus vnd Hermogenes. Der herr gebe barmhertzickeyt dem hauszē Onesiphori/denn er hat mich offt erquickt/vnd hat

THE BEGINNING OF THE EPISTLE OF ST. PAUL TO TIMOTHY.
(*From the first edition of Luther's Translation of the Bible. British Museum.*)

mourned over his friend's brilliant, unwise career, and deplored his clever but mischievous satire, which excited so much

ing their puzzled questions and doubts to their old master, trusting that he out of his vast learning would be able satisfactorily to answer them. Tne picture drawn was, of course, a gross

* See Sir J. Stephen's Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography: "Martin Luther."

caricature, but it unmistakably hit not a few of the more conspicuous blots in the church, and especially in the monastic life of that age. Erasmus and other notabilities appear from time to time in the correspondence, giving an historical colour to the work. Ridiculous scruples and questions of absurd casuistry are carefully detailed, and side by side with them broad hints of secret immorality are given. "Immense straining at gnats was put in contrast with the ease with which camels were swallowed within the walls of the cloister." *

This bitter satire is classed among the most effective that the world has ever seen, and there is no doubt but that it lent a material aid to the progress of some of the more regrettable features of the Reformation. Luther gravely censured the writer of the famous pamphlet for employing in it the language of reproach and cruel insult, and spoke of the author of the scurrilous but wonderfully popular piece as a buffoon. Strangely enough, Sir Thomas More was amused and interested in it, and wrote to Erasmus "that in England it delighted everyone." Its effect was seen when the general suppression of the religious houses was carried into effect some twenty years later. The "Letters of the Obscure Men" were so amusing, so brilliant and witty, that for a time it was supposed that none but Erasmus could have been their author. The great scholar indignantly repudiated the doubtful compliment, alleging that the coarseness of the book simply disgusted him. Ulrich von Hutten, hearing of the outspoken delight of More in the "Letters" in question, wrote to Erasmus for some account of his English admirer, and in reply Erasmus sent to Von Hutten that charming and graphic picture of More which we have already given in our account of the English writer and statesman.

Another of these powerful satires, which attracted the attention of Europe, was the dramatic dialogue, from which we have already quoted, written in A.D. 1513, after the death of Pope Julius II., and purporting to be a conversation between the shade of the departed Pope and St. Peter at the gate of Paradise, the doorkeeper refusing admission to the haughty Pontiff. That people could listen calmly to such tremendous charges against a Pope acknowledged by the whole western church, gives us some insight into what was working in many men's minds at this juncture.

Far more weighty, though, than these satires and libels which flooded Europe, were the works of the learned Reuchlin, the friend of Erasmus, who was a profound Hebrew and Greek scholar, and to whom belongs the credit of introducing the study of these languages into Germany. Reuchlin is not unfairly styled the father of modern Biblical criticism. The devout Colet speaks of his writings as "the works of so great a man," and gently rebukes Erasmus for sending a copy of one of the more famous of them, the "Cabalistica," to bishop Fisher and not to him (Colet). It was from the writings of Reuchlin, the Greek Testament and commentaries of Erasmus, and the German Bible of Luther, not from the host of witty and scurrilous satires, that the strongest arguments for the reformation of the church in Germany were taken.

* Seebohm: "Oxford Reformers."

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE TWO LAST ENGLISH ECCLESIASTICAL CHANCELLORS.

Early Life of William Warham—Primate and Chancellor—Testimony of Erasmus and Henry VIII.—Warham as a Reformer—Makes Way for Wolsey—His Dying Protest against Separation from Rome—Wolsey—His Political Genius—Early Life—Archbishop of York and Pluralist—Legate *à latere*—Chancellor and Chief Minister—His Pomp and Power—Conduct in the Divorce—Disgrace and Death—His Attitude towards Church Reform—Educational Foundations from Revenues of Suppressed Monasteries—Insufficiency of such Measures in the Actual State of the Church.

THERE were two distinguished men who had a large, perhaps the principal share in guiding the fortunes of the Church of England during the twenty-five or thirty years which immediately went before the era of the Reformation. They were the last of the statesmen-ecclesiastics of the Middle Ages, who usually stood at the king's right hand, occupying generally the principal position in church and state. From the days of Dunstan, again and again we find one man filling the post of archbishop and chief adviser of the crown, in civil as well as in ecclesiastical matters. The two men whose careers we must now briefly sketch, were the last who filled this double position.

The elder of them—William Warham, subsequently archbishop of Canterbury for thirty years, during fifteen of which he was chancellor and chief minister of the crown, only vacating the latter civil post in favour of Wolsey, his brother-archbishop of York—was born about 1450. His career in many particulars closely resembled that of many who before his time had risen to high honour and dignity in the church. He was educated at Winchester (Eton and Winchester were, in the days of Warham, the two principal schools of England), and then at New College, Oxford, of which society he became a fellow, then a tutor. As was the habit with so many rising churchmen, Warham early devoted himself to the study of law, and subsequently practised in the Court of Arches. He was not ordained, apparently, until 1493, and then rapidly rose into prominence. Cardinal-archbishop Morton, the minister of Henry VII., introduced him to the king, and we now find Warham busily engaged in state affairs, attached to various important foreign missions as legal adviser, such as in the case of the embassies to Burgundy in the matter of the imposture of Perkin Warbeck, and to Spain on the occasion of the negotiations which preceded the marriage of prince Arthur and Katharine of Arragon. Then we find him with a seat at the royal council as master of the Rolls, until in 1501 he was nominated to the bishopric of London, and in 1503, on the unexpected death of archbishop Dean, he became primate and chancellor.

During his long career, Warham was ever an earnest, conscientious worker; generous to others, magnificent in everything connected with his great office, though always simple and even austere in his own private life. At Oxford he was known as one who never indulged in

the customary tastes of youths of his own time of life. He kept no "dogs of chase," no hawks; he was never seen with sling or bow and arrow; he refused to play at any games of hazard; ever the unwearied worker, whether as student or tutor, lawyer or ambassador, chancellor or primate.

ARCHBISHOP WARHAM.
(*From the picture by Holbein.*)

Erasmus, no very gentle critic of the higher ecclesiastics, and ever sparing of his praise, even of those he admired and liked, thus wrote of him, in a letter to cardinal Grymamus: "The archbishop of Canterbury (Warham) is one of the best of men, and an honour to the realm; wise, judicious, learned above all his contemporaries, and so modest that he is unconscious of his superiority. Under a quiet manner, he is withal energetic and laborious. He is experienced in business; he has played a distinguished part in foreign embassies; besides being primate, he is lord chancellor, the highest judicial office in the realm—yet, with all his greatness, he has been father and mother to me, and has partly made up to me what I sacrificed in leaving Rome." Again, as late as 1530, Erasmus writes of him: "Some are saints, like the archbishop of Canterbury [Warham] and the bishop of London and the bishop of Rochester [Fisher]."

With both the kings whom he served Warham was a favourite, and, although he contrived to retain his popularity in the country towards the end of Henry VII.'s reign, when the king and his ministers were generally disliked, Henry remained his warm friend till the hour of his death. He would often visit the archbishop, and was his guest at Canterbury about three weeks before his mortal sickness. That Henry VIII. thought highly of Warham and esteemed him greatly, is manifest from the terms in which the king spoke of him in a letter written to his envoy at the papal court the year before Warham's death. "And why," so runs the king's letter, proposing that the divorce case should be adjudged in England, "should ye not suffer the archbishop of Canterbury to determyne this matter in Inglande. . . . As for the person of the bisshop of Canterbury, ye may say there canne be no person in Christendome more indifferente, more miet, apt and convenient than the said archbisshop (Warham), who hath lernyng, excellent high and long experience, a man ever of a singular zele to justice."

Warham was a reformer, but too gentle

in the measures he wished to see adopted; he was a true supporter of the new learning, though wanting the enthusiasm of Colet, More, Erasmus, or even Wolsey. His points of the ecclesiastical system, and especially loathed the proceedings of the ecclesiastical courts. These he earnestly desired to see reformed. These courts

"EGO ET REX MEUS."

(By permission from the picture by Sir John Gilbert, R.A., P.R.W.S., in the Guildhall Art Gallery.)

desire, for instance, in the case of the Bible, was that it should be more generally read than it was; but he would confine the privilege to a few, who would study it piously and wisely. He would not have the Bible used as a test by which to sit in judgment on the teachings of the church. He clearly saw many of the iniquitous dealt especially with matrimonial causes, wills, and social contracts, and with many real and supposed moral offences. Much money was extorted from the people by these courts. Long delays, if money were not forthcoming, were often complained of; hush-money bribes, and other iniquitous proceedings were too often the rule.

It was especially to remedy this state of things, to bring about a complete reformation of the ecclesiastical church in England, that Warham countenanced the appointment of Wolsey, the archbishop of York, who he felt was a stronger man than himself, as legate *à latere*. Occupying thus an exceptional position as special papal legate, Wolsey would be enabled thoroughly to reform the obnoxious courts. This was the reason of Warham submitting to Wolsey being made a cardinal, and at some self-sacrifice allowing another thus to take his place in some important duties which belonged to his high office as archbishop of Canterbury. It was, however, an unfortunate step; for Wolsey instituted a legislative court which superseded the old jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts, and brought him later into collision with Warham. Thus the attempt at reformation here proved a failure.

To sum up Warham's career. He had been confessedly a great ecclesiastic, and on the whole a successful and well-loved man, but was utterly unfit to guide the church in her hour of difficulty. In his latter days he was shocked and dismayed at the drastic measures of reform which he saw were imminent. Powerless to struggle against the stream, he withdrew himself heartbroken into his home, and, dying, dictated from his bed that solemn but unavailing protest with which his name will be for ever connected. It is a pathetic state paper, these words of the dying archbishop, and fairly represents the state of mind of men like More, the learned and godly layman, and Fisher, the saintly bishop. These, while seeing the urgent necessity of a great reform, stood aghast when they saw the tremendous changes which appeared to be coming on — changes which they feared would destroy the church they hoped to reform by quieter and more gentle means. Rudely to break with the cherished tradition of the mediæval church, to such men was an intolerable thought. Fisher and More went cheerfully to death rather than submit; Warham, the old man, it was said, died of a broken heart, and dying, left these solemn words behind him:—

"In the name of God—Amen.—We, William, by Divine Providence archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, protest against any statutes hitherto published, or hereafter to be made by Parliament, in derogation of the Roman Pontiff and the Apostolic see, or in diminution of the rights, privileges, customs and liberties which belonged to the church of Canterbury; we protest that we cannot consent to such statutes; we dissent from them, cry out against them, contradict them."

Many in England thought like these great and good but mistaken men; but the torrent of the Reformation was too strong for them. They were swept away, and their unavailing protests ignored; and for good or for evil—we see now it was for good—the old order of things was completely changed, in the manner which has to appear in our story.

The second of these men is a still more conspicuous example of the long line of statesmen-ecclesiastics who governed England for so many centuries; and was the last of that long and distinguished line. Wolsey, afterwards chancellor as well

as cardinal-archbishop of York, legate *à latere*, in some respects was the greatest of them all. His learned biographer* considers him "the greatest political genius whom England has ever produced; for at a great crisis of European history he impressed England with a sense of her own importance, and secured for her a leading position in European affairs, which since his (Wolsey's) days has seemed her natural right . . ." In his days, during the eleven brilliant years of his ministry, he made England for the time the centre of European politics.

Wolsey was born at Ipswich, it is believed, in 1471. His parents, belonging to what we should term the middle-class, were persons in fairly good position, prosperous graziers and wool merchants. At a very early age he went to Oxford, and in due course became a fellow and master of the grammar school of Magdalen College. In 1501 we find him chaplain to Dean, archbishop of Canterbury, and in 1506 at court as chaplain to king Henry VII. He was then about thirty-five years of age. In the next three years he was busily engaged in state matters at home and abroad, and evidently won the favour of the king; for before the latter's death Wolsey received the preferment of the rich deanery of Lincoln.

Henry VIII. appointed Wolsey his almoner, on the strong recommendation of Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester—a trusted counsellor of his father; and in 1511 he appears as a member of the king's council. Wolsey now comes to the front; he became a trusted adviser of Henry, who rewarded him with divers responsible and influential places of preferment, thus paying for his services, as the custom then was, out of the revenues and dignities of the church. In 1514 he received the bishopric of Tournai, when that city passed into the possession of the English; and in that same year the archbishopric of York was conferred on the young and rising statesman. In this great office, the second dignity in the Church of England, Wolsey was never installed. It was only after his fall in 1529 that he found leisure to make arrangements at York for the ceremony, some fifteen years after he had accepted the dignity; but the end came before the day appointed. Wolsey's predecessor in the archbishopric of York was also a non-resident. This was archbishop Thomas Bainbridge, who lived as a cardinal in the papal court, and who died, as it is believed, poisoned by one of his household. The bishopric of Lincoln was also conferred upon Wolsey, who was then enriched by the revenues of three sees, in none of which he seems ever to have resided.

But if he was a neglectful ecclesiastic—for in addition to the above important preferments he shortly afterwards received the bishopric of Winchester and the magnificent abbey of St. Albans—Wolsey was an energetic and most able minister of state, occupying the position of chancellor and chief minister of Henry from the resignation of Warham until 1529, when he made way for Sir Thomas More. He was also, through the powerful interest of Henry VIII., elected to the rank of cardinal, and was appointed legate *à latere* in England. The cardinal-archbishop was eminently a peace minister,

* Bishop Creighton of London

for he was conscious that England had nothing to gain from war; and for seven years of his brilliant administration, while the Continent was often convulsed with bloody battles, sieges, and desolating invasions, England remained absolutely at peace. This quiet period enabled her very largely to increase her commerce, and to develop her universities and schools. Nowhere, as we have seen, did the new learning find a home and a welcome as it did in England, under the influence of such men as More, Colet, Erasmus, Linacre, and other distinguished scholars and men of genius.

HAMPTON COURT.

The great English minister was not only all-powerful, but was, through the many preferments which he held, enormously wealthy. His pomp was almost royal, and a suite of high ecclesiastics and nobles followed him wherever he moved. His household was composed of five hundred persons of noble birth, and its chief posts were eagerly sought after by knights and nobles of high degree. Two of his splendid residences after his fall became royal palaces, both famous in English history—Hampton Court, and York Place, afterwards known as Whitehall. These dwellings, under altered conditions, for centuries were the centres of court and political life; while his magnificent foundation of "Cardinal College" at Oxford, under its altered name of "Christ Church," still maintains its fame and reputation among all English-speaking

CARDINAL WOLSEY AT LEICESTER ABBEY.

(By permission, from the picture by Sir John Gilbert, R.A., P.R.W.S., at South Kensington.)

people in our own day and time, though nearly five centuries have passed since the great cardinal designed and endowed "the house."

Nor was all this splendour and pomp, greater perhaps than had ever previously been displayed by a subject, incommensurate with Wolsey's power. As chancellor he was supreme judge, as well as principal minister of state; as legate *à latere* he was absolutely master in all church matters; and in all this varied and various business, he showed himself consummately skilful. No adverse criticism has ever been levelled at Wolsey's conduct of public affairs. The result of this concentration of all power in church and state in one single hand enormously strengthened the Crown. It has been well said that "in raising his favourite to the position of head of church and state, Henry VIII. was gathering all religious as well as all civil authority into his personal grasp. The nation which trembled before Wolsey, learned to tremble before the king who could destroy Wolsey by a breath. Greatness, wealth, authority he held, and owned he held, simply at the royal will."*

Roughly speaking, the supreme power of Wolsey lasted eleven years. As time went on, various causes worked together to undermine, and eventually to ruin the great cardinal. Foreign affairs did not turn out as he had expected, and the king's implicit trust and real love for his able and devoted minister grew gradually cold. Henry listened more and more to Wolsey's many enemies and detractors.

* Green: "History of the English People," chap. vi., section v.

Weariness of his enormous and ever-increasing labours, perhaps satiety after he had for a long series of years enjoyed the highest prizes the world has to offer, seems also to have crept over the brilliant and successful statesman, to have robbed him by degrees of much of his old tireless energy, and to have dimmed somewhat his old brilliancy and splendid ability. Over the king and the court gradually a cloud spread, which changed the character of Henry, and turned for a season all his thoughts and aspirations into a new channel.

This cloud, at first not bigger than a man's hand, grew and grew, till it overshadowed England. Neither Wolsey nor anyone else at first suspected it. The love of Henry for the beautiful Anne Boleyn, Wolsey thought, was only a transitory fancy, such as not infrequently passes over and disfigures court life. But Henry's passion was no transitory fancy. We trace elsewhere the growth and development of what was termed the "king's matter," the question of the divorce from the wife of his youth, Katharine of Arragon. Wolsey temporised; he knew it was an unjust and shameful proceeding from the beginning; but he used his great powers, alas! to aid and abet the king's wishes. We shall see how the designs of the cardinal-minister were frustrated; and how Henry, seeing the cardinal had failed, entrusted the matter to other hands, and arbitrarily dismissed his old friend and counsellor under circumstances of the cruellest neglect and ingratitude.

Nothing can excuse Henry's conduct to his long-tried and faithful minister.

It is not too much to say that this conduct broke Wolsey's heart. With a constitution probably undermined by years of unremitting work and thought and care, he was unable to bear up against the shock of the utter ruin which fell upon him. Not only had he lost all which made life to him worth living, but that life, he felt, was in danger of being violently and shamefully cut short. The end came with startling suddenness. The story of the closing scene, with its dramatic incidents, is too well known to need repetition. After having been stripped of well-nigh all his posts of honour and emoluments, of all his wealth and possessions, he was suddenly arrested, and on his sad journey under guard to the Tower some mortal sickness seized him, from which the stunned and hopeless man, so lately the foremost subject in England—certainly the most powerful minister in Christendom—never rallied.

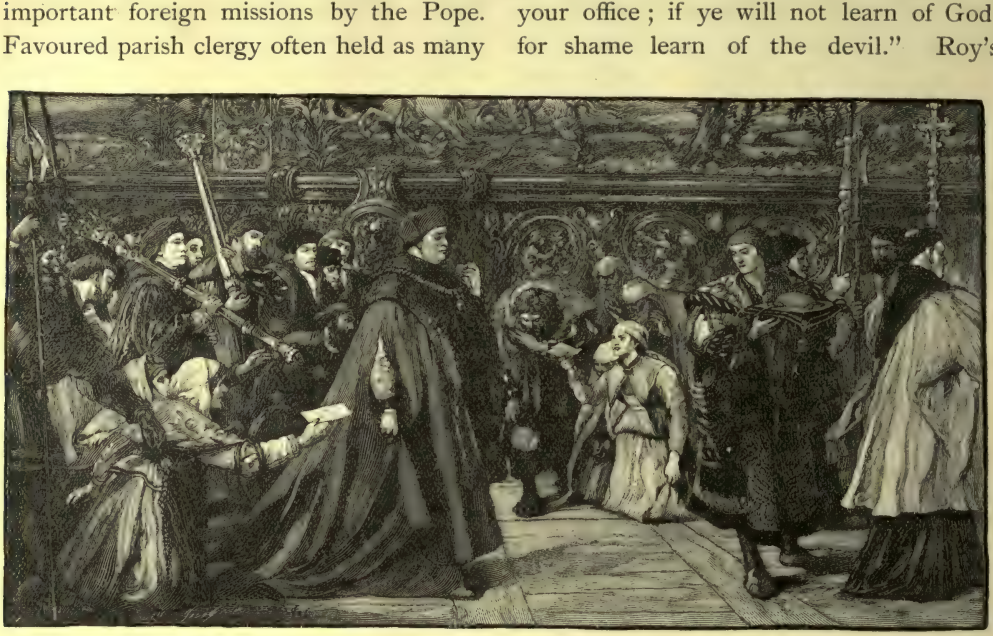
It was dusk on a November evening in 1530 when the dying cardinal, in the course of that last sad journey to London and the Tower, reached Leicester abbey, where the abbot greeted him by torchlight. "Father abbot," he said, "I am come hither to lay my bones among you." He was right; too weak to walk, Kingston, the constable of the Tower, tenderly bore him in his arms to a bed in the abbey—the bed he never quitted; for after a few restless pain-filled hours, he breathed his last. Years after, the true story of the closing days of Wolsey was written by his dear friend and personal attendant, Cavendish. The story was read by the greatest of our English dramatists, who has fashioned out of it that portrait of Wolsey which will endure so long as the English language is read and loved by men. "Wolsey has become the type of the vanity of all human endeavour, and his closing hours point the moral of the superiority of a quiet life with God, over the manifold activities of an aspiring ambition."*

Such is the brief record of the career of the last and greatest of the statesmen-ecclesiastics of England. What, now, did he think of the condition of the church over which he virtually ruled for the eleven years preceding the tremendous crash of the Reformation?

Living as did Wolsey in the midst of so many various corruptions and misappropriations of church revenues and preferments, it was perhaps impossible for him fully to grasp the iniquity of the state of things which then existed in the church. A bishop himself of several sees, of which he knew scarcely anything, the bitter wrong occasioned by the non-residence of ecclesiastics would scarcely occur to him. Payment for state and public work out of the revenues of the church had become a matter of such ordinary occurrence, that it passed usually without any open scandal. For instance, in 1521, when the abbot of St. Albans died, at Wolsey's request king Henry VIII. ordered the monks of that wealthy foundation to take his chancellor-archbishop as their abbot, saying, "My lord cardinal has sustained many charges in this his voyage"—the king was alluding to one of Wolsey's foreign missions—"and hath expended £10,000." Such an appointment for such a reason in subsequent ages would have seemed impossible; it was no unusual act in those days. Wolsey,

* Bishop Creighton: "Cardinal Wolsey."

with his pluralities, could scarcely look askance on his friend cardinal Campeggio, for instance, enjoying the bishopric of Hereford and its revenues, although Campeggio was only known in England as an Italian cardinal occasionally employed on important foreign missions by the Pope. Favoured parish clergy often held as many



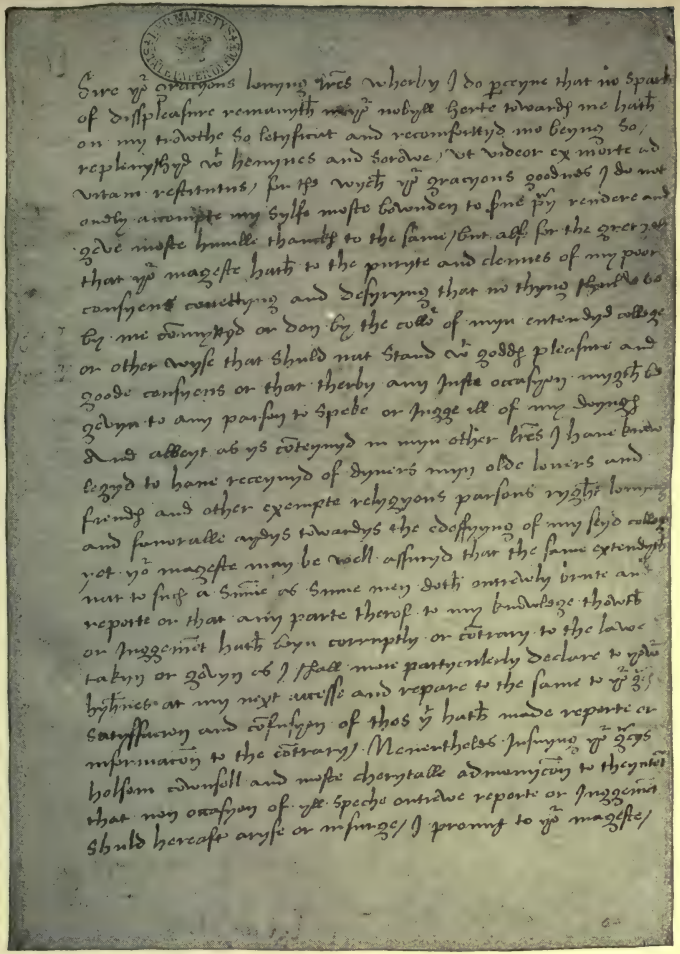
WOLSEY GOING IN PROCESSION TO WESTMINSTER HALL.
(By permission, from the picture by Sir John Gilbert, R.A., P.R.W.S., in the Guildhall Art Gallery.)

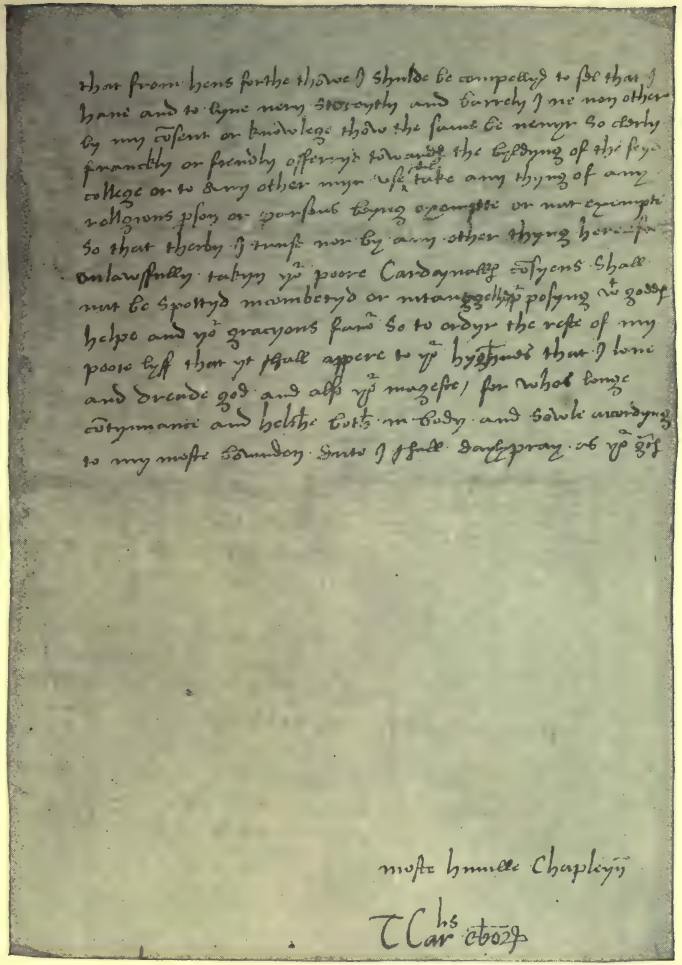
as eight benefices, but what could Wolsey say in such cases?

Yet the evil of these glaring abuses connected with non-residence had sunk deep into the hearts of many thinking men. Latimer's audacious sermon at Paul's Cross, preached some eighteen years after Wolsey's fall, reflects something of the public mind in this particular. "I would ask a strange question," said the popular preacher: "Who is the most diligent bishop and prelate in England, that passeth all the rest in doing of his office? I can tell, for I know him well. . . . It is the devil; among all the pack of them that have cures, the devil shall go for my money, for he applieth his business. Therefore, ye unpreaching prelates, learn of the devil to be diligent in your office; if ye will not learn of God, for shame learn of the devil." Roy's bitter satire against the clergy, written about 1528, tells the same story in exaggerated, but still in not quite untrue terms, of the popular indignation against this shameless and fatal way of living and working.

> "They (the bishops) drink in golden bowls
> The blood of poor simple souls
> Perishing for lack of sustenance.
> Their hungry cures they never teach,
> Nor will suffer none other to preach."
> *Roy's Satire.*

Wolsey, however, in spite of his political preoccupations, felt too surely that in





LETTER FROM CARDINAL WOLSEY TO KING HENRY VIII. EXPRESSING HIS JOY AT BEING FORGIVEN, AND ACQUAINTING HIM WITH THE PROGRESS OF HIS COLLEGE AT OXFORD. (*Record Office*).

large measure the church had lost its former hold upon the people; that it was no longer, as in old days, the inspirer of popular aspirations. The middle classes, then rapidly rising into prominence and power, he knew well viewed the church's riches with jealousy, feeling that in innumerable instances this wealth was misapplied. Some of its practices, and in certain instances its doctrines, were the objects of ridicule and mockery among even pious men of intelligence. We have seen that this was the case with such devout and scholarly thought-leaders as Colet and Erasmus, and even More. Wolsey would reform this state of things; he would even remove the papal authority in England, and, without any formal breaking with past traditions, would put the relation of the Church of England to the Papacy on a new footing. It was a thorough reform he longed for and hoped to carry out; but it was a *conservative* reformation, and one that should be carried out gradually, and without any drastic or destructive operations. He would begin with a new application of much of the monastic property, in cases where the old foundations were manifestly useless, or, at all events, were not doing the work for which they were originally founded and endowed. Many of the monasteries he hoped to convert into scholastic houses—"garrisons of learned and pious men, who should occupy the land from end to end."

This idea of Wolsey, as part of the reformation of the church, had long been a favourite project with enlightened churchmen. William of Wykeham endowed his new college at Oxford with lands purchased and acquired from monasteries. Henry VI. endowed his noble foundation of Eton and King's College, Cambridge, with revenues derived from the suppression of alien priories. In 1497 John Alcock, bishop of Ely, obtained permission to suppress the useless nunnery of St. Radigund in Cambridge, and use its site for the foundation of Jesus College. And Wolsey followed these wise examples by obtaining from Pope Clement VII. leave to convert into a college the monastery of St. Frideswide at Oxford. He soon afterwards obtained a papal bull allowing him to suppress all monasteries with fewer than seven inmates, and to devote their revenues to educational purposes. Wolsey even began this wise work of converting the useless religious houses into schools and colleges. In his native town of Ipswich, he established a college of considerable pretensions with some of the money thus obtained. But when Wolsey was disgraced, the Ipswich foundation was swept away. On a far nobler and grander scale, however, was his Oxford foundation of Cardinal College, which the king, on the earnest entreaty of the fallen minister, spared. The cardinal's hat, the well-known cognisance of the magnificent foundation of Wolsey, still preserves the memory of the illustrious founder, in spite of the change of the name to Christ Church; while the unfinished cloister tells the story of a magnificent and stately work rudely and suddenly interrupted.

The method adopted by Wolsey in the case of these small and fading religious houses was to send commissioners to inquire into their actual condition. If the report was unfavourable, which in the case of these shrunken establishments, whose

revenues were unable to support more than seven monks at the outside, was almost a foregone conclusion, as no great or useful purpose was likely to be served by the preservation of such a community, then the house was dissolved, and the few members were transferred to a larger monastic establishment, and the estates and possessions of the suppressed house were applied to educational uses. In Wolsey's case no grave moral charge seems to have been adduced as a reason for the dissolution of these fading foundations: only the uselessness of maintaining such establishments any longer. But the precedent was an ominous one, and was used with terrible effect a few years later, with a very different object.

The chief instrument employed by Wolsey was a certain individual, one Thomas Cromwell, who subsequently became the most notorious instrument in the deeds of ruthless spoliation which so sadly disfigured the Reformation work in England. Wolsey, the conservative reformer, little thought what a terrible suggestion his well-meant attempt to benefit national education at the expense of some few worn-out, dying communities would afford a few years later, when men's passions were loosed, and in the heat and anguish of dispute and controversy, right and wrong would too often be confused; little thought what wholesale robbery and ruin would be carried out under the shadow of a throne he had done so much to build up and strengthen, and with the sanction of a strained law he himself had first put into force.

Wolsey's work in respect to the much needed reformation of the ecclesiastical courts, the crying abuses of which all earnest churchmen alike deplored, has been already alluded to. To effect this most necessary reform, the cardinal-minister used his extraordinary position as cardinal and legate *à latere*, a position sought for by him, and acquiesced in by his ecclesiastical superior Warham, especially for this end. Wolsey instituted a legatine court, intended to supersede the ordinary jurisdiction of the courts whose powers were so shamefully misused. But his sudden fall from power prevented any development of his plans and policy in this direction; and the attempt only left the courts and jurisdiction in worse confusion than before.

Had Wolsey remained in power, it is probable that the crying evils justly complained of in connection with these ecclesiastical courts would have been largely redressed, and another and a wiser system gradually introduced; while monastic revenues belonging to houses confessedly useless, and lacking in discipline and earnestness, would have been increasingly diverted by general consent to educational purposes. Thus England would have been gradually covered with a network of public schools and colleges, and the irreparable losses and deplorable waste which the sorrowful years 1529–1540 witnessed, would have been averted. But in the providence of God these attempts at a quiet reformation, to be wrought by efforts within the church's inner pale, proved abortive and came to nought. The church, indeed, was sick nigh unto death. It was not only that its courts were corrupt and grievously oppressive to the people, that its priests were

making merchandise of its highest and most responsible offices, that too many of its ancient monastic communities were useless and decaying; but its teaching was full of error and superstition, and its holiest doctrines were changed in many instances almost past recognition. Wolsey and Warham "had made the common mistake of men of the world who are representatives of an old order of things at a time when that order is doomed and dying. They could not read the signs of the times, and confounded the barrenness of death with the barrenness of a winter which might be followed by a new spring and summer. They believed that the old tree of mediæval religion, which, in fact, was cumbering the ground, might bloom again in its old beauty." *

Other and sterner agents were needed for the work of purifying; other and more terrible means were required. These the Eternal Wisdom raised up and provided. In the period of storm and stress which immediately succeeded the fall of Wolsey and the death of Warham, it is true that much was done which serious thinking men must mourn over; that much was lost to the Church of England which can never be recovered or replaced. But the patriot, the real lover of primitive Christianity, must rejoice and be deeply thankful that, out of the seeming ruin and destruction of so much that was venerable and precious, the English Church, never destroyed, arose again, immeasurably stronger, purer, truer than ever, and more fitted to carry on its mighty work of teaching and guiding that Anglo-Saxon race, which had a future before it such as none then, not even the most enthusiastic and sanguine of its members in the sixteenth century, could foresee.

* *Cf.* Froude, vol. i., chap. ii.

CHRIST CHURCH COLLEGE, OXFORD, SHOWING THE UNFINISHED CLOISTERS.

HENRY VIII. GIVING THE CHARTER TO THE BARBER SURGEONS.
(*From a print after the picture by Holbein.*)

CHAPTER XLIV.

HENRY VIII. AND THE DIVORCE.

Historical Importance of the Divorce between Henry VIII. and Katharine of Arragon—Origin of the Marriage—Its Ill Omens and Consequences—Anne Boleyn—Character and Appearance of Henry VIII.—Early Attempts to Procure a Divorce—Appeal to the Pope—Double-dealing of Clement VII.—The Pope appoints a Commission—Its Adjournment and Failure, and consequent Fall of Wolsey from Power—Thomas Cranmer and his Advice—Rise of Cranmer in Royal Favour—Becomes Archbishop of Canterbury—The Divorce Pronounced in England—The Act of 1533 for Restraint of Appeals to Rome—The Formal Sentence—Last Occasion of an English Primate's Signature as Papal Legate—The Coronation of Anne Boleyn—Indignation of the Clergy—They are Forbidden to Preach—Importance of this Denial of Romish Jurisdiction.

THE episode of the divorce or separation of Henry VIII. from Katharine of Arragon possesses an importance in the history of England, out of all proportion to its actual position in the royal and state chronicles. Other sovereigns and princes before Henry VIII. had been divorced and separated and had married again for political reasons; and although in each case the act was an unrighteous one, it had been passed over with comparatively little comment. In king Henry's own case the episode of divorce was repeated; but a few lines are sufficient for the historian when he tells of the condemnation and death of Catherine Howard, or of the marriage of Anne of Cleves, and the subsequent divorce or separation. The proceedings, however, which accompanied the famous

question at issue in respect to the legality of the marriage of Katharine, had such momentous consequences, that the story must be told at length.

Years before, when Henry VII. was king, and his successor, afterwards known as Henry VIII., was a boy only twelve years old, Katharine, the daughter of Ferdinand, king of Arragon, one of the most sagacious and far-seeing princes of his time, came to England as the bride of Arthur, prince of Wales, Henry VII.'s eldest son. Five months after the marriage of Arthur and Katharine, Arthur died. Henry VII. and Ferdinand were desirous for political reasons that the union between England and Spain should remain unbroken, and Katharine was betrothed to the boy-prince Henry, the Pope reluctantly granting a dispensation which legalised the unlawful connection. Time passed on; the mind of Henry VII. apparently changed as to the wisdom of the marriage, and it would probably have been broken off, had not prince Henry himself earnestly desired to carry it out. Katharine was six years older than her boy betrothed, who evidently loved her dearly, and refused to give her up. They were married with great state by archbishop Warham, Katharine appearing dressed, not as a widow, but as a virgin bride in white satin. Her hair, "long, beautiful, and goodly to behold," streamed down her neck, crowned with a gemmed diadem. She sat in her covered litter, drawn by white palfreys, and her ladies were apparelled like their mistress in white and silver. Virgins in white welcomed her in her bridal procession through the City of London. Everything was arranged to carry out the idea that she was a virgin bride, not the widow of Henry's brother Arthur.

Katharine, we are told, was a charming personage in those early days; she danced well, was a good musician, lively and bright in conversation, with an elegant deportment and gracious and winning manners; the beauty of her complexion was specially remarkable. The marriage for many years was undoubtedly a happy one. Henry was ever a hero in Katharine's eyes, and she was his devoted and passionately attached wife. Nor was the affection unrequited. The young king—he succeeded his father when he was only eighteen years old—was for years a faithful and ever-loving husband. We read in one of the state papers, a memorandum of Henry's some time after his marriage, that if he were still free to choose, his choice would fall on the lady Katharine.

Years passed on, and things went ill with the royal pair. A direct male heir to the English throne was passionately desired. Men dreaded with a well-founded dread the evils of a disputed succession. With the terrible memories of the long "Roses" wars still fresh in mind, the prospect of Henry VIII. dying without any heir save one sickly little daughter, was a gloomy future indeed for the country. We read of premature births, children born dead, or dying after a few days or hours; only the princess Mary, a frail girl-life, survived. A curse, men said, hung over the ill-omened marriage. All this must be taken into account when we dispassionately review the circumstances of the divorce, which became so prominent a feature soon after the first quarter of the

sixteenth century had run its course. Had Henry VIII., after some seventeen or eighteen years of wedded life, with the ill-defined but none the less positive dread of a disturbed future which threatened his well-beloved England should he die without a male heir to follow him, determined purely for state reasons to put away Katharine, posterity would have judged him very differently. It would have written him down, perhaps, as a hard, unfeeling, unloving man ; as one who did evil that good might eventually result. But men must have felt that many a political plea might have been urged in justification of his conduct. Many would have felt, and not without reason, that the king, in ordering his conduct, had placed his country first and his own reputation in the background.

But, alas for Henry's fair fame! the whole story of the divorce is coloured with his unhappy love for the beautiful Anne Boleyn ; and the majority of his critics gravely doubt whether patriotism entered much into his motives, when he pressed the question of the divorce into the forefront of English and European politics, when he made the tremendous question of freeing the church from the dictation of Rome, to hinge upon the right of the Pope to listen to an appeal from his injured wife.

The picturesque little window in the cloisters of Windsor Castle is still shown, through which one day the king is said to have caught his first glimpse of that attractive form of the maid of honour, who in after days was known as the heroine of the strange drama, which shaded into the fearful tragedy that finished the life-story of Anne Boleyn. This famous and ill-fated lady was the second daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, who was connected by marriage with some of the noblest persons in the realm. As a child she accompanied the princess Mary, Henry VIII.'s sister, into France, when Mary became the wife of king Louis XII.—a marriage soon dissolved by the death of the French king. Anne Boleyn remained in Paris to complete her education, and much of her after frivolity and carelessness is ascribed to her residence of some nine years in the most licentious court of Christendom. In 1525 she returned to England, and became maid of honour to Katharine of Arragon, apparently still the king's loved and honoured consort. In the English court, after a time the young maid of honour became distinguished for her talents, her varied accomplishments, and, chiefest of all, for her winning beauty.

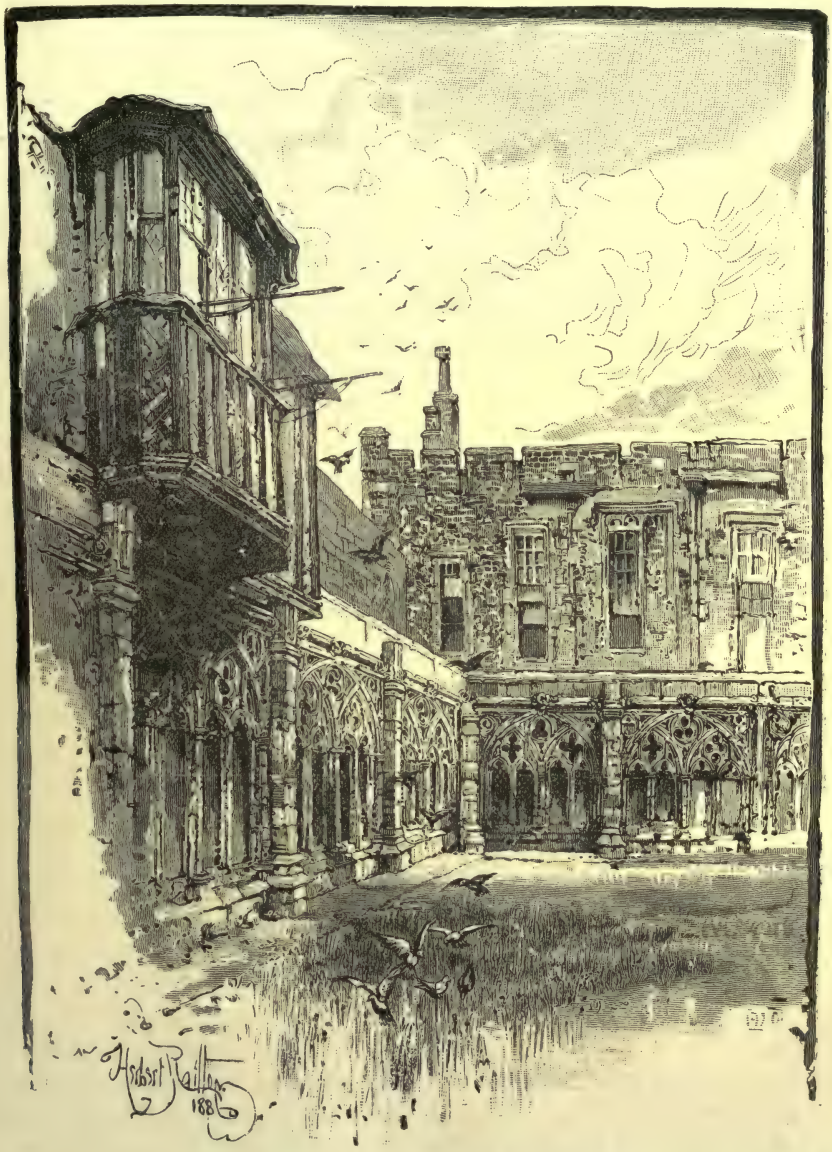
Some kind of a binding engagement which legally bound her to lord Percy, eldest son of the duke of Northumberland, had apparently been entered into before king Henry saw her ; and this early connection with Percy was after all the most solid of the accusations subsequently brought against the unhappy queen. Imprudent, light, fond of admiration, covetous of power and grandeur, certainly was Anne Boleyn ; but while fully admitting these faults, very grave in one advanced to the dizzy eminence of a throne, we willingly endorse the general acquittal which succeeding generations have pronounced of the monstrous charges brought against her fair fame by that strange and despotic king, who once thought he loved her with a passionate and overpowering

love. The sad tragedy which closed her short but strikingly brilliant career, has ever appealed to the chivalry of her countrymen, and pity rather than blame colours all our thoughts of the ill-fated Anne Boleyn. Two dark blots, however, will for ever stain the memory of this poor queen—her conduct to her mistress, the deserted Katharine of Arragon, during the period (lasting several years) which elapsed between Henry's first admiration for her and the actual divorce; and the bitter, relentless animosity she showed to the fallen cardinal Wolsey. He describes her as "the night-crow," as the person to whom he owed all that was most cruel in his treatment, as "the sleepless enemy who, sleeping and waking, continually plotted his destruction."

ANNE BOLEYN.
(*From the portrait by Holbein.*)

Holbein has preserved for us her likeness: we have several of her pictures. Like so many representations of world-famed beauties, no portrait probably does her justice—pretty certainly, and attractive, with great eyes looking out on the world she loved too well. We wonder, nevertheless, as we gaze on one or other of these paintings, what was the charm which

worked so powerfully upon Henry's heart and the hearts of many besides Henry. break away for her sake from the cherished traditions of centuries.



ANNE BOLEYN'S WINDOW, WINDSOR CASTLE.

We marvel what was the charm which induced so great a man as the king to

We speak advisedly of king Henry VIII. as a great man. He is disfigured, it is

true, by many and grievous faults, so many and so grievous that even his greatest admirers prefer to dwell on the results of his momentous history, rather than on the blurred and blood-stained details of his life. Yet not only was he a most able sovereign, but from the year 1509, when he succeeded his father Henry VII., until the years 1527-8, when his love for Anne Boleyn began to colour all his thoughts and to supply a motive for all his actions, a period of some seventeen or eighteen years, he ranked as one of the best and most accomplished princes in Christendom. He was generally popular at home, successful in his rare foreign wars, happy in his selection of one of the greatest ministers who ever guided the fortunes of England. He attracted the notice of scholars like Erasmus, who ever spoke of him and wrote of him in warm terms of admiration and devotion. In person he is said to have been like his grandfather Edward IV., who was reputed to have been the handsomest man in Europe, though when we look at his many portraits—for instance, at the famous picture of Holbein, which delineates the scene of his giving the charter to the barber surgeons—we are at a loss to understand such an encomium. In all knightly exercises he was without a peer; as a writer of despatches and state papers he equalled, if he did not surpass, his famous ministers. He was a scholar, an accomplished linguist, a musician, no mean theologian (as we shall presently see), and withal an indefatigable student. Intensely convinced of the truths of the religion he was ever ready to defend, he was present always twice, not unfrequently thrice a day at the services in the royal chapel; indeed his absorbing interest in religious matters never flagged, even in those sadder days of his middle and later life, when unbridled passion had been allowed to darken all the fair promise of his earlier years.

Such was Henry VIII. when the drama of the divorce began in real earnest, A.D. 1527. From the time that he first saw Anne Boleyn, the imperious sovereign, unaccustomed to opposition, determined to make her his wife. His theological studies suggested a pretext for a divorce from Katharine. Had not his marriage with the Spanish princess been unlawful? Could he lawfully wed with one who had been his brother's wife? It was true that a papal dispensation had been sought and obtained when he married her; surely, though, some plea might be discovered which would enable the reigning Pope to set aside the dispensation granted by his predecessor. Wolsey, then the chancellor and all-powerful minister, was consulted. The statesman from the beginning disapproved; but so subservient was he to the king, his master, that he entered, though evidently with reluctance, into his plans. Wolsey felt that, in addition to the moral shock which such a proceeding as the king dreamed of would give to every right-thinking Englishman, politically such an act as the putting away of Katharine would be highly perilous. Henry's queen was the aunt of the emperor Charles V., and this powerful sovereign would never calmly acquiesce in such an affront to his family. Nevertheless, Wolsey entered with seeming warmth into the king's designs.

At first the affair was brought before Wolsey and Warham, the two archbishops,

in their legatine court, secretly. Overtures were made to Katharine also, in the hope that she would acquiesce calmly in all the king's wishes. Great promises of wealth and dignity were made to her. But from the first the injured queen determined to maintain her just rights. It was then determined by Henry and his advisers that the Pope should be consulted, and that the opinion of the universities of England and the Continent should be taken on the question, and that the canonists of Europe should be invited to consider the point.

A long series of intrigues and negotiations now began. It was hoped that the Pope would decide the matter in favour of Henry, and thus put an end to the question by granting him a release from his marriage. Wolsey went abroad to conduct the difficult intrigue. Dissatisfied at the slow progress in the negotiation made by Wolsey, Henry sent his secretary, Knight, to see the Pope himself, to set before him his "conscientious" scruples. But the Pope saw through these pleas; recognising that Henry was moved really by a desire to marry Anne Boleyn, and that the religious scruples were only a pretext. The bishop of Rome also feared offending mortally the emperor Charles V., who was the dominant power in Italy, and so delayed giving any definite opinion. Clement VII., the reigning Pope, who succeeded Adrian VI., the failure of whose attempts to reform the Vatican we have already described, had brought back the state of things which had so long prevailed at Rome. He was a fair specimen of the line of secular Popes. Owing his election largely to bribery, as may be supposed, he was a warm supporter of the old evil traditions. He aimed at being a statesman rather than a churchman; but as a statesman he was weak, wavering, passionate; now bidding for the support of England; now trembling with good reason lest he should offend the powerful emperor Charles V. It was his sad reign which witnessed the sack of Rome by the imperialist mercenaries. This was the Pope to whom Henry and Wolsey looked for a settlement of the question of the divorce. Timorous, vacillating, a poor theologian, Rome could hardly have found in the long line of her Pontiffs one less fitted than was Clement VII. to grapple with the thorny questions stirred up by Henry VIII.

Knight, the secretary of the king's mission to Rome, effected nothing. Again the matter was placed in Wolsey's hands, who despatched a special embassage to Pope Clement, consisting of Stephen Gardiner and Edward Foxe, a royal chaplain. Gardiner was subsequently known as bishop of Winchester, and Foxe as bishop of Hereford, the first-named playing a most distinguished part in the reign of queen Mary. Gardiner and Foxe induced the Pope to send a commission to investigate the affair in England. Cardinal Campeggio was nominated legate; with him was associated the English minister, cardinal Wolsey. Campeggio was a prominent personage among the Roman officials of the time, and on several occasions was charged with difficult foreign missions by Rome. He was a fairly learned and prudent man of the world, and was highly esteemed by Erasmus, who describes him as one of the most just and reasonable of men. The Pope, however, pursuing his usual crafty policy, was careful not to give

plenary power to this commission to settle the matter, retaining in his own hands the final decision. Campeggio, who acted as the protector of England at the papal court, was rewarded for his services in this capacity by the bishopric of Hereford. This was one of the many instances of the shameful abuse by which high and responsible offices in the Church of England were held by non-resident foreigners. To Campeggio was intrusted a decretal of the Pope, in which the law relating to Henry's divorce case was carefully laid down. It is doubtful if this important document ever saw the light in the course of the mission of Campeggio; it was certainly destroyed by the legate, acting upon orders from Rome, before he finally left England.

The court of Wolsey and Campeggio was formally held at Blackfriars in London in the course of 1529. Queen Katharine appeared before it, protested against its jurisdiction, and then formally appealed to Rome. The legates gave no decision, but adjourned the court on a frivolous pretext. Shortly after, the Pope—no doubt under the influence of the emperor Charles V.—recalled the powers granted to the legates Wolsey and Campeggio, and resolved to revoke the cause to Rome. This utter failure to secure a settlement of the matter in England with the approval of Rome, was the immediate reason of Wolsey's downfall. Campeggio left England the autumn of the same year, 1529, under the marked displeasure of king Henry, who violated the privileges of an ambassador by causing his luggage to be ransacked at Dover in the hope of finding the decretal above referred to, but the legate had already destroyed it. Directly after Campeggio had left the kingdom, the king's attorney sued for a writ of "præmunire" against Wolsey, on the ground that his acts done as legate were contrary to the statute.

Some little time before this, Cranmer, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, appeared on the scene. Until the year 1528 the future metropolitan had led an undistinguished life as a quiet scholar. He belonged to an honourable and ancient, though not a wealthy family in Nottinghamshire, and as a member of Jesus College resided as a tutor at Cambridge for many years. He was not ordained before 1523, and proceeded to the degree of D.D. In 1528, the year of the sweating sickness, Cranmer was occupied with the instruction of two boys, the sons of a gentleman named Cressy, in the neighbourhood of Waltham abbey. Henry VIII., who was then earnestly pressing his divorce at the Roman court, was residing near Waltham, to avoid the danger from the disease in the cities. Two of his confidential advisers, Gardiner and Foxe, who, as we have seen, were employed in the all-important question of the divorce, accidentally met Cranmer at Mr. Cressy's table, and were struck with the unknown Cambridge scholar's views on the divorce. Cranmer urged the propriety of "trying the question out of the word of God," implying that it should be decided without any reference to the authority of the Pope. His idea was that if the marriage of Henry with Katharine was a union contrary to the divine law, it was no marriage at all. If there had been no marriage, then the king was free to marry whom he pleased without any reference to Rome. Let the canonists and the universities, he said,

THE FIRST TRIAL OF QUEEN KATHARINE.

(*By permission, from the picture by Laslett J. Pott.*)

pronounce that for a man to marry his deceased brother's wife was contrary to the divine law; let the evidence be produced before the ecclesiastical courts in England that Katharine had been married to the dead prince Arthur; and the cause would be at once decided in the way which Henry desired. To urge that a papal dispensation had been given in past years legalising such a marriage as that between Henry and his brother's widow, would be of no avail; for while a Pope was at liberty under certain circumstances to dispense with the law of the church, no papal dispensation would extend to the law of God.

Gardiner and Foxe were struck with Cranmer's lucid exposition of the question at issue, and the fresh light he threw upon it, and reported the conversation to king Henry. He at once sent for Cranmer, who impressed him as he had done Foxe and Gardiner. "Master doctor," the king is reported to have said, "I pray you, and because you are a subject I command and charge you, to set aside all other business and affairs, and to see that this my cause be furthered by your device."

From this time Cranmer became a royal favourite, and an influential personage. He was rapidly advanced, and the real conduct of "the king's matter" was entrusted to him. He was appointed a royal chaplain, and composed a treatise on the invalidity of the marriage of Henry and Katharine, the central argument being, that the marriage in question was not merely voidable, but from the beginning was void. We next hear of him at Rome, where, as the king of England's trusted counsellor, he was received with distinction; and although he was not permitted to repeat his argument before the Pope, he was appointed by the Roman court "Penitentiary of England," an important and lucrative office, as through the Penitentiary all papal dispensations in England must pass. The appointment was evidently a device of Clement's tortuous policy, intended to conciliate Henry, and to make Cranmer specially friendly to Rome, seeing that he would derive a considerable income from the papal court.

Cranmer, however, in spite of Roman cajoleries and bribes, continued his labours on behalf of his royal patron. In Italy, France, and Germany, he held many secret conferences on the subject of the disputed marriage. In 1530 we find him again in England. In the meantime the opinion of the English and foreign universities had been gradually elicited, as well as that of famous canonists. In 1532 he was again busily engaged on the Continent on the same business. During that visit he fell in love with the niece of the scholar Osiander, whom he married. This marriage has been quoted as a proof that, up to this time, Cranmer had no expectation or desire to succeed the aged Warham as archbishop of Canterbury, or even to be promoted to episcopal rank. But on Warham's death, early in 1533, the offer of the great post was made to him by Henry, who pressed its acceptance upon him. Again the Pope's policy was to win Henry and his favourite, and Clement made no difficulty in issuing the customary bull confirming the appointment of Cranmer.

At length the English and foreign universities were prepared with their judgment on the great question. Corruption, there is no doubt, was freely exercised on both

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

(From the painting by G. Flocius in the National Gallery.)

sides; Spanish influence, of course, being exerted in favour of Katharine. In Italy and in Germany the opinion was against the English king, Italy being especially guided by Spanish influence, which was everywhere dominant. In Germany the weight of Luther's opinion was cast against Henry. Luther was no friend of Henry, who had written violently against his doctrines, and the German divines were coldly, though at the same time cautiously, hostile to the English king. Not so France —the jealous enemy of Spain and the emperor: there the whole weight of king Francis I.'s power was cast in favour of Henry's burning wishes; and the great university of Paris, partly, it must be confessed, acting under Francis's inspiration, drew up an ample declaration of opinion against the legality of the marriage of Henry and Katharine. Oxford and Cambridge, after long discussion, largely influenced by Cranmer, gave a qualified pronouncement in favour of the divorce.

All was now ready for the final scenes in the prolonged controversy. Two years had passed since Henry first began to move for divorce, and at the beginning of 1533 he privately married Anne Boleyn, whom he had created marchioness of Pembroke, granting her a yearly provision of a thousand pounds, equivalent to ten or twelve thousand pounds of our money, out of the revenues of the see of Durham.

Events during the first months of that year, 1533, moved rapidly. In February the famous act was passed by the English legislature for "the restraint of appeals to Rome." The immediate signification of this great act, of the decisive blows struck by the English parliament in this reign against the power of the Pope, was clear: it would prevent Katharine, should the judgment of the English courts go against her, appealing to the supreme jurisdiction of Rome. But its effects reached far beyond the divorce question. Henceforth, persons procuring processes, inhibitions, appeals, or citations from the court of Rome, as well as their aiders and abettors, all and every one of them were to incur the tremendous penalties of præmunire; and in all such cases which hitherto admitted of appeal to Rome, the appeals were to be from the archdeacon's court to the bishop's, from the bishop's to the archbishop, *and no further*. This was, indeed, only a return to ancient practice.

In the month of April that same year (1533) the case was laid before Convocation, which was required to hold debate and give evidence on the matter agitated between the king and queen. It does not appear that pressure was wanting, for while the sentences procured from the universities of England and the Continent were laid before the assembly, it was required to frame its answer according to the model of the university of Paris. The controversy in Convocation was, however, keen; but, as was to have been expected, the sentence, in spite of some decided protests, was given finally against the legality of the marriage of Henry and Katharine. In May of the same year archbishop Cranmer proceeded to Dunstable, a place within four miles of Ampthill, where queen Katharine was residing, and there set up his court in the Lady chapel of the convent, of which the prior, Markham, was earnestly devoted to the king. Katharine was summoned to appear before the court. She refused to come, and was then pronounced

contumacious. No further notice was taken of her absence, and when sentence was pronounced, she was not even summoned to receive it. In the citation she was called by the name of "the lady Katharine," her final style and title not being determined upon. With the archbishop at the Dunstable court were present

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.
(*From a portrait at Lambeth Palace.*)

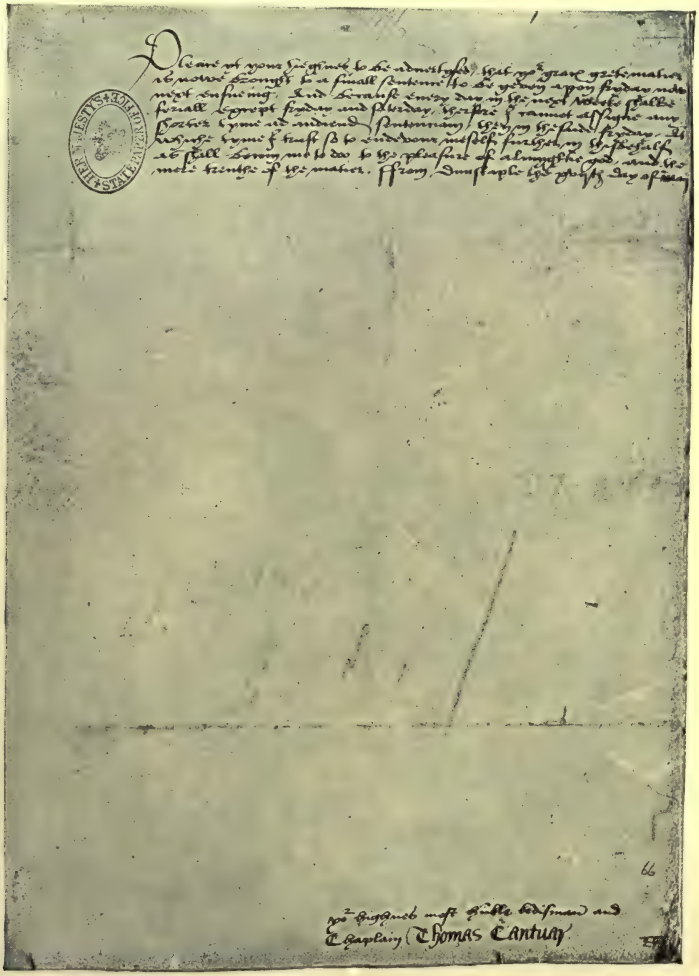
the bishops of London, Winchester, Lincoln, Bath and Wells. The marriage with the king was formally pronounced to have been from the beginning null and void, the court resting mainly upon the decisions of the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Paris. On the 23rd of May, 1533, the king was informed that the great cause was at an end.

A few extracts from the sentence deserve to be quoted. It began thus: "We, Thomas, by divine permission archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, in a certain cause of enquiry of and concerning the validity of the marriage contracted and consummated between . . . Henry VIII. and Katharine, daughter of . . . Ferdinand, king of Spain . . . proceeding according to law and justice in the said cause, which has been brought before us judicially in virtue of our offices, . . . having also seen and carefully considered not only the censures and decrees of the most famous universities of almost the whole Christian world, but likewise the opinions and determinations both of the most eminent divines and civilians, as also the resolutions and conclusions of the clergy of both provinces of England in convocation assembled, . . . find, and with undeniable plainness see that the marriage . . . between Henry VIII. and the most serene lady Katharine was and is null and invalid, and that it was contracted and consummated contrary to the law of God. . . . Therefore we—Thomas, archbishop, primate and legate—pronounce sentence and declare for the invalidity of the said marriage, decreeing that the said pretended marriage always was and still is null and invalid, . . . that it is of no force or obligation; and therefore we sentence that it is not lawful for . . . Henry VIII. and . . . the lady Katharine to remain in the same pretended marriage, and we do separate and divorce them one from the other, . . . and that they, so separated and divorced, are absolutely free from all marriage bond."

It is specially remarkable that this and the several instruments put forth on the

divorce by the archbishop, by which in effect the power of the Pope was made void, were the last public documents in which the primates of England wrote themselves legates of the Roman see, save in the public documents put out in the reign of queen Mary—a comparatively very short period.

Only a few days more were suffered to elapse after the pronouncement of the judgment at Dunstable: then London was gratified with the sight of one of the most gorgeous pageants which had ever delighted the eyes of the idle and the thoughtless. No bridal ceremony had been possible in the case of her whom the



LETTER FROM CRANMER AT DUNSTABLE TO HENRY VIII., INFORMING HIM OF THE DATE WHEN HIS "GRAVE GRETE MATIER" WILL BE BROUGHT TO A CONCLUSION. (*Record Office.*)

king delighted to honour. In silence and in secret the ceremony had been hurried over some months before. But now Henry could show his new and beautiful queen in the sight of all. The brilliant apologist of Henry VIII. exhausts his vivid and striking word-painting in the description of the coronation of Anne Boleyn, from which one striking passage may be quoted: "Glorious as the spectacle [of the coronation procession] was, perhaps, however, it passed unheeded. Those eyes [the people's] were watching all for another object, which now drew near. . . . Then was seen approaching a white chariot, drawn by two palfreys in white damask, which swept the ground, a golden canopy borne above it making music with silver bells; and in the chariot sat the observed of all observers, the beautiful occasion of all this glittering homage, Fortune's plaything of the hour, the queen of England—queen at last—borne along on the waves of this sea of glory, breathing the perfumed incense of greatness, for which she had risked her fair name, her delicacy, her honour, her self-respect, to win; and she had won it. . . . There she sat, dressed in white tissue robes, her fair hair flowing loose over her shoulders, and her temples circled with a light coronet of gold and diamonds—most beautiful, loveliest, most favoured, perhaps, as she seemed at that hour, of all England's daughters. . . . Three short years have yet to pass, and again, on a summer morning, queen Anne Boleyn will leave the Tower of London, not radiant then with beauty on a gay errand of coronation, but a poor wandering ghost on a sad tragic errand, from which she will never more return, passing away out of an earth where she may stay no longer, into a presence where, nevertheless, we know that all is well—for all of us, and therefore for her."*

What of the poor discrowned lady, in her sad and lonely desolation? Stripped of her queenly title, styled simply dowager-princess of Wales, her daughter Mary pronounced illegitimate, she sank, crushed by her unmerited misfortunes, slowly into the grave. Nothing was done by the imperious king to soften the awful blow; no royal residence was specially assigned to her. She was removed from one residence to another, harassed, persecuted about the empty title she refused to resign, now and again even insulted, and treated with a parsimony disgraceful as it was useless, which moved the pity and indignation of Europe.

The one fair spot in this sad chapter was the devotion shown, after her mother's untimely death, by the disinherited Mary to her little sister Elizabeth, whom she was bade to call "not sister, but princess." Their loving attachment, often broken and interfered with by state complications and state jealousies, was never completely severed, and the remains of the two princesses—the daughter of Katharine, and the daughter of her supplanter, both in their turns queens of England, rest together in the quiet calm of one grave in "the abbey of the kings and queens."

On the Continent the news of the divorce and the king's marriage was generally received with indignation; but the confused relationships of the foreign powers, the bitter jealousy which existed between

* Froude's "History," vol. i., chap. v.

France and Spain, the deadly animosity with which the Lutheran states were regarded by Italy and other countries still faithful to the Roman obedience, prevented anything like an armed demonstration in favour of Katharine, and the not unnatural fears of Henry soon subsided. Even the Pope, whose power in England had received so fatal a blow in the matter of the right of appeals, forbore to launch any edict against Henry, whom he hoped to win back to some kind of submission.

At home the indignation of the working clergy was aroused by the king's act. The pulpits resounded with grave and well-earned rebukes. So dangerous did these criticisms appear, that Cranmer forbade all preaching. This singular restraint of preaching lasted a whole year, and Cranmer was, it is said, for a time the most unpopular man in England. So far this feeling was altogether to the credit of the English clergy and laity; but unfortunately many of them, with some of the Canterbury monks, were so far led away by it as to encourage the treasonable impostures of the celebrated so-called Nun of Kent,* who denounced vengeance upon Henry on pretence of direct revelation from the Almighty, and who was gladly used as a tool by unscrupulous members of the queen's party. Some really great personages were for a time deceived by this strange imposition, and it will be remembered that his connection with it was one of the causes which probably in some degree influenced the execution of Sir Thomas More. Its wide acceptance is a striking proof of the popular feeling concerning the divorce and re-marriage of the king.

But this burning indignation gradually died down. The divorce was, after all, the king's private wrong-doing. It did not seriously affect the life of the people. What endured, was the action which grew out of it in the matter of the relations of England and the Papacy. Cranmer and the king, when the immediate result was accomplished, and the injured Katharine was prevented lodging an appeal at the court of Rome, saw the vast importance of the step which the legislature had been induced to take. They were determined that it should not be retraced, and ordered the act for restraint of appeals to Rome to be set up on every church door in England.

Out of a cruel wrong, thus grew a mighty good for the English people. The first great step towards the enfranchisement of the Church of England from the bondage of Rome, which had lasted for centuries, had been taken. But this must not blind us to the iniquity of the step itself, which admits of no excuse, no palliation. Although in the providence of God, it resulted in a nobler and truer life for the church, and through the church for the people, in the case of Henry himself, it was unblessed; it brought him neither peace, nor even temporary happiness. The remainder of that great reign, with its restless work — often true work and striving after the higher good and righteousness—was, so far as Henry himself was concerned, a period filled with lamentation, and mourning, and woe.

* For fuller details respecting this remarkable imposture, see Excursus D, "The Nun of Kent," at end of the volume.

CHAPTER XLV.

THE PARLIAMENT OF THE REFORMATION. THE VICAR-GENERAL THOMAS CROMWELL.

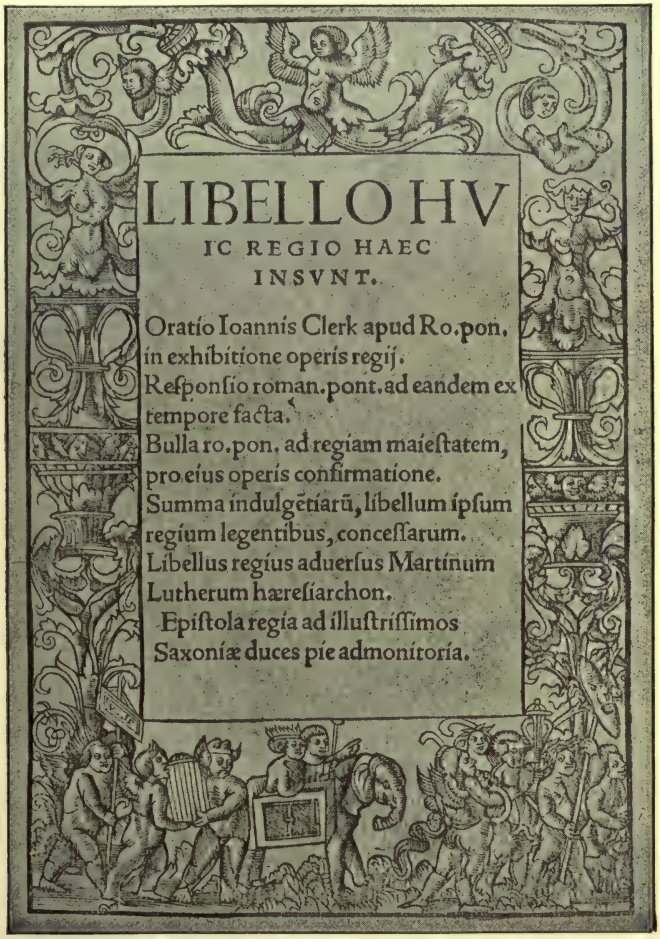
Reform of the English Church Hitherto Restrained by the Power of the Crown—Significance of the Divorce—Parliament Summoned in 1529—Acts of that Session reforming Ecclesiastical Courts and Prohibiting Non-Residence—1530 a Blank Session—But Distinguished for Oppression of the Clergy under the Statute of Præmunire—Claim of the King in 1531 to be styled Supreme Head of the Church—Supplication against the Ordinaries—Convocation makes Canons against various Abuses—Its Reply to the Supplication—Submission of the Clergy—Limitation of the Benefit of Clergy, and Extension of Mortmain Statutes—Abolition of Annates and First Fruits to Rome—More Resigns Office—Warham makes his Dying Protest—The 1533 Session passes the Act for Restraint of Appeals—The 1534 Session further Restricts Annates, forbids Peter-pence and Dispensations and Papal Bulls, and confines Ecclesiastical Elections within the Kingdom—Act for the Punishment of Heretics—The Act of Succession—Its Tragic Consequences—Suffragan Bishoprics—Martyrdom of John Frith—Thomas Cromwell made Vicar-General—Sketch of his Career—The "Valor Ecclesiasticus"—Martyrdom of the Carthusians—Papal Excommunication of the King, and its Utter Failure.

IN completing our story of the royal divorce which precipitated the English Reformation, we have somewhat anticipated the sequence of events, and must now retrace our steps a little. The divorce was pronounced, and the Act "restraining appeals to Rome" was only passed early in the year 1533; but the Reformation as a state question, really began in England three years earlier, in 1529. In that year Henry VIII. finally gave up the hope of a compromise with the Pope which should cover with the sanction of Rome his project for the dissolution of his marriage, and allow him to make Anne Boleyn his queen. And the consequences were momentous.

Things had long been evil, as we have seen, in the Church of England. The mediæval church was still full of life and power and learning; still officered with many men of devotion, zeal, and faith. But its teaching and its practice were disfigured by many superstitions, the growth of ages. Its life and work were hindered by many and shameful abuses. It was oppressed, too, with a strange foreign oppression by a so-called spiritual power, ever advancing fresh and more burdensome claims, which had grown men knew not how; and this foreign power, in addition, was in many respects evil and corrupt. We have treated in detail many of the curious superstitions which were so seriously affecting the doctrine taught and the life lived, and have seen how they revolted not a few of the best and noblest Englishmen. We have seen also how Rome weighed down with her dead hand every department of the church. The new learning had taught men much, had opened the eyes of many to see the defects of the mediæval ecclesiastical system; and there was a widespread and well-grounded discontent. The sermons of Colet, the writings of More, the letters of Erasmus, lift the veil for us, and show us only too clearly what was the mind of thoughtful men in England in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. For

years the church had been faintly struggling to reform itself. But such efforts had not been successful. They were at best but half-hearted: no really great reforming first, then churchmen; and a greater than Morton, Warham, or Wolsey was required to carry out what was so sorely needed.

In England a great power had existed,



TITLE PAGE (BY HOLBEIN) OF HENRY VIII.'S PAMPHLET AGAINST MARTIN LUTHER, WHICH GAINED HIM THE TITLE OF "FIDEI DEFENSOR" FROM THE POPE. (*British Museum.*)

spirit had arisen in England. Morton, Wolsey, Warham, archbishops, ministers of the crown, chancellors—men, too, all-powerful with the king of the day—had seen the growing need of a thorough reform. But these men were statesmen existed still, which watched jealously over the fortunes of the church, partly from motives of policy, partly from conviction, as in the case of Henry V. With us the crown had ever protected the church from crude, ill-advised, often self-interested

schemes of reformation. More than a hundred years before, in 1410, king Henry IV. set aside the revolutionary proposals of the House of Commons to sweep away church endowments and church privileges Henry IV. thus protected the church, largely because he felt that the men who would attack her were enemies of social order. Henry V. was a religious man as well as a most able sovereign, and the policy of his father, Henry IV., which used the crown as a defence of the church against the attacks of Lollardism, was also the policy of the victor of Agincourt, though higher motives also weighed with him. Henry VI. was counted in his own and in later generations as a saint, and with him mediæval superstitions were sacred; so when he was in power and as long as he was in power, the church was absolutely safe; it had no need to dread any rude reformer, whether for conscience' sake or mere greed. During the Wars of the Roses, in the reigns of the brothers Edward IV. and Richard III., men had other thoughts and aims to occupy them than religious matters, however pressing. During the reign of Henry VII. and his famous minister, cardinal Morton, the church was safe from any outside malcontent. Reform was in the air; but Tudor absolutism under the guidance of Morton left the Reformation to the church to initiate and to carry out, if it saw fit. Henry VIII., the able and versatile king, the all-accomplished soldier, and at the same time scholar and student, was a theologian himself of no mean acquirements, and for the first twenty years of his reign, while Warham and Wolsey were in power as chancellors, the crown still protected the church. And the enormous power of the crown under the great Tudor monarchs must be borne in mind. They were well-nigh absolute; and if their acts ran in the name of the Parliament, the Parliament was ever a singularly subservient assembly.

Under Henry VIII., during the long period of Wolsey's power as chief minister, reform, as we have seen, was by no means forgotten or laid aside; but the church, conscious of no immediate danger, was strangely apathetic. As for cardinal Wolsey, the chancellor, although he had many noble plans of new religious educational foundations in which much of the church's wealth and influence under the changed condition of things might be utilised, some of which plans he carried out, some he only sketched out, yet it must be confessed, in spite of his splendid abilities, that Wolsey's mind was too secular, and his time too filled up with absorbing state business at home and abroad, to allow him to devote himself with real earnestness and success to the urgently needed work of church reform. So things went on much as they had done aforetime.

Roughly speaking, western Christendom was divided into two great divisions. Italy, France, and Spain belonged especially to the Latin races—to peoples who, more or less, were descended from the inhabitants of the provinces of the old Roman empire. The central and northern parts of western Christendom, northern and middle Germany, the Low Countries, and the lands which fringe the Baltic, together with England, were peculiarly the home of the Teutonic peoples—the descendants of the

old northern races. While the causes of discontent with the mediæval corruptions of Christianity existed throughout the whole of western Christendom, it was among the Teutonic nations that this discontent—this longing after a purer religion, more like that which was taught in the earlier days of Christianity, was most pronounced. While in the Latin countries, Italy, France, and Spain, many were uneasy and dissatisfied with the existing condition of religion and the church; these great countries, as a whole, patiently though uneasily acquiesced in the existing state of things, looking to the promised general council of the church as the ultimate remedy.

Not so in Germany, the home of the Teutonic peoples. Germany openly broke with the mediæval church and its immemorial centre of Rome, and with some regrettable haste and precipitation, remodelled Christianity, not always being careful in the new religious organisation to preserve the ancient traditions and practices. In central Europe—in Germany—a great revolution in religious matters had been already accomplished by the burning faith and splendid enthusiasm of Luther. Much had been done in those broad countries watered by the Rhine, the Elbe, and the Danube, to purify the faith; but in the process of reformation not a little had also been done which men have since bitterly regretted; destruction had accompanied reformation, and the new church organisation was ill-fitted for its work, as men have sadly found out in course of time.

England—wealthy, powerful England—the other division of the Teutonic peoples, whilst feeling, like Germany, intense discontent with the corruptions of mediæval Christianity—a discontent which, for a long period, had been growing in the English nation—was restrained from openly breaking with the established order of things, as we have just observed, by the enormous power of the crown, which, for various reasons, was utterly averse to any great religious change. Indeed, the wearer of the crown of England, a man of singular genius and learning, and withal a most haughty despot, himself publicly wrote against Luther, the apostle of the German reformation, in a book which brought him from grateful Rome the title of "Defender of the Faith." What was to be the fate of England? Were the old landmarks to be swept away here also, as in Germany? Was the old organisation which had endured, with various changes, but which still, on the whole, had endured from Apostolic times, to be wiped out? Was the faith to be purified, and the practice and life of the church to be reformed, at the terrible cost by which faith and practice and life had been reformed in Germany and in central Europe?

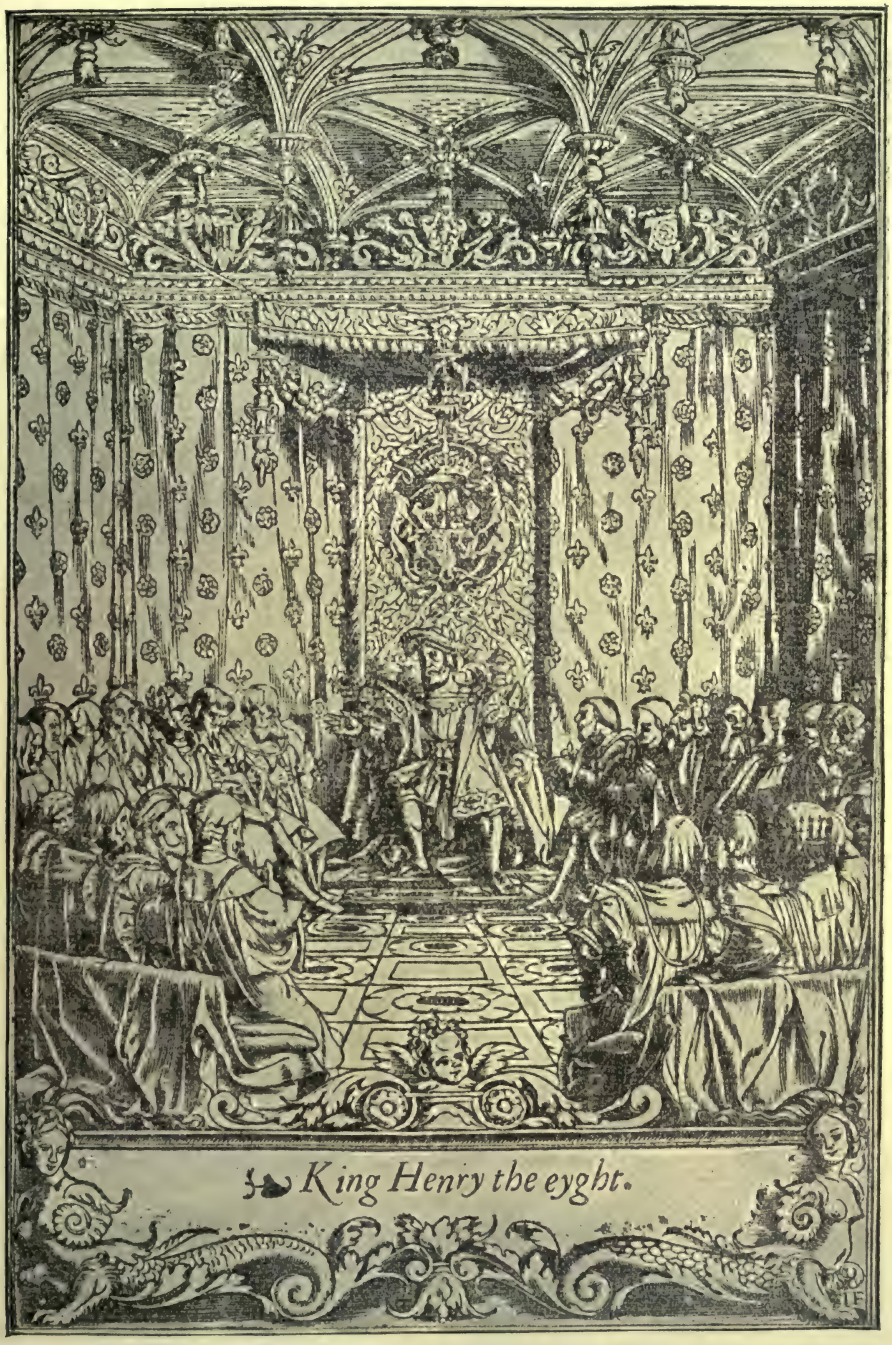
Froude, in a short passage of singular power, thus briefly sums up the situation in A.D. 1529: "A crisis had arrived, and a revolution of policy was inevitable. From the accession of Henry VII. (A.D. 1485) the country had been governed by a succession of ecclesiastical ministers [Morton, Warham, Wolsey], who, being priests as well as statesmen, were essentially conservative, and whose efforts in a position of constantly increasing difficulty had been directed towards resisting the changing tendencies of the age, and either evading a reformation of the church, while they admitted

its necessity, or retaining the conduct of it in their own hands, while they were giving evidence of their inability to accomplish the work. It was now over; the ablest representative of this party [Wolsey] in a last desperate effort to retain power, had decisively failed." * Froude, however, slurs over the absorbing motive which decided Henry VIII. to withdraw his protection from the English mediæval church. When that protection was once withdrawn, the flood of reformation, the waters of which had long been gathering, flowed on unchecked, with the results we now have to trace.

The position in England had, indeed, long been an unnatural one. Our country, in common with the continental Teutonic nations, had for some time been awakened to the knowledge that the Christian religion, as taught and expounded in the mediæval system, was hopelessly buried under a mass of baseless superstitions. National discontent, expressed by such men as Colet, Erasmus, and More, had risen to such a height, that some sweeping change—it matters little by what name it is called—was imperatively demanded. Nothing stood in the way of this change, save the will of an imperious and well-nigh absolute monarch, who chose to maintain the old state of things. And when his will no longer stood in the way, at once the nation commenced the work of reformation. The wild passion of Henry VIII. for Anne Boleyn was the immediate cause of Henry's changed policy. His anger with Rome for not assisting him in his project of divorce from the queen who stood in his way, and his sullen indignation with the clergy, who, to their credit as a body, publicly disapproved his action in the matter, determined the king to withdraw the shield of protection which the crown had hitherto thrown over the church and its grievous shortcomings. It was time, indeed, that this unnatural protecting influence should be withdrawn; it was a good thing for England, and eventually for her church. But it was a pitiful reason which brought about that change in the policy of the crown — a change which, in the long run, as we shall see, worked so great a blessing for our people.

Wolsey fell in the autumn of 1529. It is doubtful if the king at that date had any definite ideas on the subject of the Reformation, though he was far too able and far-seeing a man, too consummate a statesman, not to have read more or less accurately the signs of the times; not to be aware how unpopular with many, perhaps with the majority of his subjects, was the church; how deep-rooted was the persuasion, that far-reaching reforms were imperatively necessary. When Wolsey was dismissed and a new adviser summoned to his side, and the help and counsel of Parliament, long ignored, was invoked, the dominant feeling in Henry's mind was simply that new measures and new men must be tried in order to carry out what was the burning desire in his heart. The divorce from Katharine of Arragon undoubtedly was uppermost in his thoughts. He probably never dreamed of the far-reaching changes which were to be brought about through the instrumentality of that memorable Parliament summoned in the late autumn of 1529, though these changes were certainly acquiesced in, probably in

* History of England, chap. ii.



HENRY VIII. IN PARLIAMENT.

(From a contemporary print in the British Museum.)

many cases suggested by him, during that Parliament's long and memorable continuance.

Probably no one, indeed, of the principal persons who took part in its opening session had any conception of the magnitude of the changes it would effect in the course of its many sessions—least of all, perhaps, the king, who may be fairly described as being "educated" by its debates, and by the famous and able men who arose as these long-continued debates proceeded. At first, perhaps, he scarcely dreamt of even breaking entirely with the papal power. He wished, evidently, to startle and frighten Rome into acquiescing in his views; and later, apparently, to slight and rebuke the clergy for their opposition. At first this was apparently all that king Henry proposed to carry out. But the tide was too strong to be stemmed, even by the imperious monarch, when once the flood-gates of popular opinion were opened; and the king, as we shall see, was well content to float along with it, well content merely to guide that strong, irresistible current. We find at least no effort of his, as events proceeded, to stay its sweeping course.

How little, however, king Henry VIII. anticipated what was coming, is evident from his wishing, in the first instance, his old adviser, archbishop Warham, to come back again into his former place as chancellor and chief minister when Wolsey fell. Warham, who had resigned the seals about fifteen years before, was in church matters, though an enlightened supporter of the new learning, a conservative, and utterly opposed to any drastic measures of reform. But Warham was an old, worn-out man when the king's offer was made him,* and he at once declined to entertain the thought of again becoming chancellor. Then Henry turned to another and far dearer and more intimate friend, Sir Thomas More. We have already given some account of this distinguished man, almost the most renowned of then living Englishmen, at once scholar and statesman. More also was, as we have seen, although conscious of the faults of the present ecclesiastical system, and anxious for some changes and cautious reforms, an ardent churchman; and his appointment to the chief office under the crown seemed a pledge on the king's part that, although Wolsey was disgraced, no drastic changes or sweeping reforms in church matters were then contemplated. More, however, only held his high office for a comparatively short time. He soon felt himself constrained to resign, as he was unable to restrain or even to guide the proposal of measures, many of which he utterly disapproved. When it was clearly seen that More would not yield to the rushing torrent of public opinion, with which Henry partly sympathised, neither his long friendship with the king, nor his unrivalled reputation, nor his stainless character could save him; and his retirement and withdrawal from active political life was only the prelude to his arrest, condemnation, and execution.

But of this development of policy Henry never dreamed, when in A.D. 1529 he appointed More chancellor, and summoned

* It has been, however, by some historians denied that Henry ever absolutely offered the seals to Warham.

the "Reformation" Parliament to meet. Wolsey had been opposed to Parliamentary government, and, with the exception of one session, Parliament had not been called together for some fourteen years. This famous "Reformation" Parliament was composed of a House of Lords, consisting of two archbishops, sixteen bishops, twenty-six abbots, two priors, and forty-four temporal peers; and of a House of Commons numbering 298 members; the latter composed of popular representatives very largely under royal influence. Sir Thomas Audley, a devoted servant of the king and subsequently chancellor, was the speaker of the House of Commons.

The debates generally seem to have manifested a spirit of violent hostility against the clergy, but these attacks were directed rather against the abuses of the ecclesiastic courts and the so-called greed of ecclesiastics, than against the life generally lived by the clerks. Neither in this opening session, nor in the famous "supplication of the Commons" presented some two or three years later (1532), which detailed the especial grievances complained of by the laity, was there anything which amounted to a general accusation of immorality against ecclesiastics. That there were cases of gross immorality and evil living among ecclesiastical persons at that time, is not to be doubted; but after all, the examples cited, culled out of the diocesan registers, as too lightly punished, are not numerous in comparison with the whole number, and there is no proof that the clergy generally had fallen into such a state as to make them detested, on account of any special evil living, in the eyes of the nation.

The first session lasted only some six weeks. Numerous propositions touching the church were made by the Commons. These for the most part were hotly resisted by the Upper House, in which the bishops and abbots were so numerous. Fisher, bishop of Rochester, was conspicuous by his vehement opposition. Fisher has been described, not unfairly, as one of the ornaments of the bench and the kingdom; he had been years before the confessor and friend of the lady Margaret, countess of Richmond, mother of king Henry VII., well loved in England; and it was upon his advice she determined upon those noble academical foundations, which have made her name illustrious. He was the last survivor, too, of the counsellors of Henry VII. "My lords," he is reported to have said, "you see daily what Bills come hither from the Commons House, and all to the destruction of the church. For God's sake see what a realm the kingdom of Bohemia was, and when the church went down, then fell the glory of the kingdom; now with the Commons is nothing but down with the church, and all this me seemeth is for lack of faith only."

The king was, however, on the side of the Commons, and three important Bills of reformation were eventually carried in this short session, and became law. The first and second were measures directed against the ecclesiastical courts, and were emphatically needed. Amongst other crying abuses, the fees exacted in these spiritual courts for probate of wills, for mortuaries or offerings made at burials, were justly described as excessive and oppressive. The state of these ecclesiastical courts had long been complained of.

In the earlier Middle Ages it must be remembered that they had been the refuge of the people against much cruel injustice and cruelty on the part of the royal and baronial courts, but they had become in the course of time utterly corrupt and oppressive. Warham, and subsequently Wolsey, had endeavoured to reform them, and it was indeed for this very purpose that Wolsey was made, with the consent of Warham, legate *à latere*, in order to give him absolute power to do away with the more crying abuses connected with them. Wolsey, however, we have already noticed, had effected but little in this direction, and legislation was urgently needed.

The third of the Acts passed in this first session was for the prevention of clerical farming and clerical trading, for abolishing pluralities, and for enforcing residence among the clergy. The first part of this Act was directed especially against the religious houses, where large estates were farmed, and where in many cases wool was sold by the abbots and priors like ordinary secular merchants. The Act, which was a curious one, tried to distinguish between farming and production which was necessary for the maintenance of the houses and their communities, and what was grown and produced for home and even foreign markets. It was, however, clear that the meaning of the Act was to facilitate the transference of ecclesiastical landed property to laymen, and it is memorable as the first effort in this age of spoliation to deal with the property of the church under the veil of legal and public sanction. This part of the Act became, however, owing to the vast confiscation which was soon carried out, practically inoperative. The clauses which dealt with pluralities and non-residence, touched some of the gravest abuses of the mediæval English Church. The vast number of exceptions, however, which permitted privileged ecclesiastics to hold more than one living, considerably neutralised the effect of these provisions. Rome, too, was attacked in this lengthy and far-reaching piece of legislation. Under a heavy penalty clerics were forbidden to obtain a licence from the Pope to hold more benefices than the statute specified.

The first year (1529) of the "Reformation" Parliament closed with the passing of these Acts. In the following year the king and the principal actors in the legislature were too preoccupied with the various intrigues and curious negotiations at home and abroad connected with the absorbing "king's matter" (the divorce) to devise or to debate any further legislation connected with the church. More, the chancellor, was distinctly averse to any more being done; and the king probably acquiesced, waiting to see what further action would be taken by Rome and the English friends of Rome in the great question which occupied well-nigh all his thoughts.

During this interval, however, king Henry was careful to show his rigid *orthodoxy*, by issuing various proclamations and instruments against heretics, and more particularly against heretical and anti-church books and pamphlets, which at this period were inundating England, and exciting men's minds against the church. Many of these publications were disfigured by shameless exaggerations, and by not a few impudent falsehoods. A commission,

consisting of the most learned persons of the two universities, was appointed to examine and report upon such books. These books, emanating both from home and foreign

THOMAS CROMWELL.
(*From the portrait by Holbein.*)

printing-presses, were eagerly welcomed and largely read by the many of all classes and orders who are always too ready to find fault with teachers of a religion, which attracts them with a strange attraction, even while it perpetually rebukes their selfish and careless lives. Angry with religion, men are only too glad to be enabled to criticise and belittle the men who are its acknowledged office-bearers. At the time of which we are writing, there was, alas! much that invited the severest criticism in the teaching and practices of the church. But among the immediate causes which precipitated the Reformation in England, and coloured it with harshness

and injustice, and even with cruelty, there is no doubt but that the scurrilous and ribald literature which, with too much success, was circulated among the people, will ever hold a prominent and disgraceful place. The invention of the printing-press was not an unmixed good. Then, as now, its enormous power was too often prostituted for selfish and evil ends.

One very noble purpose of king Henry's, however, shines out among much that was confused and marred by human prejudice and passion in these first days of attempted reformation. "His highness," we read, "intended to provide that the Holy Scripture should be by great, learned, and Catholic persons translated into the English tongue, if it should then seem to his grace convenient to do."

The year 1530, unmarked by any fresh legislation, was notorious for a most tyrannical and shameful procedure on the king's part, for which no apology can be offered. With unswerving boldness, both in private and in public, the clergy, especially among the regular or monastic teachers, continued to declare their conviction that it was utterly unlawful for the king to put away Katharine and to marry another. No state reasons that could be alleged could possibly justify such a procedure. Apparently in revenge for this steady opposition on the part of the clergy, Henry, on the advice of Thomas Cromwell, a former confidential official of the fallen cardinal, asserted that the whole body of the clergy, regular and secular, had come under the statute of præmunire by acknowledging the legatine authority of cardinal Wolsey.

The statutes of præmunire have been already referred to. They were Acts passed, and several times repeated and amplified, as safeguards against the imperious and ever-growing claims of Rome, and enacted that "They who should procure or prosecute any Romish bulls, in certain cases shall incur the forfeiture of their estates, or be banished, or be put out of the king's protection." In the case of Wolsey, whose supreme authority in ecclesiastical matters as legate *à latere* the clergy were charged with acknowledging, it must be remembered that it was at king Henry's own request Wolsey was nominated to the cardinalship, and was appointed legate *à latere*. Well aware that, by accepting the legatine office in question, he was transgressing the law, Wolsey, before exercising legatine powers, had been careful to obtain from the crown a licence under the great seal! There was thus absolutely no excuse for Henry's totally unjust and tyrannical accusation. But the king was master, and the church was helpless; and to obtain the royal pardon for this alleged transgression, the clergy consented in the following year, through Convocation, to pay an enormous fine to the king, a sum amounting to nearly two millions of our money!

The form under which this vast sum of money was paid was peculiar, and deserves a few words of comment, for it led to another and important concession on the part of the clergy. When Convocation in the year 1531 presented the money to the king (the exact amount, no doubt, had been previously arranged), no allusion was made to the præmunire, but the fine was described as a grateful offering for the incomparable benefits of the king towards them, which required not only verbal

thanks, but also a spontaneous oblation of money. "He, the king, had defended the church by sword and pen so mightily, so victoriously, that he had earned eternal fame. A thousand foes, the Lutherans especially, had conspired against the church and clergy of England; but his majesty, as the pious defender of the faith and of the church, had quelled their audacity. They were unwilling that his majesty should deem them ungrateful."

Henry was, however, not satisfied with the money grant only. He insisted upon the English clergy styling him, in the terms of their grant, "the only protector and supreme head of the church and clergy of England." Here the Convocation of the province of Canterbury, under the presidency of archbishop Warham, hesitated. Was such an acknowledgment right? For three sessions they held debate with the king's councillors, and at last agreed to give king Henry the title he insisted on, with the following modification: "We acknowledge his majesty to be the singular protector, only and supreme lord, and, so far as the laws of Christ allow, supreme head of the English church and clergy."

The assumption of this style by Henry VIII. excited attention and much grave remonstrance. Such men as Tunstall, bishop of Durham, solemnly protested against it, even though limited by the words "so far as the law of Christ allows"; and others among the northern bishops followed his example. The language apparently was strange, and the style of "supreme head of the church" was uncustomary; but, after all, the title was little more than the strong assertion of an ancient right. The English sovereign had been at all times the head of the realm, both of the spirituality and the temporality; sometimes he had borne titles which expressed this. In the laws of Edward the Confessor, for instance, he was termed the vicar of Christ, a title which seems as expressive as that which was assumed by Henry VIII. and sanctioned by Convocation.*

The year 1532 witnessed the last scenes of the intrigues and negotiations connected with the divorce question, but it was also especially memorable for the "supplication against the ordinaries" presented by the House of Commons. Roughly, this famous "supplication" consists of two parts. The first attacked the right which the clergy exercised of making spiritual laws in Convocation without the assent of the sovereign. The second part dealt with the various abuses which were complained of as existing in the Church of England.

The "supplication" dwelt, in the first part, upon the new fantastic and erroneous opinions which had of late increased among the people, mainly through the circulation of "frantic seditious books"; it added, however, that the uncharitable conduct of the church ordinaries (alluding, of course, to the bishops) and their commissaries in dealing with these errors multiplied them. The "supplication" then traced much of this mischief to the right claimed by the clergy in their convocations to make laws and ordinances on these and other matters without the royal assent. Laws, it affirmed,

* *Cf.* Dixon: "History of the Church of England from the abolition of the Roman jurisdiction," chap. i.

so made were to the great prejudice and damage of the king's subjects. The document then proceeded in its second part to detail: the grievances complained of arose principally out of the state of the ecclesiastical courts. The unfairness and bitter animus of the "supplication" is clearly and unmistakably shown by the general tenor of its vehement complaints. It speaks of acknowledged wrongs and grievances as though nothing had been done to remove them, although special acts for this purpose had already been passed; and there was nothing to prevent the Commons, had they pleased, from initiating further legislation in the matter of these courts, had they found that the acts of 1529 were insufficient or required amending. They dwelt with vehemence upon the exorbitant fees charged, the enormous probate duties, the vast cost of the ecclesiastical judicial machinery; and then, not without some justification, they proceeded to complain that even for sacraments of holy church, money payments were asked, and that in some cases the most solemn rites were withheld until the payment demanded was made. Other abuses were specified, such as the conferring of benefices upon "young folk," kinsfolk of the ordinaries, who were under age and unfit to serve any cure. The number of superfluous holidays was dwelt upon; a curious statement bearing on the lives of the people was appended here: "Great, abominable and execrable vices, idle and wanton sports, were used and exercised" on these holidays; it was recommended that the number of these should be cut down, and more religiously observed. The treatment of heretics was gravely found fault with. Accusations, said the "supplication," were hourly made, arrests were effected, long periods of incarceration endured, and then, if nothing was proved against the accused persons, they were liberated without any amends for their losses and sufferings; over-severity with these heretics was also alleged. But in all this "supplication" of the Commons, bitter though it was in its spirit, we find no hint of any general charge of grave immorality among the clergy.

In the April of the same year (1532) these accusations were sent by the king to archbishop Warham, to be laid before and immediately to be considered by Convocation.

While the "supplication" against the ordinaries was being prepared and presented by the Commons, Convocation was seriously engaged in making canons which dealt with the reformation of the abuses more generally complained of. Had these canons been completed and enforced, not a few of the more prominent evils in the life and practice of the church would have been swept away. The following reforms were embodied in the canons proposed in this last attempt at independent ecclesiastical legislation. Archbishops and bishops were to set an example to their flocks. Their frequent absences from their various dioceses were to be avoided for the future. They were exhorted and admonished by Convocation to be always present in their sees at the principal church feasts—at least at Christmas, Holy Week, Easter, and Whitsuntide. Leave of absence was to be generally limited. Over the fees exacted and severities practised by their officials they were to exercise a more careful supervision. Heresies were to be put down,

HENRY VIII.

(From the portrait at Warwick Castle by Holbein.)

and heretical books diligently sought out. The monastic schools and the universities were to be visited, and a stricter discipline was to be required from the abbots and the "religious" under their rule. Greater care and increased strictness was to be exercised at ordinations. No person was to be ordained sub-deacon unless he were sufficiently acquainted with the Gospels and Epistles, at least those contained in the Missal, so as to be able to give the examiner the grammatical sense of these portions of Holy Scripture. All excuses made by beneficed men, who claimed to be allowed non-residence for the purposes of study, were to be carefully inquired into. To guard against idleness, all rectors, vicars, curates, and chanting priests, besides their daily offices, were directed to busy themselves in studies and in other good works, especially in the duty of instructing the young. Idle priests were to be severely rebuked, and even punished by their ordinaries. The sumptuous in apparel were to be reduced to a prescribed vesture, and hunters among the clergy recalled to graver conversation. Schoolmasters were to be especially careful not to allow their pupils to read books which the ordinaries of the place disapproved of as likely to corrupt the faith. As in many of the religious houses the number of the "religious" was decreasing, it was enjoined that a proper number should in these houses be made up and kept up perpetually. A list of seditious and heretical books was prepared. These reforms, it will be seen, covered many of the more crying abuses prevalent in the church.

While Convocation was thus busied in preparing these statutes, which aimed at a thorough reformation of the clergy, the king sent down "the supplication of the Commons against the ordinaries" above referred to, and desired that an answer to the accusations therein contained might be speedily returned. With little delay what is known as the first answer to the "supplication" was prepared for the king. This answer was revised, perhaps composed, by the afterwards famous Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and was a dignified and moderate state paper. It denied that there was any widening breach between the clergy and the people of England, asserting that the jurisdiction of the church in matters of heresy had been carefully administered, that much of the information upon which the "supplication" was based had been devised by persons who had little favour to the clergy. As regarded the charge that they made sanctions or laws in Convocation without the royal assent, they maintained that their action here rested upon rights which they possessed from immemorial antiquity.

When the king placed "the answer" in the hands of the Speaker of the Commons, he showed his discontent with its independent tone by observing, "We think this answer will scantily please you, for it seemeth to us very slender." The king proceeded to require from Convocation a second answer. This second answer was prepared with great care, and sent to king Henry by the hands of the bishops of London and Lincoln, the abbot of Westminster, and other dignitaries, who were deputed to make a personal appeal to the king imploring him to support the clergy and to preserve the liberties of the church unbroken, as he and his great ancestors

had hitherto done. They suggested a compromise in the matter of the laws made by Convocation, proposing that they should be permitted to make laws in ecclesiastical matters by themselves, but not to publish them save by the king's consent. They further offered to amend any existing laws if in any point they were obnoxious.

The personal appeal to Henry, however, was fruitless; and the second answer also completely failed to satisfy him. The struggle for mastery between Convocation and the king did not last long. There was no one among the clergy of supereminent influence and ability. There were many earnest and devoted men, and not a few scholars, but no one stood out at that juncture conspicuously above his fellows. Warham, the archbishop, when in his prime, would have been scarcely fit to guide and direct the church at such a juncture; he had shown himself an admirable archbishop in quiet times, but he was of little use in moments of stress and storm, and, in addition, Warham was now a very old and worn-out man. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, was the most prominent then among the prelates; but Gardiner was no favourite of the king, and, as we shall see in his subsequent career, was too devoted to the interests of Rome and to the preservation of its ancient power, for the English party among the clergy to be considered as a leader.

The contest was all over before the end of May of that year (1532). With only slight concessions, the king had his way, and in the famous "submission of the clergy" the king's demands were virtually embodied. Two years later the submission was embodied in an Act of Parliament, which also included the Act for restraint of appeals to Rome, hereafter to be described. In this celebrated Act it was ordained that the clergy, according to their submission, were neither to execute their old canons or constitutions nor make new ones without the assent and licence of the king, on pain of imprisonment and fine at the royal pleasure; that their convocations were only to be assembled by the authority of the king's writ; that the king should have power to nominate two-and-thirty persons, sixteen of the spirituality and sixteen of the temporality, to revise the canons, ordinances, and constitutions promised. Henry, however, never took advantage of this last concession.

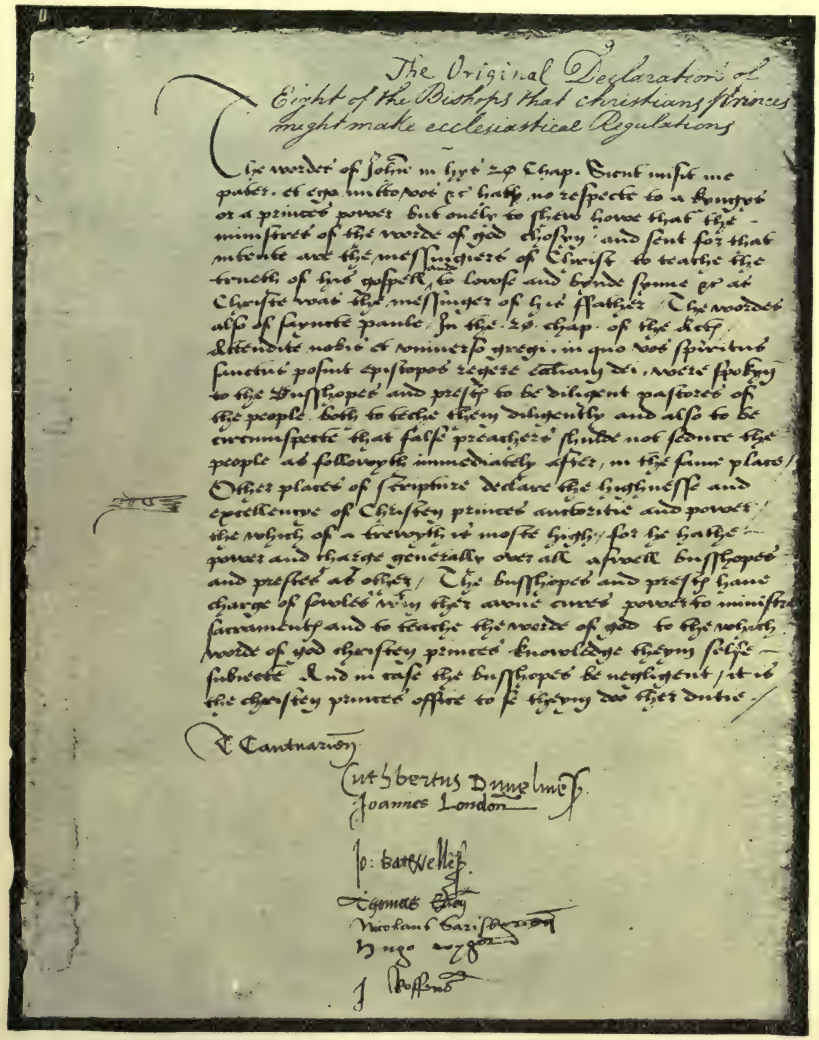
To return to the royal and parliamentary doings of 1532. Three important Acts were the subject of debates in Parliament in the remaining months of this year's sessions. Two of these materially limited the privileges long enjoyed by the clergy of England, and the third was the first considerable blow aimed at the jurisdiction in England of the papal see. The first limited the ancient privilege known as "benefit of clergy." From very ancient times, under the somewhat vague name of "clerks," not only ministers of the church and religious persons in general, but, as it seems, every person who could read and write, might, when accused of petty treason and felonious offences, plead their clergy, and be demanded by the ordinaries of the church to be surrendered to them, as subject to their jurisdiction and not to the king's justices. In times when few, save the clergy and the "religious," possessed even the scantiest knowledge, when few

could read and write, such a privilege was almost entirely confined to the ranks of the clergy and monastics; but when learning grew more general, such a privilege became a positive danger to the state. The statute of 1532 did little more than limit "clergy" to the actual ministers of the church; but it paved the way to other statutes, by which the privilege was taken away even from all ecclesiastical persons. Such legislation must be regarded as emphatically righteous, since privileges of this kind in any well-ordered state could only conduce to laxity and to wrong-doing. To the God-fearing and peaceable among the ecclesiastics "the benefit of clergy," thus understood, would be no boon or assistance.

The second of these statutes was a far more serious blow. It was the first definite attack upon the property of the religious communities and of the church; and this first attack, as we shall have to relate, was quickly followed up by others, and of a far more injurious nature. Under the old feudal system of tenures, lands were held of lords under obligations, often burdensome and oppressive. The chief of these was military service; another occasional but still burdensome obligation was wardship and other rights, which fell to the crown or the lord at every vacancy. To avoid these obligations, lands were often given to churches, and especially to religious houses. Lands thus given were said to be "aliened in mortmain." Being held by "religious persons" in what was termed "frank-almoigne" in pure and perpetual largesse, these lands owed no military service; they became "dead" for all state and national purposes—hence the term "mortmain." Being held, too, in unchangeable perpetuity—for no vacancy could ever occur in a corporation—these lands were subject to none of the ordinary incidents which belonged to a vacancy. Sometimes these donations to churches or religious bodies were real, the results of piety or superstition; this was especially the case in the earlier Middle Ages, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the great age of monastic building and endowment. But as time went on, many such donations were fictitious, being simply given to the church to escape the ordinary obligations, and were received back from the church by the donors on less burdensome conditions.

Such donations, real or fictitious, became a real danger to the state. To guard against it, a whole series of Acts were passed from very early days downwards. We find such a statute in Magna Carta, making it illegal for any to give his lands to a religious house, either by a real or fictitious gift; all such gifts were declared void. The famous statute of "mort-main" of Edward I. is usually quoted as the great example of these statutes. But by different devices these legal provisions had been constantly evaded. Among the various endowments bestowed upon the church, a favourite and very common practice was to leave land to a religious house or church to secure the continual service of a priest to sing masses for the soul of the departed for ever, or at least for threescore or fourscore years. This curious superstition, for it must be reckoned as such, is several times alluded to in the "Paston Correspondence," from which we have already quoted as illustrative

of the religious belief and life of an ordinary English family in the fifteenth century, the century immediately preceding the present era. The act of 1532 limited any such gift thereafter made to a period of twenty years. This new statute would, of course, seriously affect all fresh church endowments, and its effect would be far-reaching.



The Original Declaration of Eight of the Bishops that christians Princes might make ecclesiastical Regulations

DECLARATION OF EIGHT BISHOPS (CRANMER, CUTHBERT TUNSTALL OF DURHAM, JOHN STOKESLEY OF LONDON, JOHN CLARK OF BATH AND WELLS, THOMAS GOODRICH OF ELY, NICHOLAS SHAXTON OF SALISBURY, HUGH LATIMER OF WORCESTER, AND JOHN HILSEY OF ROCHESTER) RECOGNISING THE AUTHORITY OF CHRISTIAN PRINCES IN ECCLESIASTICAL MATTERS. (*British Museum.*)

One more ecclesiastical act of this year

(1532) must be mentioned. Curiously enough, it was made at the request of the clergy themselves. The act to abolish annates, or the first-fruits of bishoprics paid to the see of Rome on every vacancy, was a blow aimed at the power of the Pope. It was a burdensome tax, and its abolition by act of Parliament has been well described as the cutting away of the first of the great Roman cables. It was, however, arranged by the king that this act should not be published for a year, the royal assent, by a special clause, being delayed; in the hope that the Pope might be brought to a better understanding with the English king—presumably on the question of the divorce, which was still pending. When eventually this bill became law, the bishops obtained no advantage from it, for the first-fruits, not only of bishoprics, which used to go to the Pope, but the first-fruits of all benefices whatsoever, were then swept into the royal treasury.

This same ever-memorable year witnessed the resignation of Sir Thomas More as chancellor. He resigned his great office after but a short and troubled tenure, at the same time that the "submission of the clergy" was signed. The spirit of the ecclesiastical legislation was utterly distasteful to him. He foresaw, too, that the work of 1532 was only the beginning of other and more drastic changes—changes which he found his influence would be powerless to stay. No one felt more deeply than did More the urgent necessity of reform in the church, but he dreaded the effect of the removal of the ancient landmarks. What had taken place in Germany ill-disposed him to countenance any steps in legislation which might eventually lead to a similar revolution in England. If the links which bound England to Rome —burdensome though those links were —should be rudely snapped, he feared lest, as had happened in foreign churches, the line of bishops reaching back to apostolic times might be broken too, and a new form of church order and government unknown to the great churches of antiquity substituted. The men, More sadly felt, to whose counsels Henry was even beginning to listen, for the most part cared more for plunder and self-aggrandisement than for reform. The doubts and dreads, so graphically expressed in Erasmus's Letters as already cited, were ever before More's mind, and, to his deeply religious spirit, were presented in a yet more painful aspect. It was a quiet, cautious, thoughtful, (might we use the term) "prayerful" reform that More longed for: dreading with inexpressible dread the after-effects which the stern, ruthless, destructive measures evidently meditated by Henry VIII., would have upon the future of the church, whose errors More deeply and truly mourned over, but which, in spite of errors, he passionately loved. With such a work—destruction rather than construction—in which he felt no sympathy, he would have nothing to do. Before the year closed, Warham of Canterbury died, after delivering his solemn protest against the late legislation; he felt, even more than his friend More, the revolutionary and destructive tendencies of king Henry VIII.'s mind. Less convinced than the great chancellor of the urgent necessity of reforms, he bitterly and sorrowfully condemned the changes, while More contented himself with simply resigning his high

office and descending into private life. But as the sequel sadly showed, More's silence was too dangerous a factor to be ignored: even his silent disapproval cost him his head.

Very early in the next year (1533) Henry VIII. married Anne Boleyn, and in February the "Act for restraint of Appeals" to Rome was passed. The act of the previous year abolishing annates, or the first-fruits of bishoprics paid on every vacancy to the Pope, though passed, was only ratified in July, 1533, some six months later; so the "Act for restraint of Appeals" ranks as the first decisive blow struck by the legislature of England against the papal power.

Too much has been made of the immediate circumstances under which this act was passed. It became law just as the king's divorce from Katharine of Arragon was pronounced, and no doubt Henry's idea of preventing an appeal to Rome by the divorced queen, was a factor in the circumstances which led to the passing of the act at that juncture. But it was only one factor. Strong discontent on the part of the Church of England with Rome had long existed, and the demand of the clergy in Convocation in the previous year, that the "Annates" should be abolished, is a strong proof of this. In some respects the abolition of the payment of annates would be a heavier blow to Rome than the restraining of appeals; and if the temper of the *clergy* was so strong as to demand such a remission of a tribute, long paid to Rome, some idea can be formed of the mood of the Commons, who were not influenced by the scruples which naturally weighed with ecclesiastics. Indeed, the willingness on the part of Parliament and the lukewarm opposition of Convocation when, in the next year, the decisive acts were passed which were directed against the papacy, and which finally separated England from the Roman communion, tell us with no uncertain voice that it was something far deeper than the petulant anger of king Henry VIII. which brought about the great change in the relations of the English church with the bishops of Rome. The heart of England was set upon asserting the complete independence of its national church—the independence it had enjoyed in the far-back days of the Anglo-Saxon Alfred and his great house.

The preamble of this famous statute is notorious, and may be well quoted as an admirable declaration of the imperial majesty of England. It ran thus: "In divers sundry old authentic histories and chronicles it is manifestly declared and expressed that this realm of England is an empire, and so hath been accepted in the world, governed by one supreme head and king." "From the days of Athelstan the kings of the English assumed the title of emperor of Britain, meaning thereby to assert the independence of the English crown of any foreign superior. The title of emperor was meant to assert that the king of the English was not the homager but the peer alike of the Imperator of the West and the Basileus of the East." * It was meant to assert that Britain was the third imperial division of Christendom, while the Britannic churches constituted a separate

* *Cf.* Freeman: "Norman Conquest," chap. iii., sect. 4, and chap. xxiii., sect. 1.

patriarchate. Archbishop Anselm was, we know, styled by Pope Urban at the Council of Bari, A.D. 1098, "Pope of another world" (*Papa alterius orbis*). It was enacted in this important statute that all causes connected with spiritual jurisdiction should be adjudged in England; that no appeals out of the realm were to be made. The prelates of the realm, the ministers and curates, were desired to execute all sacraments and divine services in spite of interdicts or excommunications, on pain of a year's imprisonment. Any person procuring sentences from Rome was to incur the forfeiture of præmunire.

Passing over for a moment certain memorable events which happened in the course of the year of Henry's divorce and re-marriage, we will briefly sketch the sequel to the first anti-papal legislation of the years 1532 and 1533, in the great acts against Rome passed in the following year, the twenty-fifth of king Henry VIII. The same Parliament met on January 15th, 1534. From the rolls of the Upper House we find a large proportion of the spiritual peers were absent; fourteen out of the twenty-six mitred abbots were absent, and only seven of the bishops were in their places. But the legislation which decided the position of the Church of England as a church completely independent of Rome, went on.

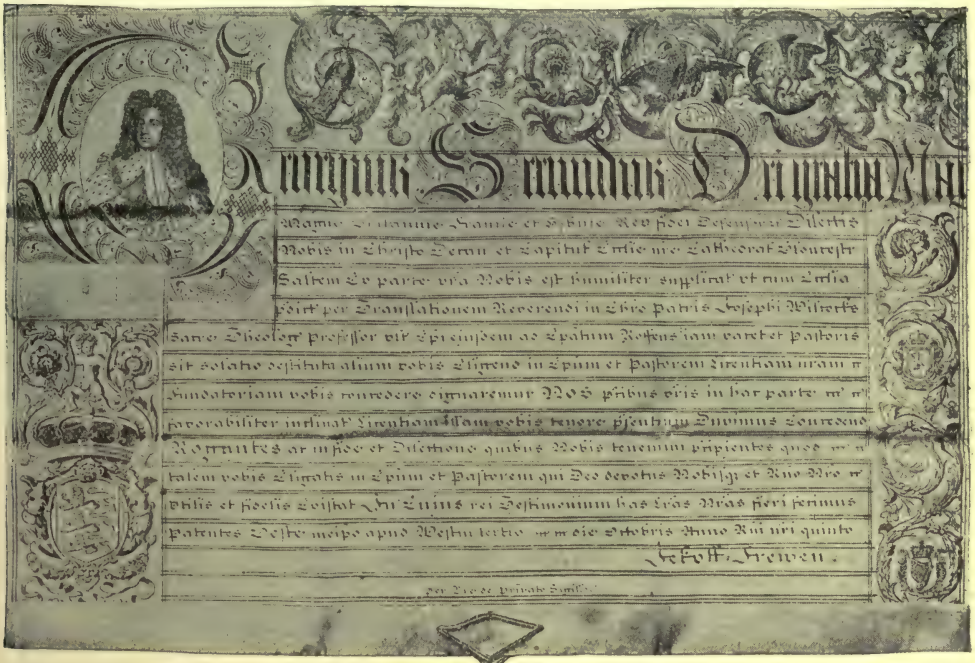
Three great acts bearing on this momentous question were passed. The first, "the Act for the restraint of Annates," repeated but enormously amplified the act passed two years before on the same subject. The second was "the Act concerning Peterpence and dispensations." The third was "the Act for the submission of the clergy and restraint of appeals." A brief notice of these all-important acts in detail will be useful.

In the first, "for the restraint of Annates," a marked change in the title given to the Pope—a change also observable in the other statutes of this year—appears. The "Pope's Holiness" of earlier statutes, became simply "the bishop of Rome, otherwise called the Pope." The former Act forbidding annates, which simply dealt with the liabilities of bishops and with certain payments made by them to Rome, was here greatly enlarged, so as to extinguish *all* payments to the Pope without reserve. It also forbade bulls or breves or any other thing to be procured from Rome; and, what was of great importance, it confined the elections of bishops entirely within the kingdom. This act continued the old process of the licence to the chapter of the cathedral church to elect (the *congé d'élire*), accompanied by a letter missive signifying to the chapter the person whom the king desired to be elected. This customary method of procedure was made now part of the statute law of England. If the chapter failed to elect in a certain number of days, they were placed under a præmunire, and the king proceeded to fill the vacancy by a simple nomination, without further regard to them.*

Much has been written and said on the present mode of appointing archbishops and bishops in the Church of England.

* *Cf.* Dixon's "History of the Church of England from the abolition of Roman Jurisdiction," on whose elaborate and exhaustive note the following short account of the manner of choosing and subsequently electing bishops in the English church is largely based.

The *congé d'élire* or the licence to elect, issued to the cathedral chapter, accompanied by the royal nomination of the person whom the sovereign desires to be elected, has been the subject of much severe criticism. It will be well, therefore, briefly to see what had been the custom which prevailed in England in the centuries preceding the Reformation, in the matter of the appointment of the chief pastors of the church. Going back to the seventh century, to the times of archbishop Theodore, that great organiser of the English church, traces of capitular election are found in his days; and yet we find Theodore presiding at elections made in the Gemot, where *the king and the Witan* were assembled. Plegmund, archbishop of Canterbury, the friend and adviser of Alfred (A.D. 890), is stated in all the Chronicles save one to have been chosen of God and of *all the folk*. A little later (A.D. 995) we read of archbishop Elfric being elected by *the king and all his Witan*, and the chapter of Christ Church, Canterbury, vainly opposing his election. Capitular election was indeed enforced by the reformation of Dunstan, but the regulations of Dunstan were soon broken, and under the later Anglo-Saxon and also in the reign of the Danish kings, we have instances in



CONGÉ D'ÉLIRE,

Issued on the translation of Joseph Wilcocks of Rochester, upon which Dr. Elias Sydall was elected Bishop, 1731. (From the Archives of Gloucester Cathedral.)

which *the king alone* appointed the bishops. Under Canute and his successors we find the practice of investiture with ring and staff. These sacred emblems were sent by the chapter to the king when a vacancy occurred, and were returned by him with a nomination of the person whom *he desired* to have appointed. Edward the Confessor used to notify the appointment of a bishop by charter, without reference to an election. The neglect of any capitular election was urged by the Conqueror in the case of the deposition of Stigand.

The Constitutions of Clarendon, in the reign of the Angevin monarch Henry II., directed that episcopal elections should take place in the royal chapel, subject to the approval of the king and the chief persons in the realm. The system of issuing to the chapter the *congé d'élire*, the king's permission to elect, is said to have been begun by king John. This king promised freedom of election, when his permission to elect had been given. There is no doubt, however, but that the kings soon returned to the old practice of *nominating* the clerk who was to be chosen, the name being given in a letter accompanying the licence to the chapter to elect. It seems clear that freedom of election had only been exercised at rare intervals in the Church of England, and was only secured in those rare intervals by the personal influence of such eminent and powerful men as Dunstan, Anselm, or Langton. The direct influence of the kings in securing the election of their nominees was very rarely resisted.

Thus the act of king Henry VIII., passed in 1534, made no *real* change, save that it once and for all forbade any papal interference in the election of bishops; the power of the crown, save at rare and brief intervals, having ever been supreme in nominations to these episcopal appointments. In other words, the act of 1534 simply legalised what may be termed an almost invariable and immemorial practice in the Church of England.

The choice of the name is nominally still in the hands of the sovereign, but the choice is virtually made by the prime minister of the day; and the prime minister is the representative for the time of the majority of the English people. The sovereign exercises on rare occasions, usually wisely and prudently, the power of veto; but the name suggested, coming as it does from the minister of the majority of the nation, is usually accepted, as it may be said to represent the national choice.

This act, with its startling provisions as regards Roman interference, was quickly supplemented by another containing further clauses asserting the complete independence of the Church of England. This second act was named "the Act concerning Peter-pence and dispensations." This is the statute which the lawyers describe as discharging the subject from all dependence on the see of Rome. It was based upon what it termed the intolerable exactions which the bishop of Rome, otherwise called the Pope, and his chambers, which he called Apostolic, took out of the realm by usurpation and sufferance. These exactions included pensions, Peter-pence, procurations, fruits, bulls for archbishoprics and bishoprics, for appeals, legatine jurisdiction, dispensations, relaxations, and other infinite descriptions of bulls, breves, and Papal instruments. It was said, and

probably with truth, that the Pope got more money out of England than from any other country. Remonstrances had been for a long period frequently made to the papal court, even by those who were well disposed to a papal supremacy, but these remonstrances had been utterly disregarded; and now the cup was full, and all payments of every kind from England to the papal see were swept away by act of Parliament. It is a curious misreading of facts which refers these weighty acts of the legislature to the sole will of the king. It was the *voice of England* which imperatively demanded them.

The well-known contribution to Rome, which stands at the head of the act, called "Peter-pence," which is still collected, as travellers on the Continent are well aware, in every church owning the Roman obedience—the "denier de St. Pierre"—existed in England from very far-back times. It seems to date in our island from the days of the Mercian king Offa, and was originally, no doubt, made for maintaining an English college at Rome. Edward III., in 1366, stopped its payment; but only for a time. This "Act" contained directions for many other sweeping changes; notably that which ordered that all licences, dispensations, and other instruments, formally issuing from Rome, were to be granted henceforth by the archbishop of Canterbury, under restrictions laid down in the statute. Indulgences and all manner of privileges were specially ordered to be reformed by the king's council.

One sinister provision, however, appears in this act, in which the power and influence of the king is sadly visible. It was no doubt largely owing to the advice of one who had much to do with the legislation and proceedings, often high-handed and shamefully unjust, of that disturbed and stormy period of change—Thomas Cromwell, afterwards the vicar-general. There were very many of the religious houses, abbeys, priories, colleges and hospitals, exempt from the jurisdiction of the primate and his suffragans. These had no power of visitation, no right to confirm or to interfere in the election of their superiors or officials. They were alone dependent on the Pope; and now, when the authority of the Pope was entirely swept away, instead of placing these houses and communities under the jurisdiction of the English episcopate, a special provision was introduced into this "Act" setting forth that neither the archbishop of Canterbury nor any other person should have power to "visit or to vex them." This formidable and, as it turned out, fatal power was left in the hands of the king, and of such persons as he chose under the great seal to appoint.

The third of the famous anti-papal acts of 1534 embodied the "submission of the clergy," above referred to at some length, in a formal statute. This act also confirmed again the other, forbidding appeals to Rome.

Other weighty though less important ecclesiastical acts became law in this same session of Parliament—notably an "Act concerning the punishment of Heretics." It will be seen that Henry throughout his reign, in all his various moods, had, while consenting to the abolition of all papal power in England, no intention of departing from the doctrines generally held as vital by the mediæval churches of western

Christendom. A short private act was also passed, which "deprived" the two last of the long succession of foreign bishops who from the time of the Norman Conquest had been intruded into English sees, to their great and lasting detriment. These were cardinal Campeggio, the friend and well-wisher of Erasmus, who had played so useless and ignoble a part as legate to England in the matter of the king's divorce, and who held the see of Salisbury, and Jerome de Ghinucci, who occupied the see of Worcester. The latter had been for years the English agent at Rome.

The "Act of Succession" was the final piece of work of this ever-memorable session. It was framed for the purpose of securing the succession to the crown of England to the children of queen Anne Boleyn, and would not claim any special mention in this history, had it not contained certain clauses which were the immediate cause of the execution of Sir Thomas More and of Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and which also led to the suppression of the Friars Observant. Certain parts of the oath which this act directed the subjects of king Henry to take, touched the consciences of More and Fisher, and their refusal to swear brought both these two eminent men to the block. The story of the last days of More has already been told, and it will have been seen that other causes, besides the question of part of the oath of supremacy, were at work when More and Fisher were condemned. The temper of More was opposed to the drastic church legislation favoured by Henry. He was too great and eminent a personage to be suffered to live in opposition, while Fisher was inextricably bound up with the maintenance of the Roman supremacy. These two, in the eyes of Henry and his advisers—especially More, with his unrivalled genius, his world-wide reputation, his vast and well-deserved influence—were dangerous in the highest degree to the successful carrying out of those designs of a wholesale confiscation of church property, which were being gradually matured in the royal cabinet.

The oath of the succession was tendered to the religious orders, who were already evilly viewed by Henry and his advisers, in a more severe and obnoxious form than that which had been refused by More and Fisher, and accepted by Parliament and the secular clergy. The friars were especially an object of dislike and suspicion. The religious houses were required to swear not only that the marriage between Henry and Anne Boleyn was just and legitimate, but also publicly to preach and persuade the same on every occasion. They were also desired to swear that they would ever hold the king to be head of the Church of England; and in the oath which was presented to them they had to swear also that the bishop of Rome, who had usurped the name of Pope, had no more authority or jurisdiction than other bishops, in England or elsewhere, in their own dioceses. There was an evident intention, in the case of the religious communities, to *make the oath intolerable*. Contrary, however, to expectation, the oath in its new and offensive form was almost universally taken by the monastic orders. Only in two instances was it formally refused, for the fitful resistance of the Brigitites or reformed Austin friars at Sion in Brentford

gave, comparatively speaking, little trouble to the authorities.

The Carthusians of London, however, at first obstinately refused. After some pressure and persecution they yielded, but we shall soon see what was the temper of

THE OUTER COURT, OLD CHARTERHOUSE.

this famous house, when we have to relate the terrible Charterhouse tragedy, which followed almost immediately. The Friars Observant, an order of reformed Franciscans, possessed at this time several houses in England; they were a small but admirably disciplined body, and in their ranks were several of the most eloquent preachers of the day. At Greenwich the Observants declined the oath, with the result that the whole order was suppressed, their houses were emptied of their inhabitants, and friars of the Augustinian order were introduced into their friaries. This was the first suppression, and preceded the general confiscation of the lesser communities by some two years. The Observant Friars were treated with great rigour; many were imprisoned, and fifty are said to have died in confinement. The remainder were banished from the realm. The entire number of the English "Observants" did not exceed two hundred. Nothing save their refusal to take the oath

seems to have been alleged against them. They maintained "they had professed St. Francis' religion, and in the observance thereof they would live and die."

In the November of this same memorable year, 1534, Parliament reassembled and continued its ecclesiastical legislation. The first act declared that the king ought to have the title of "Supreme Head of the Church of England." The act rehearsed that the clergy (in Convocation) had so acknowledged him already. The king was to have power and authority "to visit and reform errors, heresies, contempts, and offences." How completely and terribly Henry determined to avail himself of this power thus granted him by the legislature will soon have to be described.

The next act was a strange and novel form of oppression. It annexed to the crown the first-fruits and profits for one year of every spiritual benefice, from archbishoprics down to very small benefices, and a yearly tenth of the same. Commissioners were to search for the value of every benefice. The charge of collecting the tenths was thrown upon the bishops. In consideration of these yearly payments a fifth part of the enormous fine, levied in consequence of the alleged præmunire two years before, was remitted.

The act for suffragan bishops was also passed in this late session of 1534. Twenty-six towns were named for the sees of as many suffragan bishops, who might be appointed at the request of diocesans requiring assistance in their episcopal duties. About half that number of diocesans accepted this relief in the five years which followed the passing of this useful act. Under the old system suffragans without sees had been frequently appointed, with titles generally taken from some distant foreign town, by those diocesan bishops who chose to have them. The title of bishop of Sidon, for instance, had been given to a succession of suffragan bishops who assisted the archbishops of Canterbury. The bishop of Negropont was the suffragan of York. The obscure Reonen (an Athenian town) gave a name to the assistant to the bishop of Salisbury. The general idea of this act was to assert the absolute independence of England of all foreign churches by doing away with the very name of continental sees which acknowledge the obedience of Rome, in the case of these suffragan or coadjutor bishops. The practice of appointing these bishops "in partibus," as it is termed, as assistants to continental bishops in communion with Rome, is still preserved abroad.

The titles named in this act, in many well-known instances, have been revived in our own day in the case of the lately-appointed suffragan bishops. The twenty-six towns named in this act are as follows: *Thetford*, Ipswich, *Colchester*, *Dover*, *Guildford*, *Southampton*, Taunton, Shaftesbury, Molton, *Marlborough*, *Bedford*, Gloucester, *Leicester*, *Shrewsbury*, Bristol, Penrith (Llandaff), Bridgewater, *Nottingham*, Grantham, *Hull*, Huntingdon, Cambridge, Penrith, Berwick, St. Germans in Cornwall, and the Isle of Wight. The towns in italics have in late years been taken as the titles of bishops suffragan appointed at the request of diocesans requiring aid for their large and increasing sees. Two of the number — Gloucester and

Bristol — have been constituted separate dioceses.

At the beginning of the year 1533, Cranmer had been appointed archbishop of Canterbury. Warham had died at the close of 1532. Before the end of 1534, the severance of the Church of England from Rome was completed by the formal giving up by Cranmer of the style and title of legate; an office which had been inherent in the arch-see of Canterbury since the days of William of Corbeuil, in the early part of the twelfth century. Cranmer commanded in Convocation that the title of "legate" should be disused, and the word "metropolitan" inserted instead of it.

Not to interrupt the sketch of the great anti-papal acts of Parliament which heralded the Reformation in England, we did not mention a very memorable martyrdom which took place in the year 1533; memorable because the writings of the martyr, an almost unknown scholar when in pain and agony he uttered his testimony, had in after-years some influence on the thoughts and conclusions of the English reform leaders.

John Frith had been a pupil of Gardiner at Oxford, and had, on the invitation of Wolsey, joined the new and stately Oxford foundation of Cardinal College, afterwards Christ Church. There he became an ardent student of the forbidden Lutheran literature, and as a suspected heretic was imprisoned. Subsequently released by the orders of the liberal-minded Wolsey, he betook himself to Flanders, and became the friend of Tyndale. We soon hear of him as one of the members of the secret society of Christian Brethren. This society numbered in its ranks many earnest and God-fearing men, who were pained and thoroughly dissatisfied with the state of religious affairs in England and on the Continent; but mingled with these good and earnest men were not a few turbulent spirits who loved change and revolution for their own selfish ends, and who gave this secret society the colour of hostility to the state. Frith was betrayed, the story says, by his own associates. He came into direct collision with the then chancellor, Sir Thomas More—a bitter enemy of Lutheranism and the "new" teaching. An interchange of pamphlets took place on the subject of the nature of the sacrament, More upholding the mediæval orthodox teaching concerning transubstantiation; Frith putting forth generally the doctrinal teaching which has since been generally accepted in our church and set forth in her formularies. To More's "letter impugning the erroneous writing of John Frith against the blessed sacrament of the altar," Frith replied in an exhaustive tract, or book, "on the sacrament."

This was a most learned and lucid refutation of the doctrine of transubstantiation, and was the storehouse of references and deductions from which Cranmer afterwards so largely borrowed. Indeed, the words with which, in the Book of Common Prayer, "the Order of the administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion" closes, are the words of Frith, who perished at the stake in 1533: "The natural body and blood of our Saviour Christ are in Heaven, and not here, it being against the truth of Christ's

natural body to be at one time in more places than one."

Frith has been well termed the most genuine martyr of the Reformation. "We may admire the greatness of the man who first died for freedom of conscience, and in sweet and touching words justified himself in laying down his life upon that ground." It was this great theologian who first suggested to the Church of England, that it was a supreme act of tyranny to make all dogmas equally binding. He denied, for instance, the common opinion concerning purgatory, but added, "Nevertheless I count neither part a necessary article of our faith, necessary to be believed in on pain of damnation, *whether there be a purgatory or not.*" Of the more important and hotly-disputed dogma of transubstantiation he wrote in similar language: That this "should be a *necessary* article of the faith, I think no man can say it with a good conscience, although it were true indeed."

There have been, and are, uncounted thousands in our Church of England who have never heard of Frith; but his holy thoughts have permeated the views and teaching of our best and truest divines. These holy and humble men condemn the dogmas of purgatory and of transubstantiation, and many other disputed articles of faith taught in the mediæval schools of theology; yet they would be as far as possible from pretending their belief in the eternal damnation of those who held these articles. Our church wisely and righteously makes a broad distinction between the fundamental articles of belief and those non-fundamental dogmas which may be held or rejected without incurring eternal condemnation; not so Rome. "The cause of my death," wrote this true martyr, "is this—because I cannot in conscience swear that our prelates' opinion of the Sacrament (that is, that the substance of the bread and wine is verily changed into the flesh and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ) is an undoubted article of faith, necessary to be believed under pain of damnation." Again, with great lucidity he writes: "Now, though this opinion *were true* (which thing they can neither prove by Scripture nor doctors), yet could I not in conscience grant that it should be an article of the faith necessary to be believed, for there are many verities which yet may be no such articles of our faith. It is true that I lay in irons when I wrote this, howbeit I would not have you to receive this truth for an article of our faith, *for you may think the contrary without danger of damnation.*" Such wise charity, in questions not fundamental, has been the glory and strength of the Church of England since the Reformation.

We have a letter which Cranmer, the new archbishop, wrote at this time to his friend Hawkins, the English ambassador in Germany. It is deeply interesting to read now the light words with which the man who played subsequently so great a part in the English Reformation, dismissed the awful tragedy of which the sad hero was Frith; Frith, from whose writings he afterwards learned so much, learned those deep truths, for which in the end he, too, chose to die! "Other news we have none notable," he writes, "but that one Frith, which was in the Tower in prison, was appointed by the king's grace to be examined before me (and others), whose opinion was so notably erroneous that we

could not despatch him, but were fain to leave him to the determination of his ordinary, the bishop of London. . . . He thought it not necessary to be believed as an article of our faith that there is the very corporeal presence of Christ within the host and sacrament of the altar, . . . and surely I myself sent for him three or four times to persuade him to leave *that imagination*. But for all that we could do therein, he would not apply to any counsel. Notwithstanding, now he is at a final end with all examinations, for my lord of London hath given sentence and delivered him to the secular power, where he looketh every day to go unto the fire. And there is also condemned with him one Andrew, a tailor, for the same opinion; and thus fare you well."

Frith and Andrew Hewitt, the poor tailor, whose general answer to the questions put at the trial was that "he thought as Frith thought," went quickly to their martyrs' crowns at Smithfield, where, alas! the too true story tells us, Frith's cruel sufferings were prolonged. "Twenty years later another fire was blazing under the walls of Oxford, and the hand which wrote those light lines above quoted was blackening in the flames of it, paying there the penalty of the same *imagination* for which Frith and the poor London tailor were with such cool indifference condemned. It is affecting to know that Frith's writings

FRITH GOING TO MARTYRDOM.

were the instrument of Cranmer's conversion."*

During the year 1535 there was no session of the Parliament we have termed the Reformation Parliament, which opened in 1529 and ran on until the spring of 1536, and which, from the importance of its legislation, will be ever memorable in the annals of our country. In this year the king appointed his favourite and confidential minister, Thomas Cromwell, vicar-general in things ecclesiastical. It was a new title and a new office, imitated, but on a very different scale, from an ancient church office. Cardinal Wolsey had been vicar-general of the Pope in England. It was also usual for a bishop to have a vicar-general in his diocese. The new vicar-general represented the "Supreme Head of the Church." A commission was now appointed by the king to visit all churches, metropolitical, cathedral, and collegiate; all monasteries and hospitals; priories, dignities, offices—in a word, all places ecclesiastical, secular, and regular; to inquire into the lives and conversation of all presidents and prelates of the same, of whatever rank and dignity, and of all who dwelt in or held office in any of the places specified in the commission. The chief of this all-powerful commission was the new vicar-general, who was to nominate other commissioners to assist him.

The powers entrusted to Cromwell and his subordinates on the commission were enormous. Those whom in the course of their visitation they deemed culpable, they might deprive or suspend. They were empowered to make fresh statutes and ordinances. They might hold synods, chapters, and convocations, over which they were to preside. They were to hold elections of prelates, and indicate who should be elected. The great work of this powerful tribunal was the suppression of the monasteries in England, which was carried into effect in the course of the next five years. It will be interesting to glance at the life-story and character of the famous and bitterly-hated man who stood at its head, and who worked such havoc in the magnificent and stately edifice of the still powerful mediæval Church of England.

Strangely different portraits have been drawn of this powerful and able statesman. Of those drawn from contemporary sources, cardinal Pole, who represents the Roman view, frequently in his biography of Cromwell styles him "the messenger of Satan," occasionally the "man of sin," the monster of England, a wretch of low birth, brutal insolence, and atheistic morals. In more chastened language, this estimate of the great minister has been held by one school of writers down to our time. On the other hand, a different school of portraiture is represented by Foxe, whose strong anti-papal instincts led him to look gently, if not with absolute approval, upon all the high-handed ruin that was accomplished when Cromwell was minister. Comparing him with the distinguished statesmen of the age, he does not scruple to write of him thus:—"If there was more of human learning in More and Gardiner, there was, it seems, in Cromwell a more heavenly light of the mind, and more prompt and perfect judgment, together with a more heroical and princely disposition."

* Froude: "History of England," chap. v.

In our own day and time, with all the advantages of abundant material out of which to form a just estimate, our leading historians are still completely divided. Canon Dixon, in his most thoughtful and accurate history, "can see no greatness in him either of mind or soul: he was simply a servant." Bishop Stubbs, more cautious, considers him the greatest and most famous of Henry's ministers, but alludes to his character as being even more mysterious than his master's, dwelling especially on his "mysterious unconscientiousness;" yet while evidently viewing his character and policy with strong disapprobation, considers that during that stormy period from 1535 to 1540, Cromwell was the real hero of the hour. Froude, on the other hand, exhausts his rhetoric in a panegyric of this "Malleus Monachorum"—the hammer of the monastic orders; and while allowing that "a long list of solemn tragedies weigh upon his memory; that he was the fierce executor of fiercer laws; that his was an unflinching resolution which neither danger could daunt nor saintly virtue move to mercy; that those who, from any motive, noble or base, pious or impious, crossed his path, he crushed, and passed on over their bodies," he pleads, at the same time, "that his aim was noble, that the object he was pursuing—the excellence of which, as his mind saw it, transcended all other considerations—was the freedom of England and the destruction of idolatry."

The earlier years of this life, which was destined so powerfully to influence the fortunes of the English church, and whose work will ever remain a dark blot on the story of the English Reformation, are surrounded with the mist of uncertainty. His was undoubtedly a wild and stormy youth. We hear of his being obliged—still young—to leave England, and to wander abroad in Italy and other places, where not improbably he took part in those unprincipled campaigns, in one of which Rome was stormed and sacked. Returning to England, his marriage brought him some fortune, and as a woollen dealer he amassed a fair competence. Subsequently he was brought in contact with Wolsey, the then all-powerful chancellor. Wolsey was struck with his talents and capacity for work, and employed him as his agent in visiting and breaking up the smaller religious houses, which the Pope had granted for the foundation of the new college There is no reason to doubt but that his conduct to his master, when he fell into disgrace, was noble and chivalrous; indeed, Cromwell's fidelity, first to Wolsey and then to Henry, was the brightest spot in his strange and complex character. It is unfair to belittle his conduct to the fallen chancellor, which is spoken of in warm and grateful terms by Wolsey's devoted and loving personal attendant, Cavendish, to whose memoir we owe so many and such interesting details of the latter days of the great cardinal. It was probably this chivalrous devotion to his fallen minister which favourably influenced Henry.

At all events, the king soon took Cromwell, who had been trained, as the king well knew, by the ablest statesman of the age, into his confidence, and rapidly promoted him in his service. He became successively chancellor of the exchequer, secretary of state, lord privy seal and great chamberlain, and, most important

of all, vicar-general in matters ecclesiastical. Later he was created Earl of Essex. In Parliament he took precedence of the nobles of every rank, by virtue of his ecclesiastical title of king's vicar-general. His career has been well described as "that of a slave at once constituted grand vizier in an Eastern despotism, rather than that of a minister of state promoted in a constitutional government, where law, usage, and public opinion check the capricious humours of the sovereign." *

The work of havoc and destruction carried on between the years 1535–40, in which period Cromwell was virtually sole minister, will be related in its place: here we are briefly summarising the history of Cromwell. In 1540 the all-powerful vicar-general fell. His fall was even more sudden than his marvellous elevation. Various causes, as will be seen, contributed to Cromwell's ruin. The royal disappointment in the matter of the person of Anne of Cleves, the new queen, is usually given as the occasion of Henry's fatal anger. But there were other and deeper reasons at work, closely connected with the Reformation storm, which made the vicar-general and his policy utterly distasteful at that moment to the imperious monarch; and the world was suddenly startled by the news that the all-powerful Cromwell, the most despotic minister who had ever governed England, had paid for his actions, variously estimated, with his life.

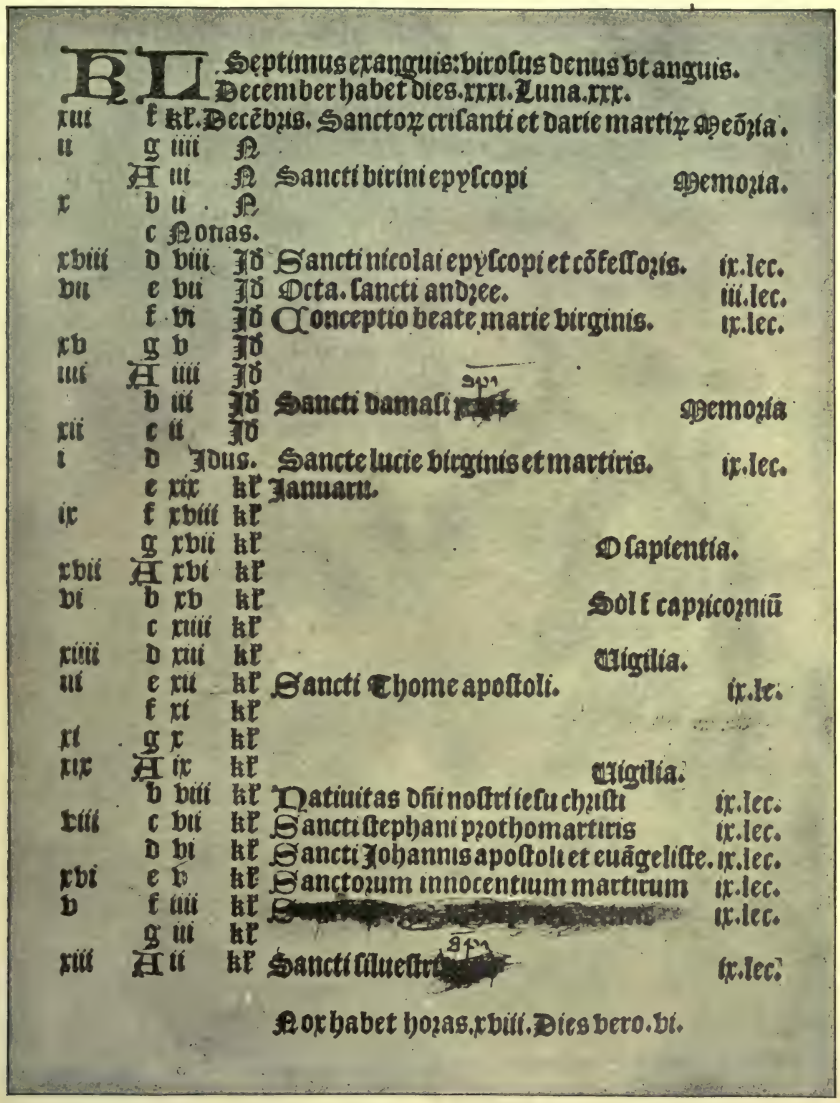
The parliamentary engine of attainder was employed against Cromwell. No voice save the pitiful Cranmer's was raised in his favour. The subservient Parliament then sitting, quickly did the king's will, and Cromwell, without trial, was sent to the block on Tower Hill, unpitied and unmourned, to receive the dread guerdon of a traitor. He was emphatically not a good man—self-seeking, avaricious, merciless, the instrument of a mighty wrong; all this and more may fairly be predicated by the unbiassed historian of this strange and brilliant statesman. But he was no traitor; faithful and loyal to the end, he had simply done too thoroughly the will of the great despot who sat on the throne of England. Much, however, has to be related before that scene took place on Tower Hill which closed Cromwell's life.

Once more we take up the story of the year 1535, which witnessed his appointment as vicar-general. In the same year, acting under Henry's directions, the lord chancellor Audley issued a commission for ascertaining the true value of the first-fruits and annual tenths of all sees and benefices, which Parliament, in the last session of the preceding year, 1534, had ordered to be paid to the crown. To this commission is owing the famous document so often quoted, known as the "Valor Ecclesiasticus" of Henry VIII. The "Valor Ecclesiasticus" was a schedule of the whole of the revenue of the church property in England. It has been well described as a fair, though hardly a friendly survey. The following brief notes on this interesting and most weighty state paper will be useful.

It shows, first, that there had been no marked change in church property for above two centuries and a half. This deduction is arrived at by a careful ex-

* Lord Campbell: "Lives of the Chancellors."

amination of the revenues of the Church as shown in the document called the sidering the large increase in the revenue of the whole kingdom since that date,



Septimus exanguis: birotus denus bt anguis.
December habet dies. xxxi. Luna. xxx.

xvi f kl. Decēbꝛis. Sanctoꝝ crisanti et darie martiꝝ Memoꝛia.
ii g iiii N
A iii N Sancti birini epyscopi Memoꝛia.
x b ii N
c Nonas.
xviii d viii Jō Sancti nicolai epyscopi et cōfessoꝛis. ix. lec.
vii e vii Jō Octa. sancti andꝛee. iii. lec.
f vi Jō Conceptio beate marie virginis. ix. lec.
xb g v Jō
iiii A iiii Jō
b iii Jō Sancti damasi [erased] Memoꝛia
xii c ii Jō
i d Idus. Sancte lucie virginis et martiris. ix. lec.
e xix kl Januaꝛii.
ix f xviii kl
g xvii kl O sapientia.
xvii A xvi kl
vi b xv kl Sol t capꝛicoꝛniū
c xiiii kl
xiiii d xiii kl Vigilia.
ii e xii kl Sancti Thome apostoli. ix. le.
f xi kl
xi g x kl
xix A ix kl Vigilia.
b viii kl Natiuitas dñi nostꝛi ieſu chꝛisti ix. lec.
viii c vii kl Sancti stephani pꝛothomaꝛtiꝛis ix. lec.
d vi kl Sancti Johannis apostoli et euāgeliste. ix. lec.
xvi e v kl Sanctoꝝ innocentium maꝛtiꝛum ix. lec.
v f iiii kl S[erased] ix. lec.
g iii kl
xiii A ii kl Sancti siluestꝛi [erased] ix. lec.

Nox habet hoꝛas. xviii. Dies vero. vi.

PAGE FROM A HEREFORD MISSAL IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, SHOWING THE ERASURE OF ST. THOMAS À BECKET'S DAY, AND THE SUBSTITUTION OF THE WORD "BISHOP" FOR "POPE" IN THE CALENDAR FOR DECEMBER.

"Taxation" of Pope Nicholas, made in the reign of Edward I. Indeed, con- though the revenues of the church and the monastic orders set forth in the

"Valor" of Henry VIII. show an absolute increase, yet when compared with the revenues of the kingdom, in reality they show a decrease. The exact compilation is stated to be as follows: Under Edward I. the church income was about eleven-fiftieths ($\frac{11}{50}$) of the whole revenue of the kingdom; under Henry VIII. it was about eight-seventy-fifths ($\frac{8}{75}$). These figures are given to enable the student to form some idea of the possessions of the church and the religious houses at the period of the Reformation in the sixteenth century. The property of the church at the period referred to was undoubtedly very large, when everything was taken into consideration—so large as to excite cupidity, and especially in the case of the greater abbeys and cathedrals, where the wealth and magnificence of the shrines were publicly displayed. But there is no doubt that interested parties took pains to exaggerate the extent and value of the church's possessions.

Roughly speaking, there were before the Reformation (1535) 12,474 promotions or benefices of various kinds: 21 archbishoprics and bishoprics, 11 deaneries, 60 archdeaconries, 394 dignities and prebends, 8,803 benefices, 605 religious houses, 110 hospitals, 96 colleges, 2,374 chantries and free chapels. Of course, it must be borne in mind that all exact calculations are impossible, but generally calculating the probable difference in the value of money in the sixteenth and the second half of the nineteenth centuries, the revenues of the Church of England—including the monastic orders—amounted on the eve of the English Reformation to scarcely four millions of our money (£4,000,000). This calculation is arrived at by multiplying the amount of revenue of the church of the sixteenth century by twelve, the value of money then being roughly ten to twelve times greater than at the close of the nineteenth.*

Early in the same year a formal renunciation of the Pope was taken of the bishops. These promised never to take an oath of fealty or obedience to any foreign power; they undertook to maintain the king's cause and quarrel, to observe all the laws which had been enacted for the suppression of the papacy, not to appeal to Rome, or procure from the bishop of Rome any bulls, breves, or prescripts whatsoever. They declared the papacy or Roman patriarchate not to have been ordained of God in holy Scripture, but by human tradition; and they promised henceforth never to call the bishop of Rome by the name of pope or universal bishop, but to call him only bishop of Rome or brother. This was the first document derived evidently from Lutheranism; the titles therein denied to the Roman pontiff were those which had been denied by Luther.

Letters general were also sent to the bishops in the June of 1535, commanding them to preach the sincere word of God and the new title of the king, and to see that their clergy, both secular and regular, did the same every Sunday and feast-day. They were to cause all prayers, rubrics, and canons in mass-books and other books used in churches in which the bishop of Rome was named, to be rased out, "that

* Compare Speed's tables made from the "Valor Ecclesiasticus," quoted and summarised in Dixon, "History of Church of England," chap. iv.

the name and memory of the bishop of Rome, except to his contumely and reproach, might be extinct, suppressed, and obscured." It was ordered, too, that every preacher should preach at least once against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome, and that no man should defend the same; also that for a year no preacher should preach either for or against purgatory, honouring of saints, marriage of priests, pilgrimages, miracles (alluding, of course, to modern miracles), which things had hitherto caused dissension in the realm. These directions and others of less importance seem to have been obeyed by the bishops. We have no account of any opposition.

The same year was memorable also for some terrible executions, including that of Sir Thomas More and bishop Fisher. The persecution of the Carthusians, in the matter of the oath to the supreme head of the church, was recommenced, and a bloody vengeance was exacted. The story of the tragedy of the London Carthusians will ever be told and re-told as an example of the intense earnestness which inspired the more serious souls in the Reformation age. We, who now rejoice in the fruits of the sufferings nobly borne by the Marian martyrs, who enjoy comparative freedom, who are blessed with purer and more primitive doctrines, who worship with the ancient rites purified from mediæval superstition—a freedom, a creed, and rites purchased with the agony of such martyrs as Frith and Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer—must not refuse our tribute of admiration to heroes who died on the other side, very nobly described as "gallant men whose high forms, in the sunset of the old faith, stand transfigured on the horizon, tinged with the light of its dying glory." *

Among the monastic orders the Carthusians were at this period especially respected, owing to the exceptional sanctity of their lives. At the time when the questions of the royal succession and the abjuration of the papal supremacy were fiercely agitating men's minds, the prior of the London Charterhouse, John Houghton, was suspected, not without reason, to be privately exhorting his penitents, and those over whom he exercised influence, to remain firm in refusing to abjure the supremacy of the Pope. The Carthusian prior was a man of great attainments, and of fervid piety. Educated at Cambridge, against the wishes of his family he entered early into the ranks of the secular clergy, and subsequently became a Carthusian monk. In that order he was quickly promoted to offices of trust and dignity. For twenty years before the storm broke, he had served God in "religion." He is described by one who knew him well as "in person short, with a graceful figure and dignified appearance; his actions modest, his voice gentle, chaste in body, in heart humble, he was admired and sought after by all, and by his community was most beloved and esteemed. One and all revered him, and none were ever known to speak a word against him. . . . He governed rather by example than precept, and his subjects were influenced as much by the fervour of his pre-eminent sanctity, as by the burning exhortations he addressed to them in their chapter. He rarely offered mass, but that he was rapt in ecstasy, and poured forth

* Froude.

floods of tears at the recollection of Christ's loving kindness and compassion." * Such was the prior of the London Carthusians, when the oath touching the royal succession, and the headship of the Church of England, was tendered amongst other communities to the English Carthusians.

At first the prior refused, and preferred imprisonment to subscribing to the oath required. But eventually, persuaded by certain "good and learned men," such as Stokesley, bishop of London, and Lee, archbishop of York, that the present controversy was not a lawful cause for which they should expose themselves to death, Houghton and his companions yielded to the king's commandments, and took the proposed oath, with this condition: "so far as it was lawful." Months passed on, and the act giving the king the title of "Supreme Head of the Church of England" became the law of the land. The provisions of the act in question were put into force, and the doomed order were required again to subscribe, *without reservation.*

We possess a singularly vivid account of all that took place in what Froude calls "one of the grand scenes of history, a solemn battle fought out to the death by the champions of rival principles." The author of the recital was one who, as an eye-witness of most of the scenes which he so pathetically describes, is especially worthy of credence. Maurice Chauncey,† who tells the simple story, was a Carthusian monk, and one of the few who gave way under the hard trial, but subsequently bitterly repented that he, unlike his happier companions, had missed the crown of martyrdom. In the earlier chapters of his recital, Chauncey gives "a loving, lingering picture of his cloister life, to him the perfection of earthly happiness. It is placed before us in all its superstition, its devotion, and its simplicity, the counterpart, even in minute details, of accounts of cloisters, when monasticism was in its young vigour, which had been written ten centuries before. St. Bede or St. Cuthbert might have found himself in the house of the London Carthusians, and he would have had few questions to ask, and no duties to learn or to unlearn. The form of the buildings would have seemed more elaborate, the notes of the organ would have added richer solemnity to the services, but the salient features of the scene would have been all familiar. He would have lived in a cell of the same shape, he would have thought the same thoughts, spoken the same words in the same language. The prayers, the daily life, almost the very faces with which he was surrounded would have seemed unaltered. A thousand years of the world's "history had rolled by, and these lonely islands of prayer had remained still anchored in the stream, the strands of the ropes which held them wearing now to a thread, and very near their last parting, but still unbroken." *

In the quiet of the holy house, when the summons came requiring the brethren formally to submit to the royal mandate and to reject the papal authority, prior Houghton called his monks together and bade them to prepare for the worst. Then follows the description of several days of quiet preparation, of mutual exhortation

* Chauncey; quoted by Dr. Gasquet, vol. i., chap. vi.

† Froude calls him "Chamney."

* Froude: "History of England," chap. ix.

and confession one to the other. On the third day the mass of the Holy Ghost was sung, and with touching faith Chauncey into their hearts. And then followed a sweet, soft sound of music, at which our venerable father (Houghton) was so moved

WASH-HOUSE COURT, OLD CHARTERHOUSE.

recalls "how God made known His presence among us. For when the host was lifted up, there came, as it were, a whisper of air which breathed upon our faces as we knelt. Some perceived it with the bodily senses; all felt it as it thrilled that he sank down in tears, and for a long time could not continue the service—we all remaining stupefied, hearing the melody, but knowing neither whence it came nor whither it went; only our hearts rejoiced as we perceived that God was with us

indeed." * With the prior just then were two other of the English Carthusian chiefs —Lawrence, prior of Beauvale in Nottinghamshire, and Webster, prior of Axholm in Lincolnshire—who had come up to consult with their London brethren on the course of action the order was to adopt in this their hour of trial. "Thus, with unobtrusive nobleness, did these poor men prepare themselves for their end, not less beautiful in their resolution, not less deserving the everlasting remembrance of mankind, than those three hundred who, in the summer morning, sat combing their golden hair in the passes of Thermopylæ. We will not regret their cause; there is no cause for which any man can more nobly suffer than to witness that it is better for him to die than to speak words which he does not mean. Nor in this their hour of trial were they (as we have seen) left without higher comfort." †

The end came quickly enough. The three priors went in person to Cromwell, the then all-powerful minister of the crown, telling him plainly that the order dared not go against what the Catholic church had always held (the fact of the Roman supremacy). They were committed to the Tower, were tried, and condemned as guilty of treason. The three, together with a Brigitite monk, Reynolds, and one John Hale, vicar of Isleworth, were executed at Tyburn in the May of 1535. The details of the execution were singularly horrible. The "religious" were drawn to the place of execution in their habits. They were each offered, as they mounted the scaffold, a pardon if, even at the last moment, they would obey the king and the parliament. Each rejected the offer of life at the price of a guilty conscience. They were hanged, cut down still alive (Houghton in his great agony was able still to utter a prayer), the heart was torn from each sufferer; they were then beheaded and dismembered; the whole of the awful scene being carefully arranged so as to afford a terrible example to "religious" and ecclesiastics of the punishment which would surely follow upon disobedience to the royal command. The arm of prior Houghton was hung up over the archway of the London Charterhouse—a bloody sign intended to awe the remaining brethren of the order into submission.*

But there was no submission to be found among the Carthusian monks. The gallant spirit of Houghton and his brother sufferers inspired the brethren of the order. A few weeks were left to them to reflect; then three more were taken, tried, and executed. With the rest, other measures were adopted. The monks of the stubborn house were dispersed among more pliant communities. Two of them, we read, were involved in the "Pilgrimage of Grace," the story of which is related further on, and were hanged in chains at York. Ten were sent subsequently to Newgate; but no suffering made any impression upon these devoted men. Nine of these prisoners died miserably of prison fever and cruel hardships in confinement; the tenth was publicly executed. Some of the remainder, of whom the writer of the story (Chauncey) was one, went through

* Quoted from the original by Gasquet: "Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries," chap. vi.

† Froude's "History," vol. ii., chap ix.

* *Cf.* Gasquet, vol. i., chap. vi.; Froude: Hist. of Eng., ch. ix.

some kind of formal submission, and escaped abroad.

"So fell the monks of the London Charterhouse, splintered to pieces—for so only could their resistance be overcome—by the iron sceptre and the iron hand which held it. The story claims from us that sympathy which is the due of their exalted courage." *

The trial and death of the Carthusian monks sent a thrill of horror through Europe. The death of cardinal Fisher and More filled up the cup of indignation at Rome, and the insulting words of the acts directed against the supremacy of Rome, followed by the stern measures adopted by Henry to enforce the statutes, such as the erasure of the prayers in which the name of the Pope appeared, were avenged by Pope Paul III. in perhaps the most terrific instrument ever issued from the Roman chancery. The language of that bull of interdict and anathema, was indeed terrible. The king of England was pronounced accursed. When he died his body was to remain unburied; his soul, blasted with anathemas, would be cast into hell; while the lands of his subjects who remained faithful to him were laid under a interdict, their children were disinherited, their marriages illegal, their wills invalid. All the subjects of the king without exception were absolved from their allegiance. The entire nation, under the dread penalty of excommunication, was commanded no longer to acknowledge Henry as their sovereign. The clergy, leaving a few of their number to baptise the new-born infants, were to withdraw from the accursed land, and return no more till it had submitted. The awful anathema was for the time, owing, it is said, to the remonstrance or the intercession of Francis I., king of France, suspended. Three years later, however, in 1538, when by the continued destruction of monasteries, shrines, and sacred images, hereafter to be related, and above all by the outrage on Canterbury and its revered saint, St. Thomas Becket, the king of England had dared the worst, the dread bull of excommunication and deposition was finally launched.

But it fell in strange silence. It was disregarded in England, and on the Continent no one seems to have paid much heed to it. The power of England was too great to be assailed by any faithful servant of Rome. So utterly did the scathing papal anathema fail in its purpose, so harmlessly fell the bolt from Rome, which was intended to wither Henry and his advisers, that men have even asked whether the instrument in question was ever formally promulgated at all!

* Froude.

CHAPTER XLVI.

SUPPRESSION OF THE LESSER MONASTERIES.

Iniquity of the Suppression as carried out by Henry VIII.—Cromwell's Visitation of the Universities—Visitation of the Lesser Monasteries in 1535—The Commissioners—The Vicar-General—The King—All the Lesser Monasteries granted to the Crown by the Parliament of 1536—The Charges of Immorality—The King's "Declaration" or Black Book—The "Comperta"—Obvious Inconsistency of the Accusations—Absence of Confessions—Subservience of the Parliament—Testimony of the Pensions—The Act itself Vindicates the Large Houses—Political Motives for the Suppression—Its Method—Statistics—Popular Revolt in Lincolnshire—Suppression by the King—The "Pilgrimage of Grace"—Intrigues of Cardinal Pole—Henry's Vengeance.

IT would be impossible for the unbiassed historian to advance any convincing pleas for the purity of Henry VIII.'s motives in the carrying out of the suppression of the monastic orders in his realm. Those among us—and they form the large majority of the thoughtful and cultured in our land—who are thoroughly persuaded of the immense advantage which the Reformation as a whole brought to our church and country, look with the gravest disapprobation on the great confiscation which took place, and on the means used to bring this suppression and confiscation about. Reformation was imperatively needed in the church, in her doctrines and teaching, in her forms and ceremonies, in her government, and in the means she used to maintain and to spread her influence among the people. In the majority of cases, in the houses of the monastic orders reformation was even more imperatively needed than among the so-called secular clergy. More even than reformation was needed here; complete, changed conditions were required, new aims, new ideals, new work, were wanted, for it is indisputable that the mediæval monastery had outlived the period of its usefulness.

But reformation and change, adaptation to new conditions of society, are very different from destruction. And it was destruction, not reformation; it was utter ruin, not well-considered change and wise reconstruction, which passed over that mighty monastic system which had existed and flourished for so many centuries, which had conferred such enduring benefits upon society, especially during the earlier Middle Ages. Its possessions, most of its lordly buildings and priceless treasures, its ministers—very many of them devoted and earnest servants of the church, very many of them men holy and humble of heart—were simply overwhelmed in that mighty wave of destruction called the suppression of the monastic orders, and appeared no more.

England and her church indisputably owes much to Henry VIII.—not a little, indeed, to some of his advisers. The fair historian must grant this, must acknowledge the great debt; but in the matter of the suppression and confiscation of the monasteries, as it was actually carried out, he can deal out little but words of condemnation and regret. The instruments he chose for his work were evil—

unmistakably evil ; the methods he pursued to attain his object were manifestly unfair and absolutely unjust. The way, too, in which he disposed of most of the enormous property which, by means of these bad men and evil methods, he became possessed of, can only be characterised as shameful, selfish, utterly unprincipled. Comparatively speaking, very little of the splendid inheritance handed down by the piety and thrift of past generations was devoted to any good and useful purpose. It was for the most part recklessly appropriated by those who had no shadow of claim to it, squandered, and finally lost.

To veil the shameful iniquity of the transaction, grave charges were brought against some of the monastic houses and their inmates—charges in the majority of cases utterly unproven. These accusations were skilfully used so as to blacken most unfairly the reputations of the entire body of monastics and friars. And so it has come to pass that a great wrong, knowingly or unknowingly, has been done to a multitude of men, many of whom—perhaps the great majority—according to their lights, seem to have done their duty faithfully.

WOLSEY'S GATEWAY, IPSWICH. *Photo : Poulton & Son.*

This was not all. As time went on, successive historians have assumed the terrible guilt of the monastic orders as proved. Writers who with good reason have admired and prized the work of the English Reformation, thinking that the story of the downfall and "deserved" ruin

of the monastic orders was a useful contribution to their memoir, have without investigation repeated again and again the unhappy but often quite untrue recital; and so it has come to pass that the story of the supposed wrong-doing, and of the crushing punishment which followed the accumulated sin of the monks and nuns of England, has taken its place among the "Credenda," among the things taught as absolutely true to every English boy and girl. The writer of this history, while yielding to no one in his profound conviction of the inestimable benefits which the Reformation has brought to England and her most ancient church, feels that the grave recital, instead of suffering, will immeasurably gain in the estimation of all serious men, by the frank confession of this grave and irreparable error.

So deeply had the conviction of the guilt of the "Orders" sunk into men's hearts, that it is only in the last few years that the English monk has found defenders bold enough to speak a word in his defence. But recent study has at last stirred up among our countrymen a suspicion that a cruel injustice has been done. This suspicion has now found bold and open expression. Dr. Gasquet, the Roman Catholic historian, naturally a partisan, in glowing language denounces the cruel falseness of the charge, and the terrible nature of the fatally destructive punishment; openly ascribing to the royal author of the charge, and the execution of the punishment, a miserable passion for plunder, as the ignoble motive alike of charge and punishment. The careful and painstaking nature of his work, and the historical weight of the evidence he brings to bear on his important study of the monasteries and their suppression, will ever win for Dr. Gasquet the respectful attention of all serious historians of the Reformation period, even when they find it necessary to differ from some of his conclusions. Canon Dixon, an Anglican writer, in his exhaustive history of the period, after fresh examination of the evidence for and against the religious orders in the England of the sixteenth century, virtually comes to the same conclusions respecting the unrighteousness of the cruel suppression as the Roman Catholic scholar, and in his summary asserts that even under the changed conditions of the age, they were doing fairly the work for which they had been founded. Mr. Green, who certainly cannot be suspected of any undue partiality for mediæval forms of religion, in his cold and measured language, writing on the suppression of the religious houses, and the charges upon which the great ruin was based, says: "The character of the visitors, the sweeping nature of their report, and the long debate (in Parliament) which followed on its reception, leaves little doubt that the charges were grossly exaggerated."

It is, indeed, difficult to credit Henry VIII. with lofty motives in this matter of the confiscation of the monastic property. As a statesman of no ordinary capacity, trained by his great minister Wolsey, the king could not help seeing that much of the monks' work was done. The education of the people was no longer in their hands. The conservation and multiplication of books had passed altogether from the monastics, since the invention and marvellous development of the printing press.

Bishop Stubbs, indeed, does not hesitate to speak of "the incurable uselessness of the monastic orders in the time of Wolsey." The perpetual danger which the presence of the "Orders," devoted heart and soul to Rome, would have been to England after the abolition of the Roman supremacy —a danger thoroughly understood by the statesmanlike Henry VIII., is discussed a little further on, and really constitutes the best *apologia* for the king's action. A complete recasting of the monastic system, of the monk's work and office, was indeed imperatively needed; and not improbably in the first instance Henry satisfied his conscience by purposing to employ the larger portion of the revenues he proposed to confiscate for urgent state purposes, such as national defence; for more practical religious objects, such as endowing new bishoprics; and for education, such as the establishment of colleges and schools. Some of these things Wolsey had planned in the day of his power. But the pitiful allotment for these purposes that the king eventually made of the vast property which fell into his hands from the plundered orders, compels us to see in the whole business only a miserable example of greed.

The poor excuses for the suppression made in the days of the lesser and earlier confiscations, when he charged the dispossessed monks with nameless crimes and shameless profligacy, were all silently dropped as time went on; and the confiscation of all the greater monasteries and their vast revenues was carried out by the imperious sovereign with scarcely an effort to throw a flimsy veil of pretended justice over his arbitrary act. But the cruel and sweeping accusations made in the first instances against the smaller religious houses, and upon which the Act of Parliament legalising the suppression and confiscation of the lesser monasteries was based, have never been forgotten, and have served to blacken permanently the character of *all* the "religious," who suffered grievous wrong at the hands of Henry VIII. The wickedness of the monk and nun of the fifteenth century has become one of the articles of common belief among the English-speaking peoples.

Under the enormous powers granted him, the vicar-general, Cromwell, determined, before commencing a visitation of the monasteries, to inquire into the state of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. He appointed for this purpose two commissioners, who afterwards obtained an unenviable notoriety in the great confiscation—Drs. Layton and Leigh. It does not seem that much scope was found for their reforming zeal in either Oxford or Cambridge. In the report on Oxford we read that in several colleges Dr. Layton found lectures well kept and diligently frequented; but nevertheless, he suggested some alteration in the mode of study. A few new lectures were founded in Greek and Latin, while some stern regulations were made in the case of the students of the monastic colleges. From the first, in all his dealings with the monastic orders, a bitter and hostile spirit was unmistakably manifest on the part of the vicar-general, Cromwell. Some Greek and Hebrew lectures were also instituted at Cambridge. Generally, however, in spite of the visitation, the two universities were left practically unharmed.

In the September of this same year, prior to the famous inquiry of Cromwell,

OBVERSE OF THE GREAT SEAL OF HENRY VIII.

the bishops were forbidden to visit any monastery or church during the proposed visitation. The realm in this autumn was divided into districts, and apportioned to commissioners chosen by the vicar-general and appointed under the king's hand and signet. They were men unknown and obscure, and included Drs. Leigh and Layton—who had already been employed in similar work by the all-powerful favourite — the subsequently infamous Dr. London, John ap Rice, Richard Bellasis, and a few more, some of whose names are preserved, but who never attained any sort of reputation beyond the dreary fame attached to this unhappy inquisition.

The closing weeks of 1535, which witnessed the visitation, and the year 1536, are memorable for the suppression and confiscation of all the smaller religious houses, visited or not visited in the course of this commission. Singularly rapid must have been the various visits paid by the commissioners, for before the month of August of the year 1536 was passed the celebrated Act dissolving the smaller monasteries. Under the head of "smaller monasteries" were included all religious houses of monks, canons, and nuns, whose income from all sources did not exceed two hundred pounds annually, equivalent to about £2,400 of our present money. Three hundred and seventy-six communities were dissolved; of these thirty-one were refounded, but such refounded houses continued in existence only a year or two longer. The property of all these monasteries and nunneries was confiscated and given to the king.

In such an inquiry as the one we are

REVERSE OF THE GREAT SEAL OF HENRY VIII.

now busied with, a few words on the aims and character of the chief instruments of the great confiscation are necessary. These

instruments may be divided into three divisions:—(1) the principal and best known of the commissioners appointed by Cromwell to inquire into the state of the monasteries; (2) the vicar-general, Cromwell, himself; and (3) the king, who was the chief beneficiary of the mighty spoliation.

The first is the group of commissioners employed by Cromwell. The principal and best known of these were Dr. Layton, Thomas Leigh, Dr. London, and John ap Rice, Richard Ingworth, suffragan bishop of Dover, and William Petre. The four first-named are by far the most notorious; the last two were only really engaged in the later scene of the dissolution of the religious houses. Gasquet, the Roman Catholic historian of the suppression, represents these men as base and vile; no language is too harsh when he paints their character. Canon Dixon, the Anglican, is scarcely less severe, and even Froude, the apologist of Henry VIII. and all his works, represents them as agents with little scruple or sympathy, and even allows that they received bribes. Dr. London's subsequent career of infamy is too well known to permit of any serious defence in his case.

GATEWAY OF KIRKHAM PRIORY.

Of the others, without endorsing all the bitter words of Gasquet and Dixon, it is sufficient to describe them as mere creatures of Cromwell, as greedy and self-sufficient, as men utterly wanting in any lofty aim or purpose. No serious person could attach much real weight to their words or reports. When we sum up the case against the monastic orders and the friars, it must be on evidence utterly separate from any testimony adduced by these ill-starred and generally discredited partisans.

Of Cromwell we have already spoken. While declining to endorse the too sweeping condemnation of some historians, we cannot but feel that while most able, he was not a good man, though emphatically a very faithful servant of his master, king Henry. He seems honestly to have disliked and mistrusted monasticism and all connected with it, and to have felt that England and her church would be better without monk or friar or nun. But at the same time it cannot be denied that it was his interest to blacken the monastic order, and that his vast fortune, lost together with his life as soon as made, was largely built upon their ruin—a ruin which he was the principal instrument in bringing about. But Cromwell was only an instrument—a servant, a creature. There was one behind him far greater, of whom we must briefly speak.

King Henry VIII. has been justly described* as the main originator of the greatest and most critical changes of his reign—amongst others, of the suppression of the monastic orders and the wholesale confiscation of their property of all descriptions. After the fall of Wolsey, no minister can be credited with any real power or influence in determining Henry's policy. His conduct to one after the other throws strong light upon his relations to his principal advisers. As for Wolsey, his greatest minister, from whom he learned so much statecraft, he ruined him and broke his heart. More he soon tossed aside and beheaded. Cromwell he used as his ready and able instrument; and then when Cromwell's plans and views seemed to cross his own, he at once brought this all-trusted friend and minister also to the block.

The idea of the monastic suppression had long been in Henry's mind. Wolsey first suggested it to the king, when in his far-reaching scheme for church reform he, with the aid of Rome, suppressed some small houses, and used their property for the establishment of educational centres. The idea soon took firm root in Henry's mind. Then came the quarrel with the Papacy—a quarrel which was embittered by two considerations. As a patriotic statesman, Henry was deeply conscious that the assumptions and claims of the Pope were really hurtful to the state as to the church; as a headstrong, arbitrary, passionate man, Henry hated the Pope as the formidable opposer of his divorce. The vast network of monasteries in England the king viewed, and rightly, as a network of fortresses devoted to the Pope. When he finally broke with the Pope, Henry knew that these numerous and powerful monastic communities would be a perpetual menace to the new anti-papal order of things he had established in his realm. Henry and Cromwell felt that the monk would never accept the king of England as the head of the church in place of the Pope.

Then again, Wolsey, his tutor for years in things ecclesiastical as well as civil, had shown him how useless was the monk in the new state of things, and Henry here was an apt pupil; the pupil soon went far beyond his teacher. Wolsey would change and reform, Henry chose to destroy; for destruction here meant enormous gain to himself, and an insatiable desire for spoil became an uncontrollable passion with

* Bishop Stubbs: "Oxford Lectures."

him. At this juncture Cromwell arose, and became his confidant and adviser. With Cromwell were more or less associated the greedy Boleyn family, and when the Boleyn family fell with the condemned queen, the Seymours, who inherited their influence, were even more eager for change and plunder. The advice and suggestion of these evil counsellors suited the king, and the destruction of the monasteries was resolved upon, and effectually and rapidly carried out.

Various have been the estimates which historians have made of the character of the famous tyrant, Henry VIII. To Froude, for instance, he seems a figure at once grand and heroic. By Roman Catholic writers, and not a few learned Anglicans, he is depicted as a monster of lust and greed. To the calm and judicial mind of bishop Stubbs, he appears certainly neither "grand nor heroic," nor yet the monster of lust and greed—"not even as a man more vicious than many sovereigns who have maintained a fair place in history, the unhappy, most unhappy history of his wives having brought upon him an amount of moral hatred which is excessive. No absolutely profligate king could have got into the miserable abyss in which we find Henry VIII. struggling during the latter half of his reign. In morality he was not better, perhaps, than his famous contemporary, the emperor Charles V., but he was much better than Francis I. and Henry IV., both popular heroes of French history. Yet he was a man of unbounded selfishness, passionately desirous of wealth —not perhaps for wealth's sake, but for the additional power which the possession of vast wealth ever gives." The longing for the spoils of the monasteries was no doubt one great factor in his determination to suppress the religious orders. The moral disease which so often accompanies the possession of supreme power, largely affected Henry, and served to destroy his perception of right and wrong; and this moral disease was in Henry's case augmented by the almost total absence of any real check of public opinion.

In any estimate of Henry VIII. the historian must not forget, that from this strange and despotic monarch England and her church, under the Divine power which brings good out of evil, received good as well as evil. Under his arbitrary rule the English Church was freed from the yoke of Rome, retaining all her own proper framework; was delivered, too, from a mass of soul-destroying superstition; obtained the Bible in English, and the use of the chief forms of prayer in the vernacular. Very grandly does this same profound scholar and historian thus sum up his masterly estimate of this great and unhappy king: "I do not attempt to portray him after my own idea, but I seem to see in him a grand, gross figure, very far removed from ordinary human sympathies; self-engrossed, self-confident, self-willed, unscrupulous in act, violent and crafty, but justifying to himself, by his belief in himself, both unscrupulousness, violence, and craft; a man who regarded himself as the highest justice, and who looked on mercy as a mere human weakness. And with all this, as needs must have been, a very unhappy man; wretched in his friends, wretched in his servants, most wretched in his loneliness—that awful loneliness in which a king lives, and which the worst as well as the

best of despots realises. Have I drawn the outline of a monster? Well, perhaps; but not the popular notion of this particular portrait. A strong, high-spirited, ruthless, disappointed, solitary creature; a thing to hate or to pity or to smile at, or to shudder at, or to wonder at, but not to judge." *

The ruin and confiscation was effected, strange to say, by regular and constitutional methods. The obsequious Parliament of 1536 gave to the king all the smaller monasteries which had not above two hundred pounds of yearly income (£2,400 of our money). The equally obedient Parliament of 1539 threw over the destruction and confiscation of many of the greater monasteries, which had fallen after the rising in the north, generally known as the "Pilgrimage of Grace," the shield of the law. "Let the king and his heirs possess these houses for ever," ran the words of the statute. The Act of 1539, which gave these monasteries to King Henry VIII., was also prospective, and looking on to future confiscations, in its provisions legalised the seizure by the king of the possessions of other religious houses as yet untouched. Indeed, Parliament under king Henry VIII. did little more than register the peremptory orders of the sovereign as their own wishes. There was little or no public opinion in this age of despotism to check or even to modify the royal will. If public opinion ever did manifest itself, as in the case of the northern risings in 1536–37, it was quickly put down with an iron hand, and its leaders expiated their offence of daring to think otherwise than the king, on the scaffold.

Thus the monasteries, their estates, their treasures, were confiscated at the arbitrary will of the sovereign. His advisers, notably Cromwell, a few royal favourites, and the families of his successive queens, Anne Boleyn and Jane Seymour, were undoubtedly sharers in the guilt of the shameful act, and became recipients of a considerable portion of the plunder; but the real author of the terrible mischief was the king himself, and he was also the chief beneficiary of the vast plunder which resulted from it.

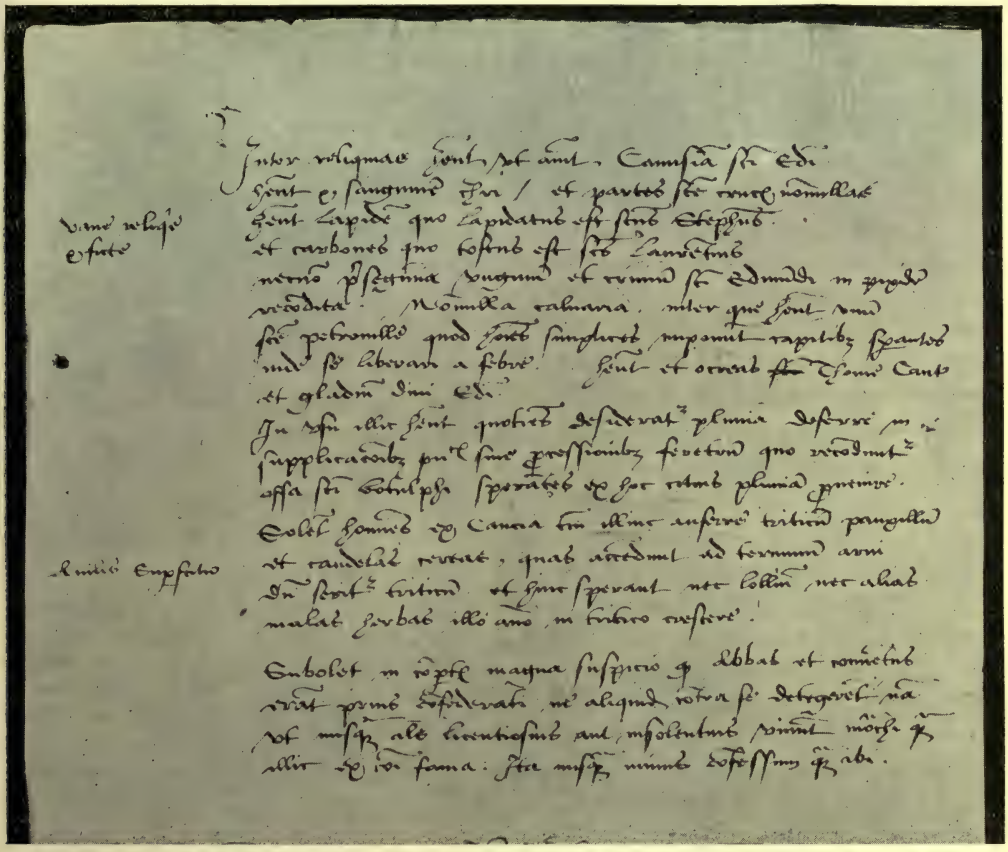
The terms of the act alleged that the monastic houses which were under that value, and houses which contained less than twelve religious persons, were the abodes of "manifest sin, vicious, carnal, and abominable living." The Parliament knew that all this vicious living was true, for the king had made to them "a plain declaration" of it, and the king knew it to be true, "as well as by the accounts of his late visitations, as by sundry credible informations." The number of monasteries which were suppressed, and their possessions confiscated by the crown forthwith, by the operation of this Act of Dissolution, is variously stated. Stow gives it at three hundred and seventy-six. This number is fairly accurate, but it includes generally the houses which fell between Michaelmas, 1535, and Michaelmas, 1537.

This, a comparatively speaking small suppression and confiscation, was, however, only the prelude to a very much larger operation of the same kind, which followed immediately after in the years 1538–39–40.

* Bishop Stubbs: "Oxford Lectures," No. xii.

It seems to the unimpassioned historian, calmly reviewing even the first great Act of spoliation, a tremendous conclusion for the king and his obsequious Parliament to have come to, with only the reports before them of a few commissioners, whose position and character were certainly open to question—of commissioners, too, who had only been at work for weeks! And yet it is upon the extraordinarily rapid work and report of these officials—Drs. Leigh, Layton, and London, and a very few others of less prominence—that the story of the evil life and conversation of the monks and nuns of England has been mainly built; a story, alas! which has sunk deep into the hearts of Englishmen.

The Bill for suppressing the little monasteries was preceded by a "Declaration" made to Parliament by the king of the reports of the visitors, or a digest of them, which was apparently read openly in both Houses. This document, from the dark nature of the disclosures it held, has obtained the name of the "Black Book." It is from bishop Latimer, probably an eye-



PORTION OF A PAGE OF THE MS. AT THE RECORD OFFICE, KNOWN AS "COMPERTA" (*see p.* 100). (*The portion reproduced contains charges of superstition against the monastery of Bury St. Edmunds.*)

witness of the scene, that historians have taken their well-known description of the "thrill of horror" with which the Parliament heard the king's description of the manifold iniquities of abbots, monks, and nuns; but the words of bitter irony with which the good bishop qualified his description of the thrill of horror are not so well known. "When their enormities," wrote Latimer, "were first read in the Parliament House, they were so great and abominable that there was nothing but 'Down with them!' but within a while the same abbots were made bishops for the saving of their pensions."

This "Declaration" or "Black Book," whatever it was, is not now in existence; it disappeared not long, perhaps directly, after it had been used. The common tradition that it was destroyed in the reign of Mary, is baseless. The only documents which we possess concerning the original statement of the presumed guilt of the religious houses, which led to their suppression, are two manuscripts which bear the simple title of "Comperta" (Facts discovered). These MSS. agree in the main one with the other; only in one part is there any real difference. Each of these MSS. is divided into two parts, of which the former is the same in both, and refers to one hundred and twenty monasteries, nearly all situated in the province of York. The second part in one MS. refers to twenty-four "houses," nearly all in the diocese of Norwich; in the other MS. the second part is concerned with ten other monasteries in the same diocese. It seems probable that there were other "Comperta" besides the fragmentary ones we possess; for Bale, the well-known bitter and intemperate controversialist, who died in 1563, in one of his prefaces gives a quotation which seems to come from a set of lost "Comperta." The reports concern some of the greatest houses in England, such as Battle Abbey, and Christ Church and St. Augustine's, Canterbury.*

These "Comperta" were very possibly the originals upon which the "Declaration" or "Black Book" was founded. At first reading they are terribly damaging to the character of the religious houses. On examination, however, they present a cut-and-dried appearance, following a very rigid and a very summary method of detailing the guilt of the doomed monastic communities. In them all, the method is the same. The name of the house is given first; then follows a list of the religious persons it contained, ranged under the same dreary heads. Some are enrolled as adulterers, some as incestuous, some as guilty of unnatural crimes; others are thieves or traitors. Of the innocent there was no classification; nor is it possible from these documents to discover the proportion they bore to the guilty, since the total number of the dwellers in a house never appears.

The "Comperta" contain lists of names; whence are these derived? The monasteries, small and great, seem to have made no confessions. *One only has ever been produced* with any admission of moral guilt —that of the Cluniac house of St. Andrew at Northampton—and that solitary instance is tainted with signs of unreality, for the

* See Canon Dixon: "History of the Church of England from the abolition of the Roman Jurisdiction," chap. v., where a detailed account of the "Comperta" is given.

result of this "confession" was that the monks of St. Andrew received pensions—all but one, who was promoted to a living! A vague belief exists that the monasteries made numerous confessions. If these could have been produced and published, they would have been indeed grave pieces of accusation, but no one ever saw these pretended acknowledgments of guilt. The few documents which do exist, which might be construed as confessions, belong to certain religious houses, which in the years 1538–39, under the strong pressure exerted by the royal commissioners, voluntarily surrendered; but emphatically it must be repeated, that they contain no acknowledgment at all of moral turpitude.

Again, the "Comperta," with their damning but apparently stereotyped accusations, are strangely at variance with the *letters* of the visitors, some of which are still extant. These speak well or indifferently of about half of the houses they are known to have visited. They are "vivacious or solemn, according to the temper of the writer," but they seldom mention any of the monks by name, much less give lists of them. They contain, it is true, some very few evil stories, and these Mr. Froude, in his well-known graphic description, has given as samples of the more ordinary experience of the royal commissioners. *But there are no more.* So different, indeed, are the letters of the visitors which we possess, from the damning document which is said to have been read in Parliament, that Canon Dixon* concludes with certainty that the document in question — the "Declaration" or "Black Book"—came not immediately from the hands of the visitors at all, but from the hands of Cromwell and the king.

The Parliament, before whom the "Declaration" was read, is tersely described by bishop Stubbs* in the following terms:—"Henry had clearly got a Parliament on which he could depend"; and, again, "the king appointed the Speaker; in the House of Lords the king exercised the same right when the chancellor (in all cases chosen by himself) was not a peer. The result was that the Speaker, instead of being the defender of the liberties of the House, had often to reduce it to an order that meant obsequious reticence or sullen submission." The same historian writes of the condition of the famous Parliament, in which the dissolution of the greater monasteries was accomplished, as "abject"; and, again, "Henry used his Parliaments merely to register his sovereign acts, . . . receiving the thanks of the Commons for his most arbitrary acts." Hallam, writing of the obsequiousness and venality of Lords and Commons in this reign, says: "Both Houses of Parliament yielded to every mandate of Henry's imperious will; they bent with every breath of his capricious humour, they were responsible for the sanguinary statutes, for the tyranny which they sanctioned by law, and for that which they permitted without law." †

And yet even that obsequious Parliament, thus described by our most serious historians, was not by any means convinced of the truth of Henry's and Crom-

* "History of the Church of England," chap. v.

* "Oxford Lectures" (Lecture XII.); Constitutional History, chap. xxi.

† "Constitutional History of England," vol. i., p. 51, quoted by Dr. Gasquet.

well's description of monkish enormities; for Sir Henry Spelman—who, as Dr. Gasquet in his exhaustive, though perhaps over-coloured picture tells us, without doubt gave the traditional account of the passing of the bill giving the lesser houses to the king—says, "It is true the Parliament gave these (the lesser monasteries) to him, but so unwillingly (as I have heard) that when the bill had stuck long in the Lower House, he commanded the Commons to attend him in the forenoon in his gallery, when he let them wait till late in the afternoon, and then coming out of his chamber, walking a turn or two among them, and looking angrily on them, first on the one side and then on the other, at last 'I hear' (saith he) 'that my bill will not pass; but I will have it pass, or I will have some of your heads,' and without other rhetoric or persuasion returned to his chamber. Enough had been said, the bill passed, and all was given him as he desired." *

Nor apparently were Henry and Cromwell themselves convinced of the truth of the awful allegations so formally and so publicly made against so many of the "religious." For out of the names which appear in the "Comperta" lists of the "religious" charged with immorality, some two hundred and fifty in number, more than a third can positively be identified as having received *pensions* upon the dissolution of their houses, which would scarcely have been the case had their accusers really believed in the accuracy of the scathing accusations. Among the nuns these curious statistics are even more remarkable. Only some twenty-seven nuns in all are charged with vice, and of these seventeen are known to have been afterwards pensioned. One very remarkable case deserves special mention. The abbot of Langdon in Kent, the subject of one of the well-known three or four "stock" stories repeated so often as examples of the usual condition of monastic houses, was described by the visitor as most immoral, and "the drunkenest knave living." This abbot was subsequently recommended by the king's officers for a pension, which was granted him by the Court of Augmentation for life, or until such time as he received "a fitting ecclesiastical benefice." * Nor indeed were all the houses mentioned in the "Comperta" accused of moral turpitude. They all, however, shared the same fate, being suppressed and their property confiscated by the crown.

But the most singular proof of the iniquity of the great confiscation is derived from the words of the preamble to the famous act suppressing the smaller houses, those which had not above two hundred pounds a year. In the preamble to the act in question occur words as follows:—"The king's most royal majesty, being supreme head on earth under God of the Church of England, daily studying and devising the increase, advance, and exaltation of true doctrine and virtue in the said church to the only glory and honour of God, having knowledge that the premises be true as well as by the accompts of his late visitations as by sundry credible information, *considering also that divers great and solemn monasteries of this realm, wherein, thanks be to God, religion is right*

* "History of Sacrilege," p. 206. Spelman was born in 1562, less than thirty years after the event.

* *Cf.* Dr. Gasquet, vol. i., pp. 352-363.

TINTERN ABBEY.

well kept and observed." The preamble then goes on to say that these great and solemn monasteries, not possessing their full number, should receive certain of the dispossessed persons from the smaller houses. Within four years of this admission by the king, all the "great and solemn monasteries," for which Parliament thanked God, were also swept into the same net of confiscation with the little houses! None were spared. Their churches were taken—many of them ruthlessly ruined; their houses were destroyed; their possessions were claimed by the king, and the monks and nuns were driven out!

Attention has been especially called by Dr. Gasquet to the silence of the "old and contemporary chroniclers Hall, Stow, Grafton, Holinshed, and Fabian, as to the alleged vicious life practised in the cloisters of England." There is no doubt but that the charges, largely manufactured in the first instance for the purpose of providing a sufficient excuse for the great spoliation, have been repeated by successive historians without sufficient examination; some of these writers perhaps thinking that the great cause of the Reformation in England would be helped by maintaining this plea for an unrighteous act, an act some of us now think is the darkest blot in the whole course of events which, on the whole, have worked such beneficent results in the Church of England. Burnet's history was the great storehouse from which most of the so-called facts were drawn. Hume adopts Burnet's narration and deductions, and, in many places, his very words. In our own days men like Professor Seebohm, with some slight modifications, adopt without inquiry the same manufactured version. Mr. Froude brilliantly works up the same materials into his lucid and most interesting history, which in this part is one long and able, but, alas! untruthful, apology for his hero, Henry VIII. At last the spell was broken by Mr. Green, to whom readers of history of all sorts and conditions owe so great a debt. His sketch of the suppression of the monasteries most unfortunately is singularly meagre; the question evidently did not interest him, and he dismisses it in a few lines. But even this curt and not very accurate notice is sufficient to show that the eminent historian was gravely dissatisfied with the popular estimate of the high-handed and unrighteous act of Henry VIII. and his all-powerful minister, Cromwell. He deems, as we have seen, the charges made against the monks "grossly exaggerated"; and again, in the reference to authorities in the same work we read, in the section dealing with Thomas Cromwell, 1530–40: "Mr. Froude's Narrative History of England (vols. I., II., III.), though of great literary merit, is disfigured by a love of paradox, by hero-worship, and by a reckless defence of tyranny and of crime. It possesses during this period little or no historical value."* Recent scholarly works of Anglican as well as of Roman Catholic writers, with their exhaustive investigations into original documents, have placed the whole question on a new and really historical basis, and the serious student of the future will have to dismiss as absolutely unhistorical the old familiar stories of the

* "History of the English People," chap. vi., sec. vi.

monstrous and unheard-of guilt of the monk and nun of the religious houses of England, at the epoch of their suppression and confiscation.

While, however, deploring the awful waste consequent on the rude and cruel methods adopted by the king and his servants, and mourning over the irreparable loss to the church of so vast a property, which indisputably belonged to it and which might have been so usefully and beneficially employed for the welfare of the people and the spread and development of true religion and education, it will be seen, as the story of the church is unfolded, that the terrible ruin of the monasteries and so many of their noble churches, and the deplorable wasting of their property, in no wise permanently affected the continuity of the Church of England. This great error only affected the church as the loss of a valuable province affects the status of a powerful nation. It was a lamentable and regrettable loss—nothing more. But we have now to give some brief account of the ruin worked during the years 1536, '37, '38, '39, and '40, the years of the suppression of the monasteries.

The course of events had no doubt been carefully planned out and arranged in the busy and skilful brain of the Vicar-General, Cromwell, who, thoroughly comprehending what was in Henry's mind, too faithfully constituted himself the instrument of carrying out his master's wishes. And here it is only just to repeat that, although cupidity and greed were strong factors in Henry's determination to compass the ruin of the religious orders, another factor must be credited as working powerfully in the mind of the despotic king. Henry was indisputably a great statesman and an earnest reformer. As a statesman he felt that the fatal and ever-growing influence of Rome was a serious drawback to the rapidly expanding power of his kingdom. As a reformer he was conscious that the perpetual and all-embracing interferences of the Italian church with the affairs of the Church of England lay as a dead-hand upon all efforts of reformation. If the power of Rome were allowed to continue, no real reformation in doctrines which were, after all, novelties, and in practices which were even by the most devout and earnest men of the age deemed superstitions, was possible. Owing to various reasons, the principal of which have been already alluded to, Henry knew well that the *monasteries* were the great strongholds of Romanism in the country. Their destruction, then, from this point of view, appeared in the light of a patriotic act. Alas! that this patriotic side of the transaction was disfigured by such shameful cupidity; so disfigured, so marred, that the serious historian is even tempted to ignore, if not altogether to deny, the nobler factors which were probably also working in the royal mind when the great suppression was determined upon.

Elaborate preparations were made by the Crown for the gathering in and harvesting of the rich plunder which was looked for from the confiscation of the monastic lands and other possessions. Everything was done with a careful show of legality, and almost the last measure passed by the Parliament which gave to Henry VIII. the so-called lesser monasteries, was the creation of the "Court of Augmentations."

So elaborate was the machinery of this court, and so highly paid were its chief officials, that it seems more than probable that the king and Cromwell were meditating a further and important development in confiscation; were looking forward from the first to a plunder far more valuable than anything which could be hoped to have resulted from the dissolution of the lesser and poorer religious houses. The duties of this important newly created court were to deal with all lands and movables coming into the possession of the Crown through the suppression of the religious houses. The Court of Augmentations consisted at first of a chancellor, a treasurer, two legal officers, ten auditors, seventeen receivers, and others. The salaries were very considerable, the chancellor receiving £750 a year (some £9,000 of our money) and the other officials in proportion. As will be seen, in the next four or five years enormous property passed through the hands of these men. A fresh Commission was immediately nominated to examine into the revenues of the monasteries, and to arrange for the immediate dissolution of all which fell beneath the limit of income fixed in the Act of Parliament. Before the close of the year 1536 large sums had already been paid into the treasury of the Court of Augmentations, and many monasteries had already been desolated.

The system by which suppression was carried out was generally the same. Six royal commissioners, with a retinue of servants, presented themselves at the doomed house. Questions were put. Rigid inventories were made of all plate, jewels, and other goods and property. No more rents were allowed to be received. The very bells of the church and the lead which covered the roofs were scheduled. Everything, even the poor furniture of the cells, was sold.

The number of "houses" which fell after the passing of the act of 1536 was, as we said, about 362 to 376. Roughly, two thousand monks and nuns, rather more than less, the monks being of course largely in the majority, were ejected from their homes. In addition to these, some nine or ten thousand dependent servants, farm labourers, and others connected with the monasteries then dissolved, were deprived of their means of livelihood. The annual value of the confiscated estates was probably about £8,000. The plate and jewels and the proceeds of the sales of lead, bells, furniture, and even buildings has been reckoned at £100,000. These amounts, it must be borne in mind, must be multiplied by ten or twelve to arrive at the present value of these sums. But although the plunder was very large, nothing like these amounts found their way into the king's treasury. Corruption existed everywhere, and vast sums were wasted and made away with, before the Crown was enriched by the confiscated spoils.

Of the dissolved communities about fifty-two—the exact number is uncertain—were almost immediately refounded by the king; only, however, to fall again in the subsequent sweeping confiscations. Of these fifty-two refounded houses, curiously enough, several had been among the number of those gravely defamed in the "Comperta," and in more than one case a superior incriminated by the visitors was re-appointed in the new foundation!

HIDING TREASURE AT THE SUPPRESSION OF A MONASTERY.
(From the picture by James Cooke.)

It has been a matter of surprise that the nation bore so calmly this high-handed and cruel act of sacrilege. We have already alluded to this, pointing out the difficulty of exciting public opinion at this period, in addition to which it must be remembered that the confiscation was carried out under the immediate sanction of the obsequious and submissive Parliament, and directly under the direction of a monarch who was practically absolute, and who brooked no opposition to his will. Yet in spite of these reasons, which may be fairly alleged as accounting for the general apathetic acquiescence, there was a moment in Henry VIII.'s reign when his throne was in danger owing to a burst of popular indignation; when a formidable revolt of well-nigh half his kingdom threatened to overturn his government. The insurrection, commonly known as the "Pilgrimage of Grace," gives some indication of a popular feeling usually supposed to have been absolutely apathetic and careless in the matter of the suppression of the monasteries; but in the end this abortive though dangerous rising gave an impetus to the progress of the "suppression," and afforded a colourable pretext for enlarging the already broad limits of the Parliamentary sanctions to the confiscation. Before the popular rising known as the "Pilgrimage of Grace," only the so-called "lesser" houses were swept away; but directly after the rising the confiscation of the greater communities began, under the pretext that they had been concerned in the northern treason.

The late spring and summer of 1536 had witnessed the extraordinary rapidity of the operations of the royal commissioners. House after house, whose property came under the limitation of the act, fell. Yorkshire and Lincolnshire especially were affected. The spectacle of so many monks and nuns and their numerous dependents rendered homeless, the distress of the poor who had long been succoured and helped in many ways by the various religious communities, the sacrilegious destruction of many churches, so long the object of veneration and love, stirred up a general discontent; and before the close of the harvest season of 1536 a tumult, excited in Louth against the action of the commissioners in the case of a small Cistercian nunnery in the neighbourhood, gave the signal for what rapidly became a general outbreak. The rising spread from one town to another. Dr. Mackerel, the abbot of Barlings, an important house of Præmonstratensian canons, was at first conspicuous as the principal leader of the insurgents. A small force under the Duke of Suffolk was despatched by the king to disperse these rebels against his authority, and a royal proclamation was put forth excusing the action of the confiscating Commission, which had so stirred up men's minds in Lincolnshire.

Some of the king's words in this proclamation are remarkable when read in connection with subsequent events. "Ye speak," wrote the king, "of the suppression of religious houses, but the religious houses were given to us by Act of Parliament; *none are suppressed where God was well served*, but those where most vice, mischief, and abomination of living were used; and that doth well appear by their own confessions, subscribed by their own hands in the time of our

visitation." This public proclamation ill accords with Henry's subsequent action, when the great houses where, according to the king's own showing in the Act of Parliament, as here, "God was well served," were also suppressed and confiscated, the innocent and the guilty (supposing they were guilty) suffering alike!

The prompt military demonstration of the king, and his words showing the absolute legality of his acts—nothing having been done outside parliamentary sanction—put an end to the Lincolnshire outbreak. The tumultuous forces of the rebels, numbering, it is said, some 60,000 persons in different districts, dispersed somewhat sullenly, partly persuaded by the king's words, partly overawed by his soldiers. About a hundred rebels were arrested for after-examination, among whom was the abbot of Barlings, who had been the conspicuous figure of the rising; the rest received the royal pardon.

As the suppression of the monasteries went on, however, the smouldering discontent flamed up again and spread more rapidly, the important county of Yorkshire becoming seriously disturbed. The same causes which excited the men of Lincolnshire were at work through all the northern counties. These causes were well detailed subsequently by Robert Aske, who was afterwards known as one of the principal leaders of the rebellion. "Men's hearts much grudged," wrote Aske in his subsequent narrative to the king, "with the suppression of the abbeys by reason the same would be the destruction of the whole religion in England; and their especial great grudge is against the lord Cromwell, being reputed the destroyer of the Commonwealth." "He did grudge against the statute of suppressions, and so did the whole country, because the abbeys in the north parts gave great alms to poor men and laudably served God. By reason of the said suppression the divine service of Almighty God is much diminished, great number of masses unsaid, and the blessed consecration of the Sacrament now not used and showed in those places, to the distress of the faith and spiritual comfort to man's soul. The temple of God is now razed and pulled down, the ornaments and relics of the church of God unreverently used, the tombs and sepulchres of honourable and noble men pulled down and sold. No hospitality is now in these places kept." "Also the abbeys were one of the beauties of this realm to all men and strangers passing through the same. Also all gentlemen were much succoured in their needs, with many their young sons there assisted, and in nunneries their daughters brought up in virtue." Thus, in the one formidable rebellion of the reign of Henry VIII., the causes of the armed resistance to the king's will were clearly in the main ecclesiastical. The destruction of the abbeys and the monastic communities was felt to be a grave blow to religion, a hardship to the poor, and an injury to the nation.

The details of this insurrection, known as the "Pilgrimage of Grace," are well known, and we only touch on them in relation to our story of the monastic suppression. It was just as the Lincolnshire rising was being quelled, about October in this same year (1536), that a widespread confederation of gentry, clergy, and people was being formed in Yorkshire under that name. A lawyer of fair lineage, but

comparatively an unknown personage, named Robert Aske, rather against his will, was raised by popular acclaim to the headship of this confederation. The reasons which generally actuated them have been given in Aske's own words; the object of the revolt is briefly set out in the proclamation issued by the rebel leader. "Evil-disposed persons," it declared, "being of the king's council, have incensed his grace with many new inventions, contrary to the faith of God, the honour of the king, and the weal of the realm. They intend to destroy the Church of England and her ministers; they have robbed and spoiled, and intend utterly to rob and spoil the whole body of this realm. We have now taken this pilgrimage for the preservation of Christ's church, of the realm, and of the king." On entering York the first act of Aske, the chief of the insurgent army, was to fix a proclamation on the doors of the cathedral inviting all monks and nuns dispossessed from their houses to report themselves, with a view to their immediate restoration to their monasteries.

The Yorkshire revolt spread with extraordinary rapidity. In the ranks of the insurgents were soon to be found the heads of a very large proportion of the principal northern families. Thirty thousand men, well armed and equipped, in an incredibly short space of time were under arms, with the cognisance of the "five wounds of Christ," the symbol chosen by the Pilgrimage, broidered upon their pilgrim badges. Although these formidable insurgents professed loyalty to the king, and only insisted upon the repeal of the hated church acts and the dismissal and punishment of guilty ministers, Cromwell being especially aimed at, yet when once such a power becomes dominant in a nation, the gravest changes are at once imminent; and there is no doubt but that at one time the throne of Henry was in danger.

But the Tudor sovereigns were ever at their greatest in moments of extreme peril, and the skill and courage of Henry VIII. in these critical days are not the least among the evidences which we possess of the commanding genius of this strange, masterful sovereign. Very soon he gathered together a dependable force of some 50,000 men. Strong reinforcements were sent to his generals in the north. Heralds were sent into the cities and towns of the disaffected districts to tell the king's version of what he had done in the matter of the monasteries. Negotiations were opened with the leading rebels. A general pardon was promised, and certain popular concessions to the people were offered; but in church matters he declined to yield to any pressure. He, however, volunteered to summon a Parliament at York in the following summer, when all misunderstandings between the king and his subjects should be cleared up.

On the part of the rebels there seems to have been no definite plan of action, and no one master mind arose to guide and direct their proceedings. Neither in rank nor in ability was Robert Aske equal to the position of chief, and jealousies among the rebel chiefs weakened and divided their counsels. Delays and negotiations contributed to weaken the cause of the malcontents; the army of the Pilgrimage of Grace gradually melted away, while the forces of the king grew every day stronger. Aske himself was received into royal favour,

and sent for to the court to consult with the king ; and thus without bloodshed the terrible danger, which for a time threatened Henry, was averted, and the abortive

ASKE AFFIXING HIS PROCLAMATION TO THE DOOR OF YORK CATHEDRAL.

reaction against the royal measures left the sovereign more powerful than ever.

Thus before the eventful year 1536 closed, the curtain fell on the second act of the revolt of Englishmen against the suppression of the monastic orders. There was, however, a third act of the eventful drama of the revolt, which had still to be played out. The principal agent in this miserable third act was one, concerning whom we shall hear much in our future history. Reginald Pole, a kinsman and in his youth a favourite of king Henry, had in the matter of the divorce thrown in his lot with Rome, and then, as the bitter enemy of the English king, was regarded

with high favour at the papal court. Rome had been deluded by wild rumours touching the magnitude and success of the Pilgrimage of Grace, and Pole was raised to the dignity of a cardinal by Pope Paul III. at the close of the year 1536. The young cardinal, invested with the dignity of legate, set out for England (which he never reached), imagining that he would find there a victorious faction ready and eager to dethrone Henry VIII. and prepared to restore England to the obedience of Rome. On his journey he received at Lyons the melancholy tidings of the utter failure of the "Pilgrimage of Grace," and learned also that he himself had been proclaimed a rebel, and that a price was set upon his head. He was obliged at once to quit the friendly soil of France; but from the neutral territory of Cambray, for some months he fanned the slumbering discontent which still smouldered in the north of England.

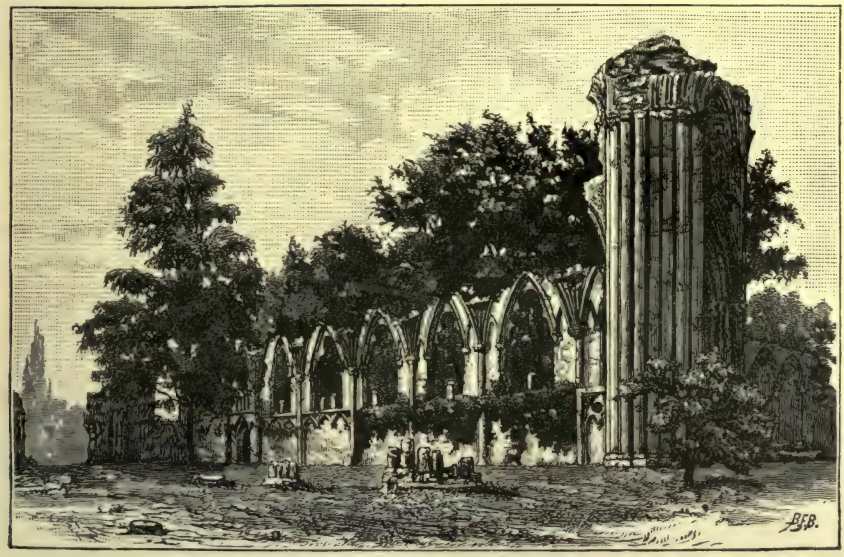
Affairs in the disaffected districts, however, now wore a very different complexion from what they had presented in the early days of the "Pilgrimage of Grace" revolt. A strong royalist force was now in the field; the more important towns were occupied by Henry's garrisons; the chief leaders in the late rising were known to have made terms with the king; and Aske, the leader, was even supposed to have been taken into his confidence. But in spite of these unpromising prospects of any successful renewal of hostilities, fresh outbreaks of popular indignation —aroused by the continued suppression of the religious houses—did break forth. There can be no doubt but that Pole's mission from Rome strongly influenced men's minds at this juncture; and it is evident from his letters to the Pope, that he maintained an active correspondence with England.* The new outbreak was not a general one, however; it was spasmodic, and confined to certain northern districts, and without apparently any concerted plans, and was quickly damped down. Sir Francis Bigod, a Yorkshire gentleman, headed the new attempt at revolt; he was taken prisoner by the king's forces, and very soon after we read of the arrest of the leaders of the once formidable "Pilgrimage of Grace." It is difficult to ascertain what special fresh offence they had given, since they had laid down their arms and submitted to Henry's authority.

Nothing could have happened more opportunely for Henry's designs, however, than this new and ill-advised attempt at insurrection. What in the first place was evidently a national outburst of feeling, was now coloured with the suspicion of Roman intrigues; and Henry was enabled to appeal to patriotic motives as a pretext for the terrible severities which disfigured the history of the year 1537. Martial law was proclaimed, and seventy-four persons of various degrees among the clergy and laity of the north were hanged. But the vengeance of Henry was far from being appeased by these wholesale executions. The Lincolnshire prisoners connected with the first act of the northern rising, who had been since their arrest languishing in confinement, were brought to trial, and under the new developments of the great rebellion, nineteen of the

* Froude: "History of England," chap. xiv., A.D. 1537.

prisoners were executed. Among the victims of the king's cruel severity were several illustrious prisoners who had been more or less mixed up with the earlier scenes of the revolt—such as the abbot of Barlings and Lord Hussey. The fate of the principal leaders of the "Pilgrimage of Grace" was next decided upon, and the abbots of Fountains and Jervaulx, Lord Darcy, Sir Thomas Percy, Sir John Bulmer, Robert Aske, and others—prominent advocates of the persecuted and harried monastic orders—were hanged or beheaded as felons. When this bloody vengeance had been taken—to use the words of Henry's apologist — the insurrection which at one time seemed so formidable, "sank down into rest."

This sketch of the "Pilgrimage of Grace" and other disturbances in the Northern counties, is given simply to show that the high-handed proceedings of king Henry, and of his minister Cromwell, were viewed with grave, even in some cases with a passionate disfavour. The subsequent rising in the West, and the demands of the Western insurgents early in the reign of Edward VI. (1549), bear a similar testimony. Still, on the whole, the acquiescence of the nation — perhaps a sullen acquiescence — in the suppression of the monastic orders, bears out what has been already said, that deep into the hearts of Englishmen had sunk the conviction that the real work of the monasteries was done.



ST. MARY'S ABBEY, YORK.

CHAPTER XLVII.

THE FINAL CONFISCATION OF ALL MONASTIC HOUSES.

Effect of the Northern Rebellion on the Monastic Suppression—Magnitude of the Confiscation—Political Motives—The Friaries—Their Poverty—The Convents—Their Place in Female Education—Destruction of the Shrines—The Great Monasteries—Enforced "Voluntary Surrenders"—The Legalising Act of 1539—Losses of the Suppression—In Books—Works of Art—Churches and Buildings—Amount of the Spoil—Terrible Waste of the Property—Small Portion restored to any Religious Purpose—Consequent Poverty of Benefices—Loss to the Poor—To Education—Indirect Benefits from the Suppression—The Un-English Character of Monasticism—Deliverance from Rome and from Mediæval Superstitions.

THE disastrous ending of those northern risings recounted in our last chapter, undoubtedly had a great effect upon the progress of the great monastic confiscation. The Act of Parliament had especially limited the suppressions of monasteries to those houses which possessed revenues under a certain amount. It only contemplated the destruction of the so-called "smaller" religious communities. The more important houses were generally included under the terms—"great and solemn monasteries where (thanks be to God) religion was right well kept and observed." The original act never contemplated *these* being confiscated. But the immediate result of the "Pilgrimage of Grace" was that not a few of the larger and more important communities fell; some because the abbots or priors had been openly concerned in the late rising; others which had taken no open part in the great rebellion were forced to surrender upon suspicion of complicity in the acts or designs of the insurgents. This course of action broke the spell which at first seemed to protect the larger and wealthier monasteries, and paved the way to the general and universal confiscation which shortly followed.

Even the apologists of the suppression confess the shameful injustice of these proceedings. Thus Burnet argues, "How justly soever these abbots were attainted, the seizing of their abbey lands was thought a great stretch of law, since the offence of an ecclesiastical incumbent is a personal thing, and cannot prejudice the church." Among the monasteries which fell after the northern rising, accused of complicity in the rebellion or suspected as being more or less involved in the acts of the insurgents, were the abbeys of Barlings, Jervaulx, Whalley, and Kirksted, the priory of Bridlington with its splendid minster church, and a very little later the great abbey of Furness in Lancashire, whose abbot was thought to be incriminated with the northern rebels. There was now absolutely no one to oppose the king, no public opinion, no Parliamentary feeling. Parliament would be ready to pass any acts Henry might desire for his purpose.

Photo: Green Bros., Grasmere.

FURNESS ABBEY.

An enormous, almost incalculable plunder seemed to wait for him to stretch out his hand to gather it in.

FURNESS ABBEY.

The king had already persuaded himself that the destruction of the smaller monasteries would conduce to the advantage of religion. So able and astute a man of course saw through the venality of the instruments employed by Cromwell as commissioners, and no doubt clearly saw, too, that the accusations were grossly exaggerated and largely false. But he was convinced of their uselessness as communities, and he chose to believe that their property would be better used if in his hands. It did not take much to convince him by a similar reasoning that the "great and solemn monasteries where religion

was right well kept" were, after all, cumbering the earth. Every monastery, large and small, was also in his eyes a stronghold of hated and dangerous Rome, and the vision of the enormous plunder which would be his if the great houses were suppressed, decided the general course of his future action. From the day when the lives of Darcy, Aske, and the crowd of other rebel chiefs of the north who had dared to oppose his will were sacrificed, and the great rebellion finally put down, the suppression of the greater and more valuable houses began to be carried out with as little delay as possible. The work of ruin only took about three years from the date of the last executions of the leaders of the fatal "Pilgrimage of Grace," A.D. 1537-40.

In considering the magnitude of the revolution in the condition of England which the suppression of the monastic orders brought about, the difference in the actual population of our country in the years 1536-40 and in the closing years of the nineteenth century, must ever be borne in mind. In the sixteenth century these numbers were considerably below four millions. In the last years of the nineteenth century thirty millions would be a fair estimate. So when the friaries were dissolved, an event which took place a few months after the close of the rising in the north (in the autumn of 1538), and eighteen hundred men, whose life-work lay mainly among the poor, were dispersed, an enormous gap was necessarily made in religious ministrations among the people.

In the sixteenth century there were in England about two hundred friaries, divided as follows:—The order of St. Francis had sixty; of St. Dominic there were fifty-three; the Austin friars had forty-two; the Carmelites thirty-six houses. There were besides these a few communities of Trinitarian and other less important orders. The houses of the friars were built in or near the more important towns. With some rare exceptions in such centres as London and York, the houses and the churches of the friars were generally poor and insignificant. They possessed but few farms and manors, and their churches, beyond the sites, which were in some cases valuable, contained little which could increase the hoard in the royal treasury. The hope of plunder can scarcely have been a factor in the royal mind therefore, when the suppression of the friaries was resolved upon. It was rather the persuasion that these men were as a rule devoted to the papal system, and bitterly hostile to the new state of things in England, which probably moved Henry and Cromwell to decree their immediate dissolution. The suppression of the Mendicant orders, it must be remembered, followed close upon the termination of the northern rebellion, the latter phases of which had been closely connected with Roman intrigues carried on under the influence of cardinal Pole. "The eighteen hundred English friars," to use the words of their own Roman Catholic apologist, Gasquet, "formed part only of a vast army which possessed battalions in every country, and which was governed by a supreme commander, dwelling in a foreign country, and generally beneath the very shadow of the papal throne. Their very poverty tended to make them independent of crown control; the friars were free to choose or accept an

appointed superior without the king's (or the bishop's) consent or licence."

The friaries had been left alone when the dissolution of the smaller and poorer houses was carried out. Their deep poverty had preserved them. The policy of spoliation had little to gain from their confiscation, and the considerable popularity which was still enjoyed by the Mendicants among the lower orders of the people, also no doubt in some degree protected them. It would have been a great risk to have run for a very little gain. So the friaries remained untouched. But the northern rebellion, and the open interference of Rome, to a large extent altered the royal policy. There was strong suspicion that as a body the friars were playing among the people of England the part of vehement partisans of Rome; and seeing that the deliberate policy of Henry had definitely cut the bonds which bound the Church of England to Rome asunder, such a procedure as the suppression of the friaries—confessedly sadly fallen off from their original earnestness of aim and purpose—under certain conditions, would have admitted very strong pleas of justification. But the miserable circumstances of the suppression of these poor communities were such as must effectively bar any such pleas; the same miserable greed and appetency on the part of the king and his commissioners for vulgar plunder, characterised the suppression of these numerous but very poor houses, as we have noticed, and shall have further to notice in the case of the more wealthy churches and houses of the Benedictines, and other monastic orders.

Two or three contemporary, and in some cases official notices will best show the extreme poverty of the friaries, and the circumstances which accompanied their suppression in the year 1538. Richard Ingworth, bishop-suffragan of Dover—who was conspicuous as a royal commissioner in the later scenes of the confiscation, and who has not left behind him the villainous reputation for covetousness and worse, which characterised so many of his colleagues—writing to Lord Cromwell, 1st April, 1539, says that in the north of England he has received for the king twenty-six friaries, "the poorest houses that ever he went to." Again, the same bishop Ingworth says: "I have received to the king's use twelve houses of friars (situated in the northern midlands). They were all in poverty, and little left, scarce to pay the debts. In these houses the king's grace shall have but the lead . . . and twenty-four bells, such as they be, and of every house a chalice" (of silver). In the twenty-six houses of friars in the north which Ingworth dissolved in the early months of 1539, he obtained little except the worth of the sacred vessels and the lead of the roofs. In Scarborough he reports that the friaries were so impoverished, that to pay their liabilities the very stalls from the church and the screen-work had to be sold. "So that nothing was left but stone and glass; and all that the king can expect to get is the lead off the roof and very poor chalices."

How roughly and cruelly the commissioners went to work in the case of these poor houses and simple churches of the friars, is best described in such reports as Dr. London's. "At Reading," writes

this sacrilegious man, "I did only deface the church, all the windows being full of friars" [he was alluding apparently to the stained glass], "and I left the roof and walls whole for the king's use . . . I sold the ornaments and the cells in their dormitory. At Aylesbury I did only deface the church." At Warwick, he says, he only broke the windows of the friars' church; and again he adds: "I never pulled down any house entirely, but so defaced them that they could not be used again." Writing of his work at Oxford, this infamous commissioner speaks of the friars' copes and vestments: these he considered "pretty," and so he took them. The rest of their possessions he deemed practically valueless. On the whole, the value of the spoils of the friars, swept into the royal treasury, was very small. Only the sites and, in some cases, the buildings were valuable. Situated often in the heart of great towns, the spaces on which the buildings were erected were much sought after, and the crown, by disposing of these, made considerable profit. Instances of such sales are given from Lincoln, Grimsby, Reading, Worcester, and other places.

The dispossessed friars were treated harshly and without consideration; only a very small sum was given them on their being turned adrift into the world. In very rare instances, a small pension was granted.

Considerable misapprehension exists on the subject of the convents of nuns, all of which, without exception, shared in the common fate of suppression between the years 1536–1540. Much doubt exists in the general mind as to the number of these nuns, as to their possessions, as to their occupations, and, lastly, as to the charges brought against them—charges which are supposed to have brought about the dissolution of their houses.

At the time of the great monastic confiscation in England, there were, all told, about one hundred and forty convents owned by nuns;* of these, rather more than half belonged to the Benedictine order. They were scattered over all the counties, a preponderating number being in Yorkshire. These contained in all roughly about 1,560 nuns—this is, of course, exclusive of the dependents and tenants and various farm servants and others. Some 850 of these nuns were Benedictines. These English convents were mostly insignificant in numbers, and their property was but small. Indeed, in the report of the commission which examined, for the purposes of the destroying Act of Parliament of 1536, into the resources of the various communities, it appears that only eighteen out of the one hundred and forty women's houses possessed property above the Parliamentary limit of £200 a year. The Cistercian houses seem to have been singularly destitute of resources. They were twenty-six in number, and in all these only one was reported as having more than the £200 income, and in many of the communities the yearly income was even under £50. In the first months of the suppression in 1536, the king was not rigorous in insisting upon the surrender of many of these poor female communities. But the

* *Cf.* Dr. Gasquet: "Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries," chap. vi.

mercy thus shown only continued a very little while. The nunneries of England were all ruined and confiscated before the year 1540–1 had run its course.

SPOLIATION OF A SHRINE.

As regards the fair fame of these houses, all involved in one common ruin, on referring to the extant "Comperta," which embraced the communities of some thirteen counties, only twenty-seven nuns in all the convents which were visited are charged with vice of any kind; and as we have already remarked when speaking generally of the charges brought against the monastic orders, even of these seven-and-twenty, all but ten can be identified as subsequently receiving the royal grant of a pension—a fact which pretty well disposes of the reality of the charges brought against at least seventeen of the twenty-seven accused. Thus, arguing from the

very reports themselves, prepared by hostile and somewhat unscrupulous commissioners, the fair fame of the English nuns at the period of the Reformation suffers but little, when a careful investigation is made of the facts as we learn them from contemporary documents.

As regards their occupations, there is no doubt but that the nunneries had long been, and when the hour of their suppression sounded, were still, in many cases, great educational homes. Robert Aske, the leader of the northern revolt, has been already quoted as urging, among the Yorkshire grievances consequent upon the dissolution of the religious houses, "that those nunneries were suppressed in which the daughters of Yorkshire gentlemen were brought up in virtue." Dr. Gasquet does not hesitate to say, and his assertion is no baseless one, "that in the convents the female portion of the population found their only teachers, the rich as well as the poor, and the destruction of these religious houses was the absolute extinction of any systematic education for women during a long period."* At the convent of Winchester, for instance, the list of the ladies being educated within the walls at the time of the suppression shows something of the nature of the work which was going on in a Benedictine nunnery in 1538–9. The same writer quotes an interesting passage on the educational work of the English nuns in a Wiltshire convent, by an eye-witness. "There the young maids were brought up where they had examples of piety and humility and modesty and obedience. . . . Here they learned needlework, the art of confectionary, surgery, physic, writing, drawing." Without supposing that all the one hundred and forty female religious houses were thus usefully occupied, there is no doubt that not a few of them were centres of female education; and these were all swept away by the same wave of ruthless destruction which overwhelmed the whole monastic system.

Very few, however, of the convents thus destroyed were rich enough to bring any great amount of spoil to the royal treasury. Only here and there among the confiscated houses was there a wealthy one. As an instance of such, we may cite Barking, perhaps the most ancient and historical. From this great nunnery came a rich hoard of priceless plate into the king's hands. The plate weighed, it is said, 3,000 ounces. Among the treasures of Barking was a monstrance weighing sixty-five ounces, enriched with a precious beryl. Here, too, were found many costly vestments of gold and tissue, so beautiful that they were specially reserved for the king's use. The whole story of the suppression of the nunneries is a very sad one, and little excuse can be found, even by Henry's apologists, for this high-handed act of royal tyranny.

One feature connected with the suppression—the destruction of relics, shrines, and images to which some special sanctity was attached—requires special notice. Among the grave abuses in religion and popular religious worship which were swept away in the course of the Reformation in England, the misplaced reverence and devotion to relics and images,

* "Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries," chap. vi.

which had led to so much imposture and childish superstition, will ever hold a prominent place. What was, however, done in the course of the suppression by the royal commissioners of Henry VIII., appointed by Cromwell, was so coloured by human passion and greed that it forms an almost repulsive episode in the great confiscation. In reviewing the whole reformation work in England, all sober theologians among us unfeignedly rejoice that these objects of an utterly misplaced devotion were removed. But the circumstances under which they were swept away in the course of the monastic suppression in the years 1536–1540, are deeply regrettable.

The age which especially loved to multiply these curious objects of devotion was the Crusading period. The armies of the Cross obtained from the Greeks—often, no doubt, at a great price—relics, consisting of fragments of bones, portions of the dress, a few drops of the blood or some famous and distinguished saints ; the value of the relic, of course, depending on the sanctity of the person with whom the relic was connected. Thus the notorious relic of the Holy Blood of Hales, which has been the subject of so many curious explanations and inquiries, was probably obtained by Richard of Cornwall, the founder of Hales, for his house, and it has been suggested with some probability that this Richard, who was king of the Romans, procured at a great price the precious relic, knowing it to have been one of the spoils of the sanctuaries of Constantinople, which had been brought into Germany after the sack of that city by the Latins in the year 1204. To give instances of the estimation in which these curious treasures were held in the earlier Middle Ages, we find such men as the learned and saintly Hugh of Lincoln, deservedly reckoned the foremost English churchman of his day, travelling through France making a collection of relics, of each of which he was careful to require the pedigree. Baldwin the Second, emperor of Constantinople, was driven by his necessities to sell the sacred treasures of the imperial chapel. St. Louis of France became the possessor of the most famous of these—the crown of thorns. This he received with all reverence in Paris, barefoot and clad only in his shirt. Bishop Grosseteste, the scholar and statesman who occupies so prominent a place among the churchmen of his age, preached a sermon on the authenticity of the Holy Blood presented by Henry III. to Westminster abbey.

All this was, so to speak, in the days of the childhood of Europe, when able and devout men shared in these strange and curious superstitions. Time went on. The relics multiplied, and, as was only too probable, afforded not unfrequently opportunity for unscrupulous men to play upon the credulity of their fellows. There were not a few relics, when the Reformation storm burst upon the Church of England, which had been unmistakably manufactured for the purposes of gain and deception. Images, for instance, in which skilful mechanism enabled the body of the image to move, the head to bow, the eyes to turn upwards, the arms to open as though in the act of blessing. Such devices to excite special devotion among the uneducated and unthinking masses were, of course, utterly unworthy, and deserved no mercy.

Many, also, of the relics preserved in the monastic churches, such as the wood of the Holy Cross, the milk of the Blessed Virgin, the girdle of St. Mary Magdalene, had before the Reformation become utterly discredited among thinking or educated men. The scorn and indignation of Erasmus and Colet at such pitiful exhibitions have been already dwelt upon, and the feelings of earnest and devout souls like Colet on the subject, were no doubt shared in by very many of the disciples of the new learning.

But the appetite for plunder did not allow the commissioners of Cromwell merely to destroy such images, and to scatter to the winds such relics. There were scattered through the cathedrals and abbeys of England many beautiful and most costly shrines, which contained remains of local saints, undoubtedly genuine remains. "Among the peculiar treasures of the great abbeys and cathedrals were the mortal remains of the holy men in whose memories they had been founded, who by martyrs' deaths or lives of superhuman loftiness had earned the veneration of later ages. The bodies of these saints had been gathered into costly shrines, which a beautiful piety had decorated with choicest offerings. . . . Such dust was looked upon with awe and pious fear." * In the year 1538 directions were issued that every noted shrine should be demolished. The king's officers were ordered to take away the shrine and bones, with all the ornaments of the same shrine, and the shrine was ordered to be destroyed.

As the result of this general order, irreparable mischief was done. To take a few examples: at Winchester the magnificent shrine of St. Swithun's, which for centuries had been the glory of Winchester, was thus despoiled. The official charged with the work writes: "About three o'clock in the morning we made an end of the shrine here; the silver alone would amount to near two thousand marks." The same night he took possession of the cross of emeralds, the cross called "Hierusalem," another cross of gold, two chalices of gold, and some silver plate. On the Sunday morning, when the shrine had been disposed of, the officials charged with the work went round the choir, and stood with their lights before the splendid reredos. There, so runs the account, "we viewed the altar. It will be worth taking down. This done, we proceeded to sweep away all the rotten bones that be called relics." The result of this Winchester desecration of the shrines was 1,035 ounces of gold, 13,886 ounces of silver-gilt, and other treasures! This went into the royal treasury. The beautiful and venerable shrine of St. Richard of Chichester was ruthlessly destroyed, and the commissioners returned an account of 118 ounces of gold with stone enamel and agate, 5,255 ounces of silver, with other precious vestments and treasures. The magnificent and stately shrine of St. Cuthbert at Durham, when destroyed, with the treasures from the cathedral, yielded a yet greater harvest to the spoiler. This was one of the most sumptuous shrines of England, and the value of the treasure taken away was enormous.

The shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury was reputed to be the richest in the world. As an art treasure, canon Dixon does not

* Froude.

Cõio. Vox i rama audita est ploratus et vlulatus rachel plorãs filios suos: et noluit cõsolari qz nõ sũt. Postcõio

Totiua dñe dona pcepim⁹: que sctõr nobis pzecibz ꝛ pzesentis vite ẽs pariter ꝛ eterne tribue cõfeze lubliditũ. per dñm

[illegible]

Ofitũ.

[illegible] laudeam⁹ cões dño [illegible] tudo hõze [illegible] tr id: de cui⁹ pallione gaudẽt angeli et collaudãt filiũ dei. ps. Deus venerũt gentes in here ditatẽ tuã: polluerũt templũ sanctum tuũ / posuerunt hierlm i pomoz custodiam. Kyrie. Lux et ozigo. Oratio.

Deus pzorum⁹ ecclia gloziosus [illegible] hodierna die glẽ dns ipiozũ occubuit: pzestã ẽs ꝛ cõs qui eius ipiozãt auxilia: pecciones fine faluatore, cõsequantur. per dñm Leõzia de natiuitate / de sctõ stephano / de sctõ iohãne / ꝛ de innocentibus sũ. Eplã. Dis põtifex. in cõi vnius mz. Gz. Posuisti dñe sup caput ei⁹ cozonã de lapide pciolo. ℣. De syderiũ aie ei⁹ tribuisti ei et voluntate labioz eius nõ fraudasti eum. Allã. ℣. Letabitur iust⁹ in dño et sperabit i eo et laudabunt oẽs recti cozde

Mundo xps Sequentia. ozatur: pax i terra canitur in excelsis gria. Ego enim xpo natus dñi pro xpo patitur eter hec solẽna. Quita natalicii hui⁹ est martiri dies plena gaudio. Hic [illegible] Gaudet hũ ecclia gaudet celi curia leta tanto festo. Felix martir vsq; quaq; vita clar⁹ in vtraq; di-

guitatio ecclie. Dei in natiuo fulgulmat⁹ est honoze pclar⁹ et ecclia glia. Caula lacrimarũ ꝛ quã pro quabel quo se cecidit dco placẽs hostia. Caula xpe iuuenẽ pro quo pugnat dei punit: loc⁹ ẽ liberta. Ara crucis tulit xpm ãte ara cedat ãte cuius meritum ipia ꝛ ps fuit ara. Hunc cozona lute dat cela trãsitoria. Caula pena loc⁹ pensi petet loc⁹ plene plenũ ẽ hui martiri. Quia dns⁹ ẽ ferũ dei sacrificatio fert ẽ et figura ecclie [illegible] Ceu videt ninũ fame [illegible] et [illegible] et [illegible] [illegible] Sed ꝛ magis honorat quo de fructis vita dat multos ope superat. Sancta martyr sancta prece nos a morbo nos q uere dona [illegible] nia. Et te duce sequamur [illegible] donũ ꝛ euangelice eterne gaudia. Scõm iohẽm. r. In illo tpe D. i. d. s. Ego sũ pastor bon⁹. Require dñica. ii. post pascha. Offz. Posuisti dñe. in cõi vni⁹ mz. Secz

Munera tibi dñe dicata sã ctificẽt et intercedẽte be [illegible] martyre tuo ad nos venire ce; pez ca dẽ nos placat⁹ intercedẽte ꝑ Cõ. Ego sũ pastor bon⁹ allã et cognosco oues meas et cognoscũt me mee al

Annunt Callã. Postcõio.

Nos oẽs miserere⁹ de⁹ per hec sctã que sũpsimꝰ bti martyris tui ãte ꝑsidia [illegible] cessio benigna ꝓsequãda ꝗ ob tui nois honoze gloziose meruit cozonari martyno. per do. Sexta die a natiuitate dñi. Ofitũ Lux fulgebit. oz. Cõcede ẽs o. d. Eplã. Apparuit be. Gz. ℣ qui. Allã. ℣. Do⁹ regũ. seqñ. Celeste oziga. Euãge.

PAGE OF A HEREFORD MISSAL, CONTAINING THE SERVICE OF ST. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY, FROM WHICH ALL THE PRAYERS REFERRING TO HIM HAVE BEEN ERASED. (*British Museum.*)

hesitate to call it the glory of England, almost the common property of Christendom, as "the princes of Christendom for centuries had vied in laying upon it the most precious products of the mine and of the loom, the fairest works of the most skilful artificers; the offerings of thousands of pilgrims, continued through three hundred years, had been poured in a golden flood upon the church and city of the martyr." In the case of this most costly of the shrines, a special royal mandate was issued, and in the autumn of 1538 St. Thomas of Canterbury was declared a traitor, and it was enjoined that "henceforth his images and pictures throughout the whole realm should be destroyed; that the days used to be festival in his name should not be observed, and the service office and prayers in his name should not be read." The windows of jewelled glass which the church had raised in countless churches in his honour were broken, to the irreparable injury of priceless specimens of one of the loveliest of mediæval arts. All this was done in some way to legalise the appropriation of the treasures of the Canterbury shrine. The plunder of jewels and gold from the shrine and hoard were carried out in two vast chests upon the shoulders of six or eight stalwart men, and the rest of the precious things filled twenty-six carts, that waited at the door to carry away the rich spoil to London. The bare official catalogue of the treasures of this desecrated shrine, thus broken to pieces and carried off, reads like a page out of the fairy tales of the Arabian Nights.

The above instances are conspicuous examples, but only examples, of what was done all over England. All the shrines, many of them rich beyond description in choice specimens of mediæval art—art such as the world had never seen before, and probably will never see again—were ruthlessly destroyed. What was saved for the king, in many cases was simply the gold, the silver, or even the brass, and now and again the jewels which encrusted the shrines; but these constituted an enormous amount of riches. The curious antiquary, the reverent worshipper, the traveller from the great Western Republic, and the new and vaster England beyond the seas, visiting with various feelings the ancient parish churches, the glorious English cathedrals and abbeys, are all alike dismayed and distressed at the ruthless havoc too visible in these venerated homes of prayer—a havoc evidently in large part the work of one generation. The niches emptied of the carved images, the broken tracery, the ruined canopy work, the disfigured shrine of the saint, the desecrated tomb of the illustrious dead, alike bear their sad and solemn witness to an unreasoning, undiscriminating fury which, prompted partly by greed, partly by a fanatic zeal, spared nothing which in the eyes of the destroyers seemed precious to them, or spoke to them of a seemingly misplaced reverence.

To return to the story of the suppression of the monasteries. The year 1537 saw the fall of several of the great houses of religion more or less mixed up, or charged with being mixed up, with the "Pilgrimage of Grace" and the designs of the northern insurgents, and the intrigues set on foot by cardinal Pole and

the Court of Rome. The year following is notable as being the great year of the suppression. It was now clear that the limitation of the Act of Parliament of 1536, confining the suppression to the smaller houses, was to be disregarded. Much had happened to forward this policy. The ease with which so many of the smaller houses had been broken up and their goods confiscated, suggested that confiscation on a yet larger scale could be carried out with equal facility. The large sums which these confiscations had brought into the royal treasury had whetted the appetite for plunder already too manifest on the part of Henry, his ministers, and the many recipients of the royal bounty. The unmistakable position taken up by the monastic orders and their well-wishers in favour of the lost supremacy of Rome; and, lastly, the almost uncontrolled power of the Crown, enormously developed by the complete failure of the northern insurrection—all these circumstances precipitated the general suppression of monasteries, including the great as well as the small houses.

Although no Act of Parliament as yet formally legalised any interference with the estates of the larger houses, the policy of Henry and his ministers endeavoured to shelter this greater confiscation under a thin veil of right and reverence, at least for the forms of law. Every possible endeavour was made in the cases of the greater houses to induce the abbots, priors, and their chapters voluntarily to surrender their churches and treasures, their monastic dwellings and estates. "Willingly to consent and agree," were the terms used by the royal commissioners. We read such directions, issued to the officials in question, as the following, and these were very generally used and carried out: "If they (the commissioners) shall find any of the said heads and convents so appointed to be dissolved, so wilful and obstinate that they will in nowise submit themselves to the king's majesty in manner and form aforesaid (that is, by voluntary surrender of everything), in that case the said commissioners shall take possession of the house and lands, the jewels, plate, and all other things belonging to them." If, on the other hand, they, the abbots and priors, "shall agree and willingly consent to a fair surrender, the said commissioners shall appoint unto the said head and every member of their convent, pensions for the term of their lives, and also give them by way of reward that sum of money for the change of their apparel, and likewise such portions of the household stuff," as they think proper. On the other hand, no pensions or gifts were to be given to obstinate and wilful persons.

These terms induced many surrenders: the promises of a pension and other substantial advantages on the one hand, and on the other a threat (no mere menace) of deprivation of even a scanty means of subsistence, and perhaps further punishment. The doom of the London Carthusians was before their eyes, and was well calculated to allure or to alarm the helpless inmates of monastic houses to compliance with the stern measures of king Henry VIII. But fair promises and cruel threats were not the only means used to procure the surrender of the greater houses. Under the colour of maladministration in

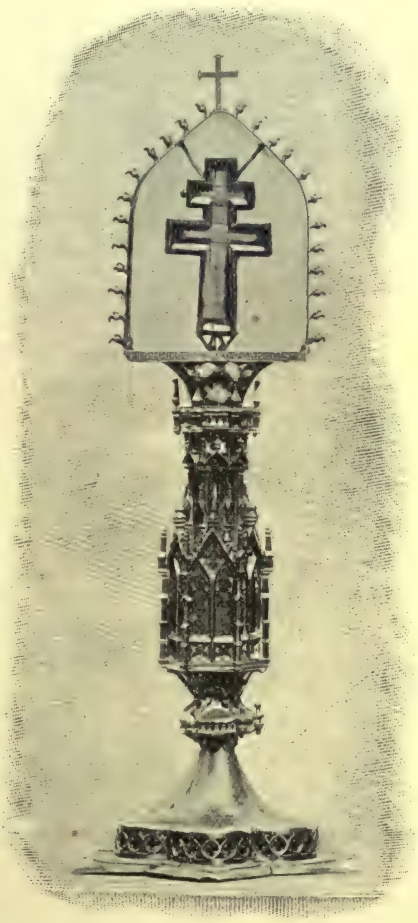
their high offices, under pretence of dilapidations in the buildings of church or monastery, non-pliant abbots were, in certain well-known instances, summarily deprived, and others more amenable to the royal wishes placed in their stalls. So the abbot Clement Lichfield—a man of blameless life and perfect integrity, and withal a great builder—was deposed, and a creature of the king, one Philip Hawford, was placed in the abbot's chair of the mighty and historical Benedictine house of Evesham. Abbot Hawford speedily resigned his great trust into the commissioners' hands, and was at once rewarded for his compliance by an ample pension, and shortly afterwards by the deanery of Worcester. His tomb can still be seen in that fair cathedral, of which he became the head by these unworthy means. The surrender of the great abbey of St. Albans, to take another conspicuous instance, was brought about by a similar proceeding. Only a few months later a still more summary process was adopted in the cases of the splendid and illustrious houses of Glastonbury, Colchester, and Reading. There the abbots, accused of treason, were executed, and their noble abbeys ruthlessly dismantled, and the vast estates and treasures of their houses confiscated. About one hundred and fifty monasteries of monks, under the strong pressure detailed above, appear to have "voluntarily" signed away their property, and by formal deed handed over all rights to the king.

ENGLISH COMMUNION CUP AND COVER OF SILVER, HALL MARK 1573, IN THE POSSESSION OF SIR SAMUEL MONTAGU, BART., M.P.

The number of important and wealthy monasteries suppressed and confiscated by "attainder" in 1537, by "voluntary" surrender and under other and various pretexts in 1538, had now become a formidable and portentous list. More, too, were marked out for immediate suppression. Surely, thought the king, ever punctilious, even in his most tyrannical works, in observing the forms of the law, it were well to procure retrospective Parliamentary sanction for what was done in 1537–38, and prospective sanction for what he purposed in the immediate future to carry out. In the year 1539, therefore, a new Parliament was called and a Bill was drafted by his chancellor, Audley, which should throw the shield of the law over all his proceedings in regard to monasteries, great as well as small.

The Bill in an incredibly short space of

time became an Act. It positively went through the obsequious and obedient Parliament in three successive days. At the third reading the king himself was present. This tremendous act legalising the greatest confiscation ever known in our land, ran as follows: "Freely, voluntarily, under no manner of constraint, have many abbeys, priories, friaries, hospitals, and other religious houses resigned themselves, their lands, their properties, their rights into the hands of the king since the twenty-seventh year of his reign. *Let the king and his heirs possess those houses for ever.* Other religious houses may happen in future to be suppressed, dissolved, renounced, forfeited, given up, or otherwise to come into the king's hands. *Let him enjoy them.*"



FRENCH SILVER-GILT RELIQUARY CONTAINING A PORTION OF THE "TRUE CROSS" (15TH CENTURY). *South Kensington Museum.*

In this Parliament of 1539 the mitred abbots still had a place among the peers of England. Some surprise has naturally been expressed that we possess no record of any protest from any of them against the spoliation of their ancient storied homes. Were they awed by the passionate vehemence of the despotic lord of England, who would brook no opposition to his imperious will? Were they convinced of the utter hopelessness of any plea or argument they might urge in defence of the monasteries? No one can answer these questions, which rise so naturally to the lips of the student of the story of these days of stress and storm. Probably few of the abbots about to be disinherited were present at that Parliament; and the few who ventured to take their seats in the national assembly doubtless had been won to silence by bribes or cowed by threats. It was too late now for useless debate. The ruin of the monastic orders had been decided on. In great part it had been carried out. The Parliament of Henry VIII. had simply to register the decrees of the king of England. His mind was fully made up. No lord, spiritual or temporal, dared to say him nay.

The years 1539–40 saw the end of the matter. Many mourned the irreparable and widely-extended loss occasioned by the ruin of the monasteries in England, but no voice was heard in public deprecating the king's action. The king willed it, and Parliament in solemn session was content to register his sovereign will. The dissentients were cowed by the failure of the northern rebellion, and by the bloody vengeance which had been executed alike on noble and ecclesiastic who had dared to take part in it. The sullen and wide-spread applause, however, which greeted the fall and death of Cromwell, a dread surprise which fell on England as the last of the religious houses was passing into the king's possession, tells us how bitterly the outcome of the works and days of the powerful minister had sunk into many English hearts. The inborn loyalty of the nation to their king visited the great sin of Henry VIII. upon his too-faithful minister: all sorts and conditions of men were pleased to consider the fallen minister as guilty of the great wrong. They were mistaken, perhaps consciously mistaken. The real author of the ruin of the monastic orders, and of the irreparable loss of so much that was venerable and lovely, was one higher and more irresponsible than Cromwell.

Thus one mighty religious house after another fell in the sad years 1538, 1539, 1540. In the majority of the greater monasteries, no attempt was apparently made to excuse the suppression and consequent confiscation by charging the monk owners with immorality, or even with neglect of their self-imposed duties, or with carelessness of the splendid and historic fabric committed to their charge. No shadow of accusation, for instance, seems to have been alleged against the last tenants of such stately prayer-homes as Durham and Bury St. Edmunds, as Evesham or Gloucester.

And now to take stock of the gains and losses from all this suppression and confiscation; and first of the material losses. "The face of the kingdom," writes canon Dixon in an eloquent though melancholy passage, "was changed by this memorable event; foreign nations stood at gaze to behold the course of England. The land was strewn with hundreds of ruins. Stately buildings, churches, halls, chambers, cloisters—a whole architecture, into which the genius of ages and races had been breathed—were laid in dust and rubbish. Vast libraries, the priceless records of antiquity, the illuminated treasures of the Middle Ages, were ravished with a waste so sordid as to have wrung a cry of anguish even from Bale* (the bitter foe of the monks), who thus writes: "*Of the books in the monastic libraries, some were sold to the grocers and soap-sellers, and some were sent over the sea to the bookbinders, not in small numbers but at times whole ships full.*" . . . "*I know a merchantman that bought the contents of two noble libraries for forty shillings apiece—a shame it is to be spoken. This stuff hath he occupied, instead of grey paper, by the space of more than these ten years, and yet he hath store enough for as many years to come.* We cannot tell what we have lost."

* Quoted by Canon Dixon, in "History of the Church of England," chap. x.

What to some, perhaps, would appear still more striking waste, was the treatment of the plate, the destruction of the sacred vessels and treasures belonging to the doomed monasteries. Priceless works of the highest mediæval art in gold and silver were destroyed. In the eyes of the commissioners, in perhaps the majority of cases, these represented only so many ounces of metal, and were carelessly broken up and disposed of. The extraordinary wealth of the English churches in such beautiful things excited the astonishment of strangers. An Italian, speaking of England about forty years before the great confiscation, thus writes: "Above all are the English riches displayed in the church treasures; for there is not a parish church in the kingdom so mean as not to possess crucifixes, candlesticks, censers, patens, and cups of silver. Nor is there a convent of Mendicant friars so poor as not to have all these same articles in silver, besides many other ornaments worthy of a cathedral church in the same metal. You may therefore imagine what the decorations of those enormously rich Benedictine, Carthusian, and Cistercian monasteries must be." * Much of this precious work was enriched with gems or enamelled bosses, and was richly chased. Only a few inventories have been preserved of the enormous mass of valuable objects swept into the royal treasury. Besides the ornaments rudely taken from the tombs and shrines of saints, the king's plunder comprised all descriptions of church ornaments, including, besides the objects of sacred art above mentioned, monstrances for exposing the blessed sacrament, crosses, processional and pastoral staves, croziers, mitres, rings, jewelled gloves, cruets, censers, silver dishes of every kind, clasps studded with gems taken from illuminated missals and other service books.

The most gorgeous productions of mediæval embroidery and needlework were also dispersed; the more remarkable being reserved for the king, the rest heedlessly scattered. Copes of gold cloth elaborately worked, coverings for altars, all descriptions of sacred vestments, chasubles, and every description of altar furniture, brocades and stuffs of Eastern origin cunningly worked and embroidered—by far the greater part of these exquisite things, so long reserved for sacred uses, fell into private hands. We read, alas! of private men's parlours being not unfrequently hung with altar-cloths, their tables and beds adorned with copes. "It was a sorry house," we read, "and not worth the naming, which had not somewhat of this furniture in it, though it were only a fair large cushion made of a cope, or an altar-cloth to adorn their windows, or make their chairs appear to have somewhat in them of a chair of state." Some of these spoils were even purchased and shipped to foreign lands.

There are others amongst us who perhaps are more especially touched by the hopeless mischief done in the wreckage of the monastic abbeys and churches, and the graceful piles of buildings which had in the course of centuries grown up beneath their hallowed shade. Here the loss has been simply irreparable. During much of the Middle Ages, men built *as they have*

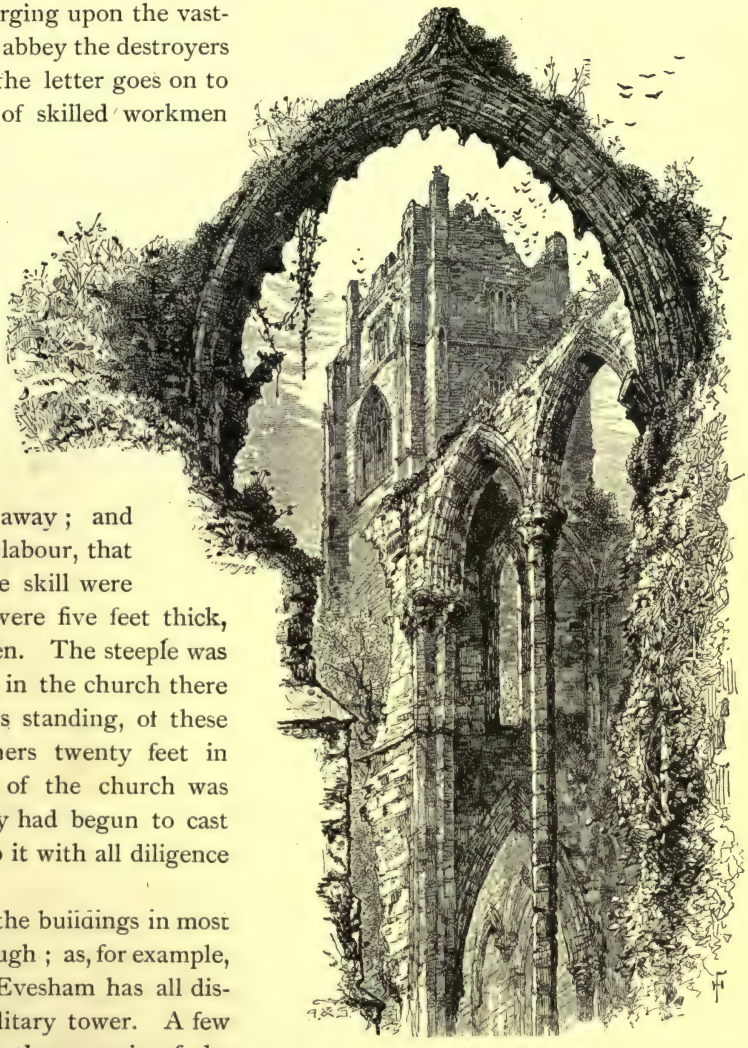
* Camden Society: "Italian relation about England," A.D. 1500. Quoted by Gasquet.

never built since. The stately abbey—the monastic home of prayer—had been the Book of Stone, out of which many generations had been taught. In these stately piles the quaint and varied symbolism, the daring picturesqueness of interior and exterior, the patient and devout work of centuries, failed to appeal to the hearts or heads of these official wreckers; and countless buildings were destroyed *for the sake of the lead which covered the roofs, or the bells which hung in the towers.* Some, unroofed and otherwise dismantled, were left to the wild fury of the elements, and the winds and rain slowly completed the destroyers' work. Often the massive and stately building served as a stone quarry or a builder's yard; and the neighbouring peasant and farmer carried away the stones and pillars as he needed them, for his field-walls or barns. In many cases the orders were peremptory, and an immediate destruction of the buildings of church and monastery followed the suppression of the community. Not unfrequently this was positively a hard and painful task; so massive were the walls, so splendidly and solidly built, were the buttresses and the towers, so enduringly laid, were the solid foundations. The mediæval monk was ever a great builder.

As one instance of this work of destruction—which will show what pains were taken to level to the ground what had taken long years of self-denial and thought and care to build up—we will quote a few lines illustrative of the destroyers' work at the abbey of Lewes. It will serve as an example of what was taking place in a hundred doomed monastic churches. Lewes abbey was a noble and stately edifice, but by no means singular for its magnificence and size. The account is in a letter addressed to Lord

GLASTONBURY ABBEY.

Cromwell. After enlarging upon the vastness and solidity of the abbey the destroyers were engaged upon, the letter goes on to say how a company of skilled workmen from London had been brought down to Lewes—carpenters, smiths, plumbers, etc. To each of these his office was assigned; some hewed the walls about and broke them, the carpenters underset with props what the others cut away; and yet so great was the labour, that *more* workmen of like skill were wanted. The walls were five feet thick, and in some places ten. The steeple was eighty feet in height; in the church there were thirty-two pillars standing, of these some were forty, others twenty feet in height. The height of the church was over sixty feet. They had begun to cast the lead, and would do it with all diligence and saving.



FOUNTAINS ABBEY.

The destruction of the buildings in most places was most thorough; as, for example, the mighty abbey of Evesham has all disappeared save one solitary tower. A few vast fragments are all that remain of the lordly abbey at Reading. The pathetic ruins of Bury St. Edmunds hint—they do nothing more—at the surpassing grandeur of that world-famous pile. The remains of the storied churches of Glastonbury, Tintern, Fountains, Rivaulx, Whitby, Melrose, and a hundred more, in their picturesque and touching ruin, are still in their pathetic beauty the ornaments of the districts of which they were once the living religious centres. Some few, spared by the rare mercy of the destroyers, like the lordly abbey of St. Peter at Gloucester, are still with us; and after three centuries and a half more of wear and tear, in their scarred but still perfect beauty and serene majesty, tell us what kind of

buildings Henry and Cromwell were pleased to level to the ground.

The exact amount of the monastic spoils, reckoned in money, is difficult to arrive at. Gasquet is very cautious in his estimates, generally following the figures given by Speed; he estimates that the fall of the monasteries transferred to the royal exchequer an income of more than two millions a year of our present money, or a capital sum roughly amounting to fifty millions. He adds, however, that what with gratuitous grants, sales of land, and other means whereby the capital value of the plunder was greatly diminished, at no time was anything approaching the sum at which the revenue of the monastic houses was computed, received by the royal treasury. We must remember, however, that vast treasures of gold and silver and gems, and other precious things confiscated by the king, do not appear in any of the formal accounts and catalogues that we are acquainted with; still, when all deductions are made, it is clear that the prize seized by Henry was very great.

And, alas! much of it was wasted, and quickly dissipated. The question is often asked: Then what became of the enormous property thus confiscated? Very much, of course, will never be accounted for; still, the list of the known beneficiaries of the goods of the monastic orders is a long one. Gasquet generally in his lucid summary, although intensely disapproving the whole transaction, is conspicuously fair, and considers that a large proportion of the plunder—rather more than half—which

TYNEMOUTH PRIORY.

was paid into the Court of Augmentation, went for national purposes, under the heads of coast fortifications, for the purposes of perfectly useless foreign wars, and general military matters; but it must be borne in mind that vast treasures which were confiscated never appeared on the records of the Court of Augmentation at all. Considerable sums for a time were also paid away in pensions to the dispossessed monks and nuns; mainly, of course, to those concerned in the *voluntary* surrenders. In the case of the lesser monasteries, only the superiors were granted pensions. The Mendicant friars as a class received no yearly allowance; the majority were turned adrift, receiving only a small gratuity.

Much of the spoil without doubt was lavishly, even carelessly given away to Henry's courtiers, and to those influential persons who supported his policy. Some powerful men were enormously enriched; among these conspicuous recipients of the royal bounty were Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, the duke of Norfolk, and the earl of Rutland. The Seymours and the Dudleys rank among the chief of these beneficiaries; a long list of persons thus enriched might be made out, not a few of them absolutely unworthy. During the last eight years of his life, canon Dixon computes that Henry gave away about 420 of the confiscated monasteries or sites of monasteries. Even after the king's death there was a great deal of this description of property still in the possession of the crown.

A portion of the confiscated property —but only a small portion—found its way back to the Church. Six new bishoprics and cathedral chapters were founded out of the wreckage of the monastic estates. Of these, Oxford, Chester, Gloucester, Bristol, and Peterborough are still with us as important sees. Some small sums were also given for educational purposes to Oxford and Cambridge; but beyond the comparatively insignificant amount set apart for these religious purposes, the whole sum realised by the dissolutions was spent for secular and private purposes. A considerable amount was also expended on the royal palaces of Westminster, Hampton Court, St. James's, and other royal residences. But after taking all these objects into consideration, immense sums and vast hoards of treasure are unaccounted for, and seem to have vanished. From first to last the suppression of the monasteries, in its conception, in its carrying out, in the disposition of its ill-gotten fruits, is a melancholy story, and will ever remain a dark blot in the chronicles of the English Reformation.

But through the suppression of the monastic orders the Church of England lost much besides mere property. The disappearance of the abbots and priors gravely weakened its influence both in Parliament and Convocation. The voice of a head of a great monastic community had a different sound from the voice of a bishop in Parliament, or of a head of a parish in Convocation. While not separated from human interests, the life of the superior of a religious house allowed the abbot or the prior a leisure for thought and study, so imperatively needed in the hierarchy of a national church—a leisure which can never belong to the chief

pastor of a great diocese, or to the spiritual guide of a parish, with its endless distractions and varied cares. In some respects the Anglican dean of an historic cathedral now fills the place in the church of the extinct abbots and priors. But the deans have no seat in the great council of the nation, and in Convocation they are numerically but a very small body.

A loss, however, that was even more felt in the church than the disappearance of the abbots and priors, was the serious diminution of the numbers of ministers of religion among the masses. The friars, especially of the Mendicant orders, ministered to the crowds resident in towns and cities. Their place has never been supplied. The want has been more and more felt as the population increased ; the numbers of ministers of religion, ever since the suppression of the monastic orders, being totally insufficient for the numbers of the people, of whom they should be not only the priests, but the instructors and teachers.

One, and that a most important, consideration has been too often lost sight of in the great confiscation ; a vast number of the benefices of the church, through "appropriation" [the word is explained later], had become the property of the monasteries. Each of these was served by a vicar, appointed by the monastery which had become possessed of the benefice. The law or custom required that the stipends of such vicars should be increased from time to time as the value of money altered. The bishop of the diocese usually insisted on this regulation or practice being carried out. When, however, the monastery and its possessions passed into lay hands, no such obligation could be enforced ; the bishop had no power over the new lay possessor of the abbey lands. The amount of the income, which was a charge upon the property, payable to the vicar at the time of the dissolution, has since remained a fixed charge. Nothing further could be demanded, although the value of money has so enormously diminished in value. What in the sixteenth century represented a sufficiency—possibly a bare sufficiency — in the nineteenth century has become a miserable pittance. Hence the extreme poverty of so many of the benefices of the church. This appropriation of benefices on the part of the monasteries has been justly stigmatised as an undoubted wrong ; but the religious communities generally supplied—though perhaps not too generously, and often under some compulsion—the needs of the vicar they placed over the parish. But after the dissolution these needs grew more pressing, and the position of the vicars of these "monastic" benefices altered for the worse. It would have been a righteous disposition of some of the confiscated funds to have made some provision in these cases. Alas ! such a thought never seems to have entered into the mind of the king or of his instrument.

This appropriation of parochial churches to religious houses in many cases is of very ancient date. We have records of such being made by the first founders as early as A.D. 800, in the case of the abbey of Crowland by Bertulph, king of Merckland (Mercia). Many such "appropriations" were made by the first founders before the Norman Conquest. At the Westminster synod (A.D. 1200) under

archbishop Hubert Walter, the fourteenth canon ordained "that in any church 'appropriated' by any of the religious, a vicar be instituted by the care of the bishop, *who is to receive a decent competency out of the goods of the church.*" *

Besides the spiritual loss suffered by the people, when so many of their priests and teachers disappeared in the great wave of destruction, the poor especially were severe losers in other respects by the suppression of the monastic houses. Poverty in manifold ways was relieved by the monks. The burden of sickness and distress of all kinds among the people was helped and made more tolerable by the love and devotion of

IN A MONASTERY SCHOOL.

* Compare here—Lord Selborne: "Defence of the Church of England," viii. Hunt: Introduction to "Two Chartularies of Bath Priory." Hook: "Archbishops," ii., 11.

the monastic orders. There is no doubt but that for the *poor*, life was made harder by the dissolution of the monasteries. Many factors must confessedly be taken into account which have come into being since the middle of the sixteenth century, especially the enormous increase of the population; but the problem of poor relief has been as yet only very partially solved, and our philanthropists and statesmen, although they have put forward many theories, have arrived at no definite conclusions here. It must be allowed that no adequate means have as yet been discovered to fill up the void which the "dissolution" occasioned in the question of help to the poor, the sick, and the helpless of our population. The monasteries and friaries were emphatically, with all their shortcomings, a blessing and a comfort to the sick and needy, who are ever with us. Our system of poor-law relief as yet very meagrely and sparingly fills their place.

In *educational* matters the fall of the religious houses was a distinct loss to the nation. By most of the religious corporations throughout the country schools were maintained, in which instruction was given, generally gratuitously, in reading, writing, and singing, and in some of the more advanced arts of the age as well. The name by which these seminaries were generally known was "free schools." The loss of these free monastic schools fell most heavily, of course, upon the poorer classes of the population. "Up to this time," writes Dixon, "the educated class was recruited chiefly from the independent poor, the yeomen, and small tenants. Many even of the great clerks of this age, from Wolsey to Latimer, were the sons of, comparatively speaking, poor men. It does not seem to have been the custom that the sons of the gentry should go to college. *They* passed usually from the monastic seminaries to the court or the castle. After the great revolution of which we have been speaking, the universities more and more were resorted to by another and a higher class. The poor had less chance, after the fall of the monasteries, of education than they had before it." Most of the schools, writes Gasquet, alluding to these monastic seminaries at this time, were closed, and in addition the support afforded by the religious houses to promising young clerics pursuing their studies at the universities, of course, came to an end, when the orders, from whence this help to young students came, were suppressed.

At Cambridge in 1545 the scholars petitioned king Henry for privileges, as they feared the destruction of monasteries would annihilate learning. The danger at Oxford was equally great. In a sermon of bishop Latimer, the following words occur, which show how deeply sensible were men like this prominent and earnest reformer of the inevitable loss to all education and general learning, which was the result of the closing of the monastic schools, and of the cessation of the large and generous support hitherto given to students at Oxford and Cambridge by the religious orders: "It is a pitiable thing to see schools so neglected; every true Christian ought to lament the same. . . . Schools are not maintained; scholars have no exhibitions. . . . Very few there be that help poor scholars. . . . It would

pity a man's heart to hear of the state of Cambridge—what it is in Oxford I cannot tell—I think there be at this day (A.D. 1550) ten thousand students less than there were within these twenty years, and fewer preachers." The enormous numbers quoted assisted in his counsels, to preserve *something* from this vanishing world of monasticism, which had through so many centuries of its existence worked so hard and so successfully for religion and learning; had relieved so much suffering and want;

Photo: R. Keene, Derby.

CHANCEL ARCH OF THE ABBEY, DEEPDALE.

by the good bishop savour perhaps of exaggeration. But the fact of the grave decline in students after the "suppression" is indisputable. Another writer thus speaks of Oxford: "Most of the halls and hostels were left empty. Art declined, and ignorance began to take place again."

The chronicler of all these amazing scenes of loss and waste, wonders with a sad wonderment why no real effort was made by the king and the statesmen who had contributed so enormously to art and letters, to education, to agriculture, and even to commerce; whose stately buildings and matchless churches were at once the beauty and glory of England. "If even buildings had been spared because of their grandeur and beauty; if priceless libraries had been cared for and preserved; if the unnumbered specimens of exquisite mediæval art had been tenderly collected and watched over; if a few of the

monasteries had been kept as they were, and filled with men who in passionate earnestness loved the life which in the sixteenth century was viewed so generally with suspicion and dislike—then the revolution would have had a more honest appearance." In such language as this, one of the fairest Anglican historians of the suppression* bewails the deplorable tragedy.

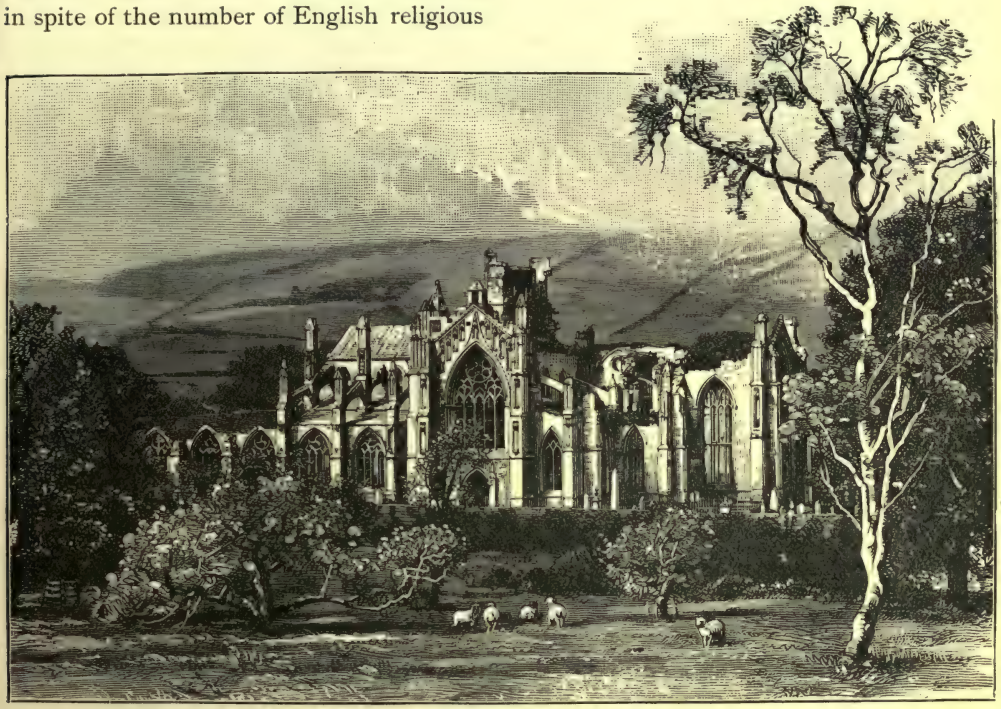
Mr. Froude, in closing *his* version of the sad story, curiously states: "The efforts for the reform of the orders had totally failed." When and by whom, the wondering reader asks, was any such *state* effort ever made? Had a statesman arisen who, in the storm and stress of the Reformation, had guided king Henry VIII. into paths of moderation and mercy; had been far-sighted enough to reject what was worn-out and useless, and to preserve whatever was still living and working—and without doubt when the day of destruction dawned there was much that was well worth preserving—had such a statesman arisen, and could he have guided the king to reform rather than to destroy; then, perhaps, England would have possessed, as did France in the century following the dissolution of the monasteries, a group of religious societies like that of the Bene-

KIRKSTALL ABBEY.

* Canon Dixon.

dictines of St. Maur, where some of the greatest literary work of comparatively modern times was planned and successfully carried out.

But this was not to be. And, after all, it is indisputable that monasticism was un-English. It must be looked upon, in spite of the number of English religious houses, in the light of an exotic, not as of real English growth. As a system it had never found a place in the hearts of the English people. The loved king Alfred, with his intense fervour and passionate religiousness, we know made a strong effort to popularise this monasticism among his people; and we have seen how small an amount of success in this particular attended the efforts of the patriot king. It could never be said to have really flourished in the Anglo-Saxon times —that is, in those days when the princes of the great house of Alfred ruled. It did not appear as a real power among us till after the Norman Conquest. "It came all perfect from abroad, it perished in a moment altogether." Of all the many mediæval monastic orders, there is only one, strange to say, that can boast of English origin: the small and comparatively insignificant group of communities called "Gilbertines" was founded in the twelfth century by an Englishman. No doubt this fact, little noticed by historians as a rule, that monasticism was *un-English*, largely contributed to the ease with which the great confiscation was planned and



MELROSE ABBEY.

carried out in the short space of about five or six years.

Thus the monk fell; and in spite of the splendid work done by many a religious community in the now past Middle Ages, comparatively unpitied. The angry murmurs which we heard in the "Pilgrimage of Grace" and the northern rising, were not the voice of England as a nation. Some, perhaps even many, were grieved at his disappearance, and gravely disapproved of the high-handed and harsh measures of the king and his famous minister, Cromwell, to whom public opinion chose to ascribe the royal policy in the matter. But, on the whole, the nation sullenly acquiesced in the great wrong. Had the English people really cared, never would even the despotic and self-willed Henry have carried out his purpose.

On the other hand, two important, though indirect, results of the suppression of the monasteries must not be forgotten. With deep truth once wrote a wise and far-seeing historian of Henry VIII.,* alluding especially to this darkest chapter in the life of the great Tudor king: "I do not conceal from myself that under the Divine power, which brings good out of evil and overrules the wrath of man to the praise of God, we have received good as well as evil through the means of this 'majestic lord who broke the bonds of Rome.'" Nothing save the suppression of this mighty network of fortresses, each garrisoned with its faithful papal force, could have effectually and permanently broken the chain of this iron bondage. No statute, no act of Parliament, however stringent, but what would have been evaded after a time, had the religious orders continued to guide the education and to influence the hearts of the people. Their traditions, their vast power, the principles which guided their life and work, were all too closely bound up with Rome and the papal supremacy, for them ever to acquiesce in a separation from the Roman obedience. The Church of England never had become the beneficent, world-wide religion which knits together so many of the Anglo-Saxon race; the world-wide church capable of indefinite expansion, and of adaptability to all sorts and conditions of men, dwelling in different climes and under such different conditions—had it not finally broken off its unnatural subjection to an Italian church. And this final and necessary severance would have been impossible, had the monastic orders continued to flourish and to work among us.

And yet one more benefit indirectly came to the Church of England through the ruin and fall of the monasteries. It is well known that the religious houses were the chief seat of many of the grossest mediæval superstitions. It was in their churches and abbeys that the large majority of sacred, and in not a few cases the so-called miraculous images and relics were preserved. It was the unhappy heritage of an ignorant and superstitious past, it is true; but it was a heritage which the monastic orders of the sixteenth century still guarded with the most jealous care, and surrounded with an extreme reverence: a care and a reverence which showed no sign of abatement, or even of that caution which the strong light shed by the new learning on all such

* Bishop Stubbs.

things should at least have enjoined. There were few religious houses, great or small, that were without one or more such objects of a misplaced devotion—objects that were celebrated in the neighbourhood, sometimes far beyond the immediate neighbourhood, as being efficacious in the cure of disease, or prompt in the aid of childbirth, and other favours procurable by prayer from Heaven. Many of these were no doubt impostures, used too often for the sake of vulgar gain; others genuine in the sense of being what they were said to be, but invested by their guardians with supposed supernatural powers utterly false and unreal. Pilgrimages to such houses and shrines, prayers addressed to such idols — for they were nothing more—

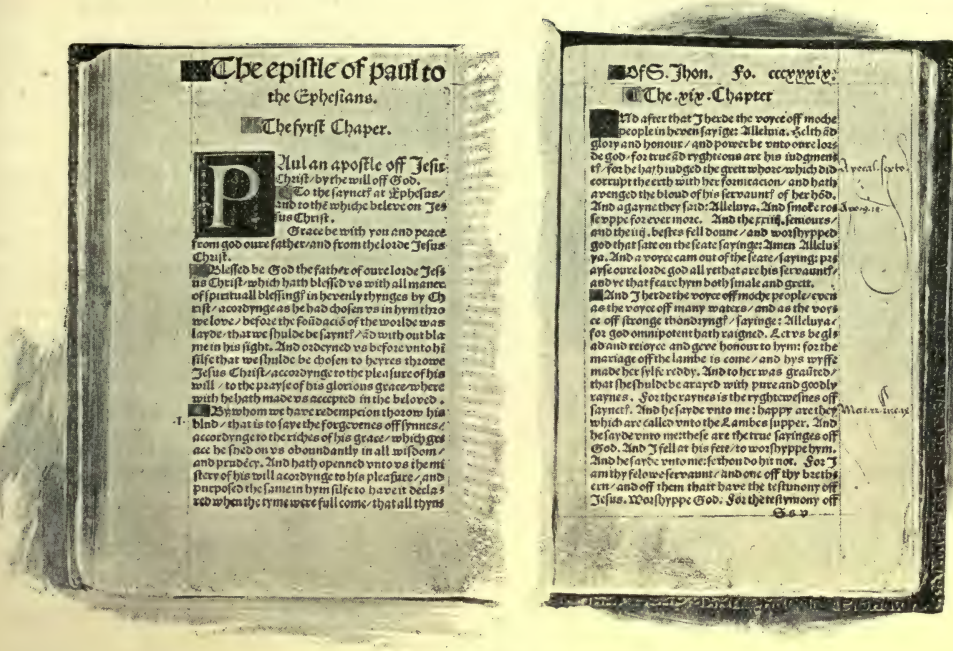
TINTERN ABBEY.

occupied a foremost place among the soul-destroying errors swept away by the English Reformation. From various reasons—from custom, from long-established tradition, in some cases no doubt from ignorance, too often from reasons suggested by the love of gain and profit, the dwellers in the monasteries, as a class, upheld this wrong and foolish idol cult.

The fall of the orders, and the ruin of their churches and houses in every part of the land, dealt a death-blow to this worn-out mediæval superstition. Never had it been possible to have weaned the mass of the people from their unreasoning belief in, and attachment to, these popular objects of worship, if they had not witnessed such scenes as the pillage and desecration of world-famous shrines—such as that of St. Cuthbert, at Durham; St. Edmund, king and martyr, at St. Edmundsbury; and St. Thomas, in his gorgeous resting-place at Canterbury. The ruin of the precious shrine, the scattering to the winds of Heaven of the remains of the blessed saint, sank deep into a thousand thousand hearts; and the memory of these stern and repulsive acts rendered possible the subsequent work of the English reformers, when they expunged for ever from the liturgies of the English church every vestige and trace of that worship of the creature which belongs alone of right to the Creator. In England the sainted and worshipped relic, the miraculous and adored image, really vanished, when the monastic orders disappeared.

ARCHWAY AT EVESHAM

(*This and the Bell Tower are the sole remnants of the Monastery of Evesham.*)


The epistle of paul to
the Ephesians.
The fyrst Chaper.
Paul an apostle off Jesus
Christ/ by the will off God.
To the sayncte at Ephesus/
and to the whiche believe on Jes
us Christ.
Grace be with you and peace
from god oure father/ and from the lorde Jesus
Christ.
Blessed be God the father of oure lorde Jes
us Christ/ which hath blessed vs with all manner
of spirituall blessinge in heavenly thynges by Ch
rist/ accordynge as he had chosen vs in hym thro
we love/ before the foudacio of the worlde was
layde/ that we shulde be sayncte/ and without bla
me in his sight. And ordeyned vs before vnto hi
silfe/ that we shulde be chosen to herres throwe
Jesus Christ/ accordynge to the pleasure of his
will/ to the prayse of his glorious grace/ where
with he hath made vs accepted in the beloved.
In whom we have redempcion thorow his
blod/ that is to saye the forgevenes off synnes/
accordynge to the riches of his grace/ which gra
ce he shed on vs aboundantly in all wisdom/
and prudecy. And hath opened vnto vs the mi
stery of his will accordynge to his pleasure/ and
purposed the same in hym silfe to have it decla
red when the tyme were full come/ that all thyns
of S. Jhon. Fo. cccxxxix.
The xix. Chapter
And after that I herde the voyce off moche
people in heven sayinge: Alleluia. Gelth ad
glory and honour/ and power be vnto oure lorde
de god. For true and rychteous are his iudgment
es. For he hath iudged the great whore/ which did
corrupt the erth with her fornicacion/ and hath
avenged the bloud of his servauntes of her hod.
And agayne they sayd: Alleluya. And smoke ros
serppe for ever more. And the xxiiij. seniours/
and the iiij. bestes fell doune/ and worshypped
god that sate on the seate sayinge: Amen Allelu
ya. And a voyce cam out of the seate/ saying: pra
ayse oure lorde god all ye that are his servauntes/
and ye that feare hym both smale and great.
And I herde the voyce off moche people/ even
as the voyce off many waters/ and as the voy
ce off stronge thondrynge/ sayinge: Alleluya/
for god omnipotent hath raigned. Lett vs be gla
ad and reioyce and gyve honour to hym: for the
mariage off the lambe is come/ and hys wyffe
made her silfe redy. And to her was graunted/
that she shulde be arayed with pure and goodly
raynes. For the rayne is the rychtewesnes off
sayncte. And he sayde vnto me: happy are they
which are called vnto the Lambes supper. And
he sayde vnto me: these are the true sayinges off
God. And I fell at his fete/ to worshyppe hym.
And he sayde vnto me: se thou do it not. For I
am thy felowe servaunt/ and one off thy bretha
ren/ and off them that have the testimony off
Jesus. Worshyppe God. For the testimony off
Gcv

PAGES FROM THE SECOND EDITION (1525) OF TYNDALE'S NEW TESTAMENT.
(*From the Copy in the Baptist College, Bristol.*)

CHAPTER XLVIII.

FURTHER PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION TILL THE DEATH OF HENRY VIII.

Conservative Measures—The Ten Articles—Three Sacraments only recognised—Toleration of Ceremonies and Images—The "Institution of a Christian Man," or "Bishop's Book"—Influence of the Bible—Tyndale's Translation—His Martyrdom—Authorisation of the Bible in English—Successive Versions—Dominating Influence of Tyndale's—Efforts towards Union between German and English Reformers—Ecclesiastical Parties in England—Reactionary Policy of the King—The Act of the Six Articles—Persecutions under the Act—The "King's Book" of 1543—Its Partial Return to Mediævalism—The Primer of 1545, with Prayers in the Vernacular—Progress towards a Public Liturgy—Archbishop Cranmer—Change in his Views—Ridley, and his Influence upon that Change—Apparent Remarkable Change in the King Himself—Return of these Changes to Primitive Doctrine—Death of the King.

DURING the six years (1536–40) which witnessed the momentous suppression of the monastic orders, the Reformation work in England had made but slow progress. In ecclesiastical matters the absorbing interest of the great confiscation had occupied the thoughts of the absolute king and his advisers. In some respects this revolution, so harshly carried out, positively for a time delayed the progress of the Reformation, especially in doctrinal matters. For this there was

good reason. So great a change as that occasioned by the complete sweeping away of the monastic orders, and the appropriation of well-nigh all their goods, alarmed and terrified most quiet, reflecting men; especially as the "suppression" had been immediately preceded by the breaking off of all communion with Rome, with which the Church of England had been connected for many centuries by such intimate bonds. The severance from Rome was finally and irrevocably completed by the entire destruction of the monasteries and the friaries, which were inextricably mixed up with Roman interests. When they had disappeared, the last link which united the Church of England with the Pope was broken.

But these tremendous changes alarmed and terrified the nation generally. It was not, as we have seen, that any widespread or deep attachment existed on the part of the English people for the monastic system. Their feeling was, on the whole, that of indifference. But still the greatness of the change, and the cruel and selfish way in which it was carried out, created an uneasy feeling of unrest, of nameless dread respecting what was coming next. This was recognised by the king and his advisers; perhaps unconsciously shared in by the great worker of the changes himself. To counteract this feeling of uneasiness, few other reforms were taken in hand; rather measures were adopted to reassure the country that, in spite of the war waged with the "orders" and with Rome, the realm still remained steadily faithful to the ancient Catholic traditions of faith and practice. The old faith was to remain untouched; nay, more, it should be reaffirmed. This was the meaning of those formularies of faith which were published at the period of the suppression under the king's authority.

For centuries the church had put out no such profession of faith. The formularies used in England and in western Christendom had been those of far-back days, put out and sanctioned by the early councils of the church. Now and again in the Middle Ages a fresh doctrine received a sanction, as did that of transubstantiation at the fourth Lateran council under Pope Innocent III. in 1215, or that of the "immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin" at the council of Basle in 1439, though both these sanctions, for different reasons, were disputed. But the ancient creeds of the church were never formally reaffirmed. They were so universally received that no reaffirmation was necessary.

The first confession of faith of the English Reformation, carried through Convocation by Cranmer, claims the authority of the whole clergy, and was issued to the church in the name of the king. It is known as the "Ten Articles." It is, on the whole, intensely conservative in all really important matters, and is coloured throughout by the considerations advanced above; the principal one being the strong desire of the king and his advisers to show that the Church of England, in spite of the suppression of the monasteries which was being rapidly proceeded with, and severance from the Roman obedience, was still to all intents Catholic in every sense of the word—that nothing was really changed either in faith or practice. Yet there was much in the "Ten Articles" that showed the influence of the Reformation. While

the old articles of the faith were reiterated in the strongest language, to many of the minor points a *caveat* was appended, showing the strong influence of Lutheranism as expounded by the great German theologian, Melancthon, for whom king Henry showed much partiality.

The confession was divided into two parts, one treating of things belonging to salvation, the other dealing with ceremonial observances. All the opinions which had been condemned by the Councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, were condemned here. In the matter of the Sacraments, the influence of Lutheranism and the new learning was apparent. Three only—baptism, penance, and the sacrament of the altar—were expounded. Auricular confession was reaffirmed as necessary. In the sacrament of the altar the doctrine of transubstantiation was absolutely reaffirmed. In the last of the "Articles" on things necessary for salvation, "Justification," the Lutheran influence was very marked. Justification was explained as "remission of sins and our acceptation or reconciliation into the grace and favour of God."

The second division of the "Ten Articles" treated of ceremonies. Here was still more marked the influence of the Reformation. Little was changed outwardly, but a *caveat* was appended here and there, which warned the people from trusting too implicitly in the virtue of symbols and ceremonies. The "Articles" here taught that images rightly held their places in church, especially images of Christ and our Lady, that they might be the kindlers and stirrers of men's minds; but as for reverence done to them, such as through censing of them and kneeling to them, the article taught that the reverence so shown was not to the image but to God, and for His honour. Prayer might be offered to saints in heaven everlastingly living, whose charity was ever permanent—prayer to them as intercessors; an example of such prayers, characterised by due reserve and caution, was given: "All holy angels and saints in heaven pray for us and with us unto the Father, that for His dear son, Jesus Christ's sake, we may have grace of Him and remission of our sins, with an earnest purpose to observe and keep His holy commandments." In this form prayers to a saint might be offered.

With the same reverent caution the more prominent rites and ceremonies current in the church were dwelt upon. The old vestments were still to be used, and the many ceremonies hallowed by long and reverential use were to be continued. Not a few of these had been of late sharply criticised. They were not, however, to be contemned and cast away, but to be used and continued as things good and laudable. Then followed the *caveat*—"to put us in remembrance of those spiritual things that they do signify, not suffering them to be forgot, but renewing them in our memories from time to time; but none of these ceremonies have power to remit sin, but only to stir and lift up our minds to God, by whom only our sins are forgiven."

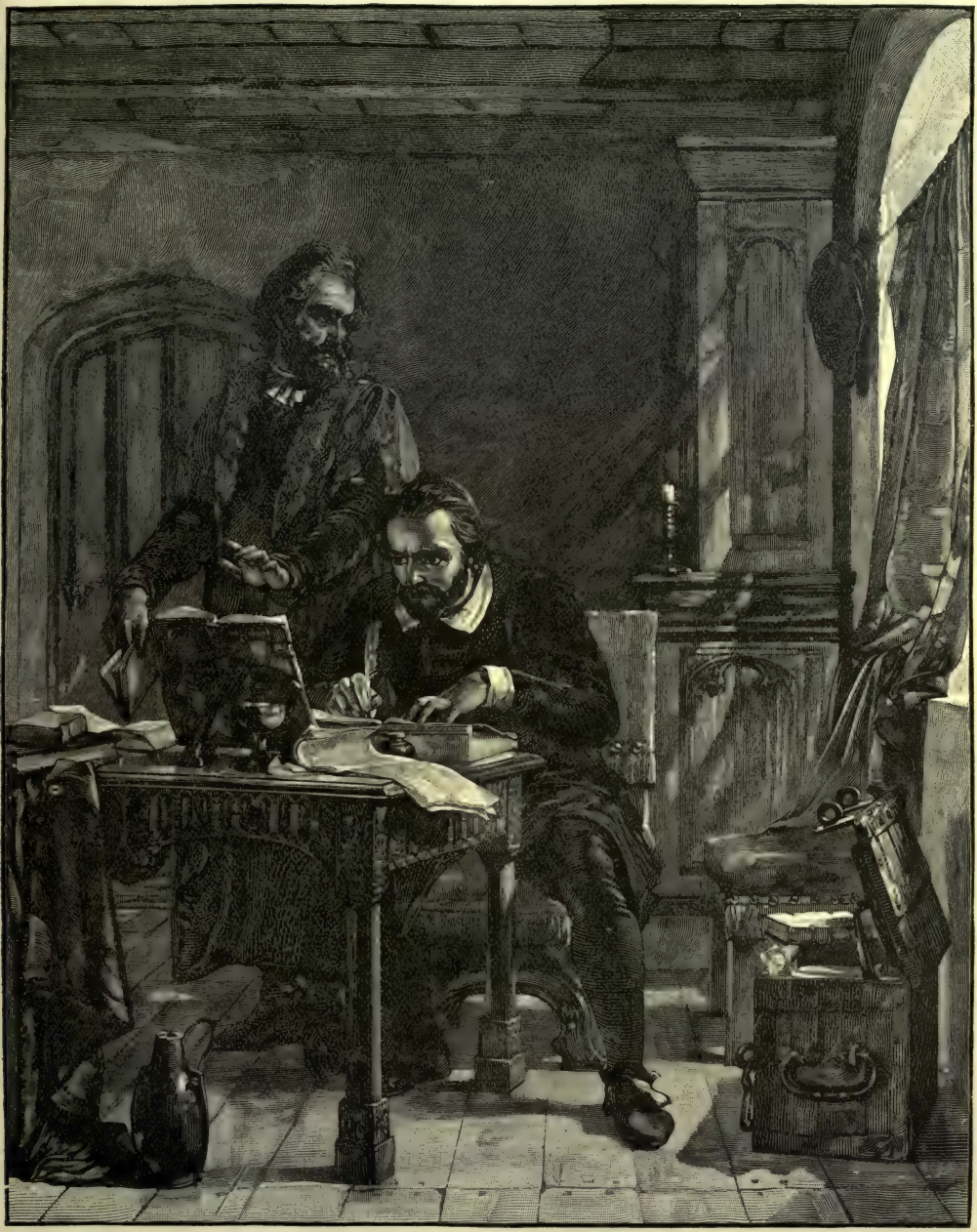
The doctrine of purgatory was dwelt upon, but guardedly. Christian love seemed to suggest that prayers might be said by the survivors for souls departed; and alms might be given for masses, that they might be delivered from some part of their pains. But the place where the departed souls

were, was left uncertain by Scripture; these things were left to Almighty God. Abuses which were current under the name of Purgatory, however, such as the power of the bishop of Rome to deliver souls from pain, were to be put away.

The following year, 1537, witnessed the publication of the second English confession. The same influences were at work which occasioned the putting out of the Ten Articles of 1536, viz. a feverish desire to assert the changeless Catholicity of England, in spite of the tremendous changes in ecclesiastical affairs which were so rapidly taking place. Indeed, in one important particular, a retrograde movement (from the reformer's point of view) is observable in this second English confession. The men of "the old learning" had power enough to cause to be inserted in the second confession the four doubtful sacraments of Confirmation, Matrimony, Orders, and Extreme Unction, which in the Ten Articles were unnoticed; thus restoring the mystic number of the seven sacraments. With this notable exception, no very important alteration appeared in the new publication. It was drawn up evidently with extreme care; and Mr. Froude does not hesitate to characterise it as "in point of language beyond question the most beautiful composition which had as yet appeared in English prose."

This quasi-authoritative document went out bearing the signatures of the two archbishops, of all the diocesan bishops, and of twenty-five doctors; who wrote in the name of all others, the bishops, prelates, and archdeacons of the realm. It was, however, never formally passed by Convocation, but was printed in the king's press. It bore the title of the "Institution of a Christian Man," and became generally known by the name of "the Bishops' Book."

Among the causes which, slowly but quietly working, stirred up among the people a desire for a widely extending reformation in doctrine and practice, was the publicity given by the printing-press to the Bible, especially to the New Testament. Men saw for themselves, how wide was the difference between the teaching and the doctrines of the Founder of Christianity and His disciples, and the teaching and doctrines of the mediæval church; how much was pressed upon them as of vital importance, regarding which no hint was given in the original Christian manuals of faith. It is, however, a mistake to suppose that the Bible had never been translated into English in far back days. Even in very early times, men like Aldhelm and Bede, and, later, Elfric, had been industrious translators of the sacred writings. But the extreme scarcity of books, and the comparative rarity of men who could or who cared to read, sadly narrowed the circle of Englishmen, outside the ecclesiastical world, who were acquainted with the text, even of the New Testament. In the fourteenth century, Wyclif and his disciples, as we have seen, busied themselves in translating and in transcribing copies of their versions of the Bible. Archbishop Arundel and his school intensely disliked all the reforming efforts of Wyclif and his followers, and he was supported by the dominant party of the day in the state, who (with some justice) regarded the



TYNDALE TRANSLATING THE BIBLE.

(*From the painting by Alexander Johnston. By permission of the Art Union of London.*)

Lollards as tainted with dangerous revolutionary projects. The result of this dislike was seen in the well-known "Constitution" of that prelate, which forbade any man making new translations of the Scriptures, and even denounced any reading or using of the Wycliffite versions.

The Gospelt.

The.xiij. Chapter.

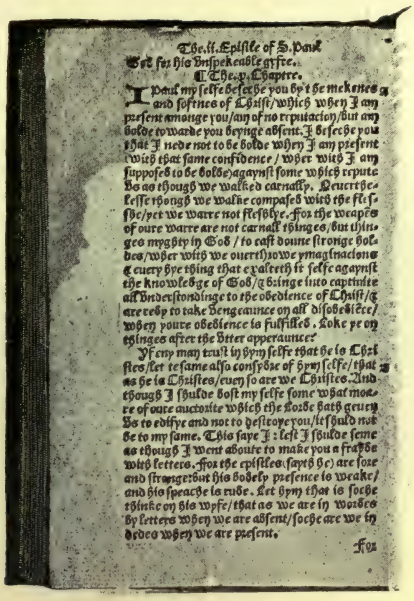
Re same daye wet Jesus out off the houssé/ & sat by the see syde/ & moch people resorsed vnto hi/ so greatly that he wet and sat in a ship ppe/ & all the people stode on the shore. And he spake many thyngs to them in similitudes/ saying: Beholde/ the sower went forth to sowe/ And as he sowed/ some fell by the wayes syde/ and the fowles cam/ & devoured it vppe. Some fell apó stony grosde where it had not mocheerth/ and a non it sprange vppe/ be cause it had no depth off erth: and when the sun was vppe/ it scauth heet/ and for lake off rotynge wydered away. Some fell amóge thornes/ and the thornes arose and choked it. Parte fell in goode grósde/ and broght forth good frute: some an hódred fold/ some fifty fold/ some thyrty folde. Whosoes ever hath eares to heare/ let him heare.

And hys disciples cá/ and sayde to him: Why speakest thou to them in parables? he answered and sayde vnto them: Vnto you is geven vnto you to knowe the secrets off the kyngdom of heve/ but to the it is not geve. For whosumever hath to hi shall he begeve/ and he shall have aboúdance. But whosoever hath not/ ós hi shalbe taken away even that same that he hath. Therfore spes ake I to the i similitudes. For though they se/ they se not: and hearing they heare not neither vnderstonde. And in the ys fulfylled the prophesy of Esay/ which prophesi sayth: with youre eares ye shall heare and shall not vnstode/ and with youre eyes ye shall se/ & shall not perceave. For

THE PARABLE OF THE SOWER (MATTH. XIII.).
(*From the Second Edition*, 1525, *of Tyndale's New Testament. Baptist College, Bristol.*)

The effect of the edict was largely to stop any study of the divine word among tne people for about a hundred years.

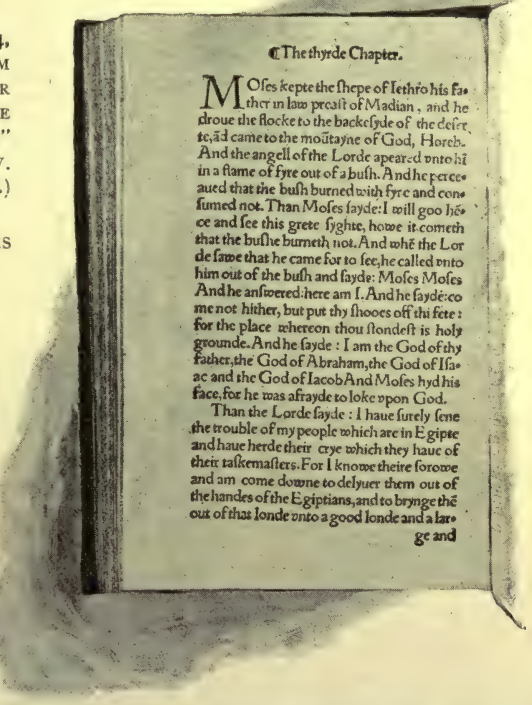
As might have been expected, the printing-press brought about a change. The man whose name will be for ever associated with the work of popularising the Scriptures among the English people was one William Tyndale, a restless and ardent Oxford student. We trace his somewhat uncertain career from Oxford, and later from Cambridge to Gloucestershire, where he was for some time a tutor in a private family. Thence to London, where his purpose to produce a new English translation of the New Testament was matured; from London—he was, however, coldly looked upon by Tunstall the bishop, and the church—he betook himself to Wittenberg, and there, it is said, under the immediate direction of Luther, he carried out his great design of producing an English version of the Gospels and Epistles, aided by some ardent reformers from his own country. His new English translation of the sacred books was printed on the Continent. The first editions of his famous New Testament appeared as early as 1525. Subsequently the Pentateuch in English was added to the New Testament, and afterwards the historical books of the Old Testament, and the Psalms and Prophets. At length the whole canon was translated and published in separate portions, either by Tyndale himself, or under Tyndale's immediate direction and supervision. In the ten years following 1525 an inexhaustible stream of these volumes poured from the foreign printing-presses into our island—as Foxe quaintly expresses it, "Copies of the New Testament came thick and threefold into England"—where they were circulated among the people by thousands. They were proscribed and forbidden, but the



PAGE FROM TYNDALE'S NEW TESTAMENT OF 1534, CONTAINING THE CURIOUS ERROR "LET HYM THAT IS SOCHE THINKE ON HIS WYFE" (FOR "THIS WYSE") (2 CORINTHIANS X. 11). THE BLACK LETTER READS—"**thinke on his wyfe**" FOR "**thinke on this wyfe**," WHERE THE A.V. READS "THINK THIS." (*Baptist College, Bristol.*)

opposition only increased the enormous circulation.

These early editions of Tyndale's work were condemned formally by Convocation as heretical; as among the books of the "Mala dogmata." They were, whenever they could be found or bought up by the bishops and authorities, burnt. On first thoughts, such an action on the part of the clergy would seem simply inexcusable, almost incredible; but it must be remembered, that every one of the little volumes issued by Tyndale contained a preface, and was accompanied by notes, coloured with very intemperate and bitter denunciation of the bishops and clergy, the monks and friars, the rites and ceremonies of the Church. This was the unhappy practice of the day. In a lesser degree the biblical works of the great Erasmus were also disfigured with similar polemical and vituperative comment. It can therefore hardly be a matter of surprise, considering the bitter and hostile matter which the little volumes containing the translation of Tyndale, further contained by way of exposition of the divine words, that they were regarded as a source of danger to the Church as then constituted in England. It was, of course, owing to the wild and



PAGE FROM THE FIRST EDITION OF TYNDALE'S PENTATEUCH, 1530, CONTAINING EXODUS III. (*Baptist College, Bristol.*)

bitter denunciation contained in the prefaces and notes, that Tyndale incurred the vehement and relentless hostility of such men as Warham and Wolsey, and, chiefest of all, of Sir Thomas More.

Marred and disfigured though it was by these unhappy comments, however, the

TITLE PAGE OF THE SECOND EDITION OF COVERDALE'S BIBLE, 1537.* (*Baptist College, Bristol.*)

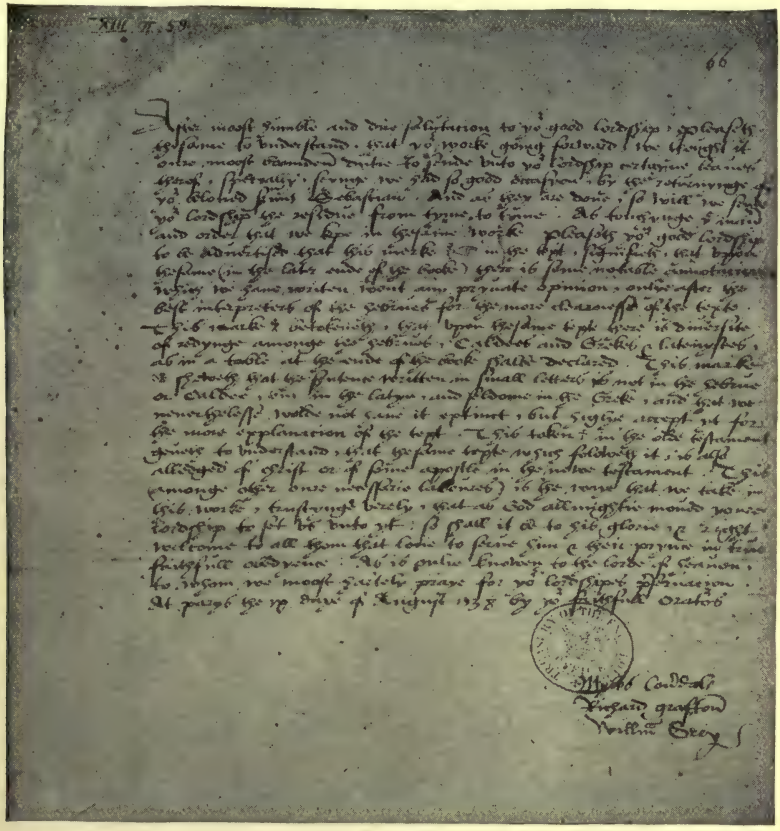
translation of Tyndale was a right noble work; and it has formed the basis of all the subsequent English versions. His comments—product of that age of storm and stress—have dropped away; but the great translation, the real work, remained. It showed to the English folk, in a way they had never seen before, "the saintly figure of the Christ, the object of all love, the pattern of all imitation." The English New Testament, the work of Tyndale, did more than anything else to prepare the hearts of our people for the future reformation which in the end swept away image and relic, ceremony and form which stood between them and the divine figure of the Christ. Writing of the "authorised version" of the New Testament, the learned company of the revisers, in 1881, bore this singular testimony to Tyndale's work. "The (English) translation was the work of many hands and of several generations. The foundation was laid by William Tyndale. His translation of the New Testament was the true primary version. The versions that followed it were either substantially reproductions of Tyndale's translation in its first shape, or revisions of versions that had been themselves almost entirely based on it."*

In one of his eloquent passages Mr. Froude thus writes of the reformer and his enduring work: "Of (Tyndale's) translation, though since that time it has been many times revised and altered, we may say it is substantially the Bible with which we are all familiar. The peculiar genius which breathes through it, the mingled tenderness and majesty, the Saxon simplicity, the preternatural grandeur, unequalled and unapproached in the attempted improvements of modern scholars, all are here, and bear the impress of the mind of one man — William Tyndale. Lying, while engaged in that great office, under the shadow of death, the sword above his head and ready at any moment

* This was the first folio Bible printed in England.

* Preface to the revised version of the New Testament, printed in 1881 for the universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

to fall, he worked under circumstances alone, perhaps, truly worthy of the task which was laid upon him; his spirit, as it were, divorced from the world, moved in a purer element than common air. His saw the salvation for which he had longed, and he might depart to his place. He was denounced to the regent of Flanders; he was enticed by the suborned treachery of a miserable English fanatic beyond the



LETTER FROM MYLES COVERDALE, RICHARD GRAFTON, AND WILLIAM GREY TO CROMWELL, SENDING HIM SPECIMEN PAGES OF THE NEW EDITION OF THE BIBLE ON WHICH THEY WERE EMPLOYED. 1538. (*Record Office.*)

work was done. He lived to see the Bible no longer carried by stealth into his country, where the possession of it was a crime, but borne in by the solemn will of the king, solemnly recognised as the Word of the most High God. And then his occupation in this earth was gone. His eyes town, under whose liberties he had been secure; and with the reward which at other times as well as those, has been held fitting by human justice for the earth's great ones, he passed away in smoke and flame to his rest."*

* "History of England," chap. xii

It was at Vilvorde, a few miles from Brussels, that Tyndale was chained to the stake, strangled, and burned to ashes. The prayer, the last words which tradition says he uttered, was remarkable as well for the spirit it breathed, as for its strangely rapid and literal fulfilment. "Lord," cried the dying martyr, "open the king of England's eyes." Tyndale perished in the autumn of 1536. In the course of the next two years the royal injunction was published by Cromwell, ordering that a Bible in Latin and English should be placed in every parish church in the land.*

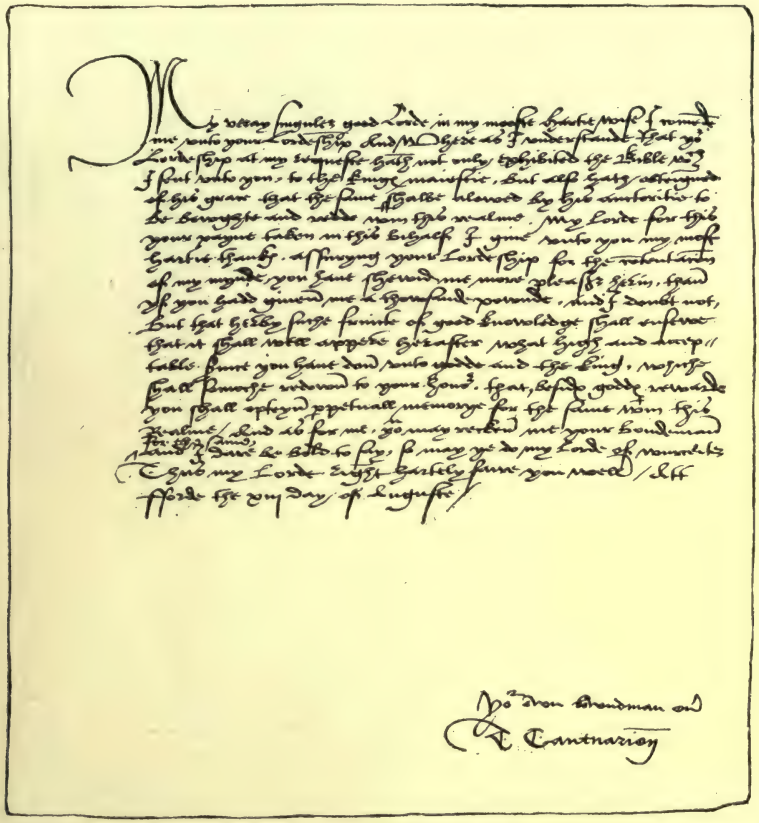
Successive editions of the English Bible, published under the king's sanction, now rapidly appeared. The first of these, by Myles Coverdale, published in foreign parts —"*cum privilegio*"—and dedicated to king Henry VIII., made its appearance in London in 1536. Some, perhaps even a considerable part, of the work seems to have been done by Coverdale himself, who was once an Austin friar, but long converted to the Reformation, of which he was an ardent disciple. Considerable difference of opinion exists as to the precise share taken or influence exercised by Tyndale on this edition of Coverdale. This was the first complete English Bible which was permitted to be sold publicly. It appeared in 1536. Although it was not disfigured by the violent language of the notes and prefaces of the forbidden edition of Tyndale, the words of the preface of this Bible, published under royal sanction, give us some idea of the intense bitterness which the theologic disputes of the period had excited in men's minds. After a curious and somewhat confused comparison of the action of the bishop of Rome with that of Caiaphas, the Coverdale edition went on to say that "the bishop of Rome has studied long to keep the Bible from the people, and especially from princes, lest they should find out his tricks and his falsehoods, . . . knowing well enough that if the clear sun of God's Word came over the heat of the day, it would drive away the foul mist of his devilish doctrines." Three editions appeared of this Bible of Coverdale.

In the following year was published a far more important version of the Holy Scriptures, known as "Matthew's Bible," under the direct patronage of the all-powerful minister, Cromwell, and the primate Cranmer; this was dedicated to the king, and published with his "most gracious license." Here in the New Testament Tyndale is reproduced entirely; and his work was also used in the Old Testament as far as the Second Book of Chronicles. The rest of the Old Testament comes from Coverdale, with a few changes. The Bible of Matthew was the first formally "authorised version," and is the true primary version of the printed English Bible.

In 1539 an edition of Matthew's Bible appeared, edited by one Taverner. The text was simply a reprint, but it contained a preface most offensive to the conservative party, who abhorred the excesses of the extreme reformers. In this preface the priesthood was denied; masses and purgatory were ignored; the sacraments were described as nothing but outward signs, the Eucharist, especially, as a memorial

* There is some confusion about the exact date of the royal injunction in question, the years 1536 and 1538 being both given.

supper. This violent and un-Catholic preface was described as "a summary of things contained in Holy Scripture." It was supposed that this Bible thus prefaced by Coverdale; but it is remarkable as omitting the prologue and preface and notes. To the second of the seven editions Cranmer himself wrote a preface; hence it

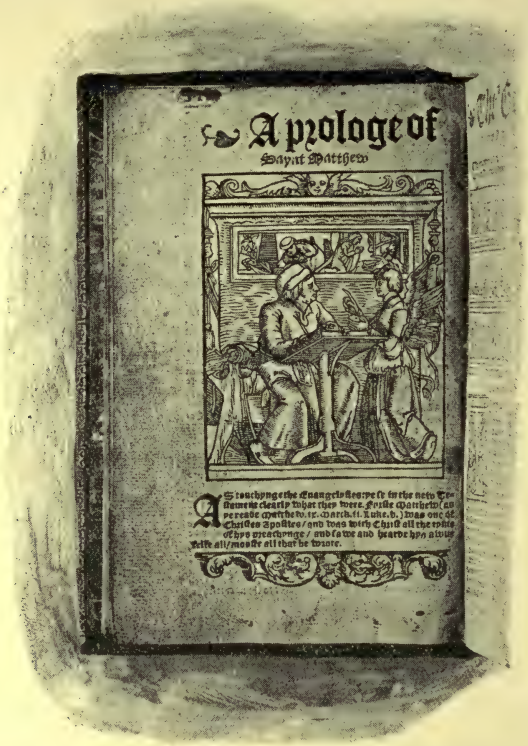


LETTER FROM CRANMER TO CROMWELL THANKING HIM FOR OBTAINING THE KING'S AUTHORITY FOR MATTHEW'S ENGLISH BIBLE. 1537. (*British Museum.*)

was prepared with the connivance of Cromwell.

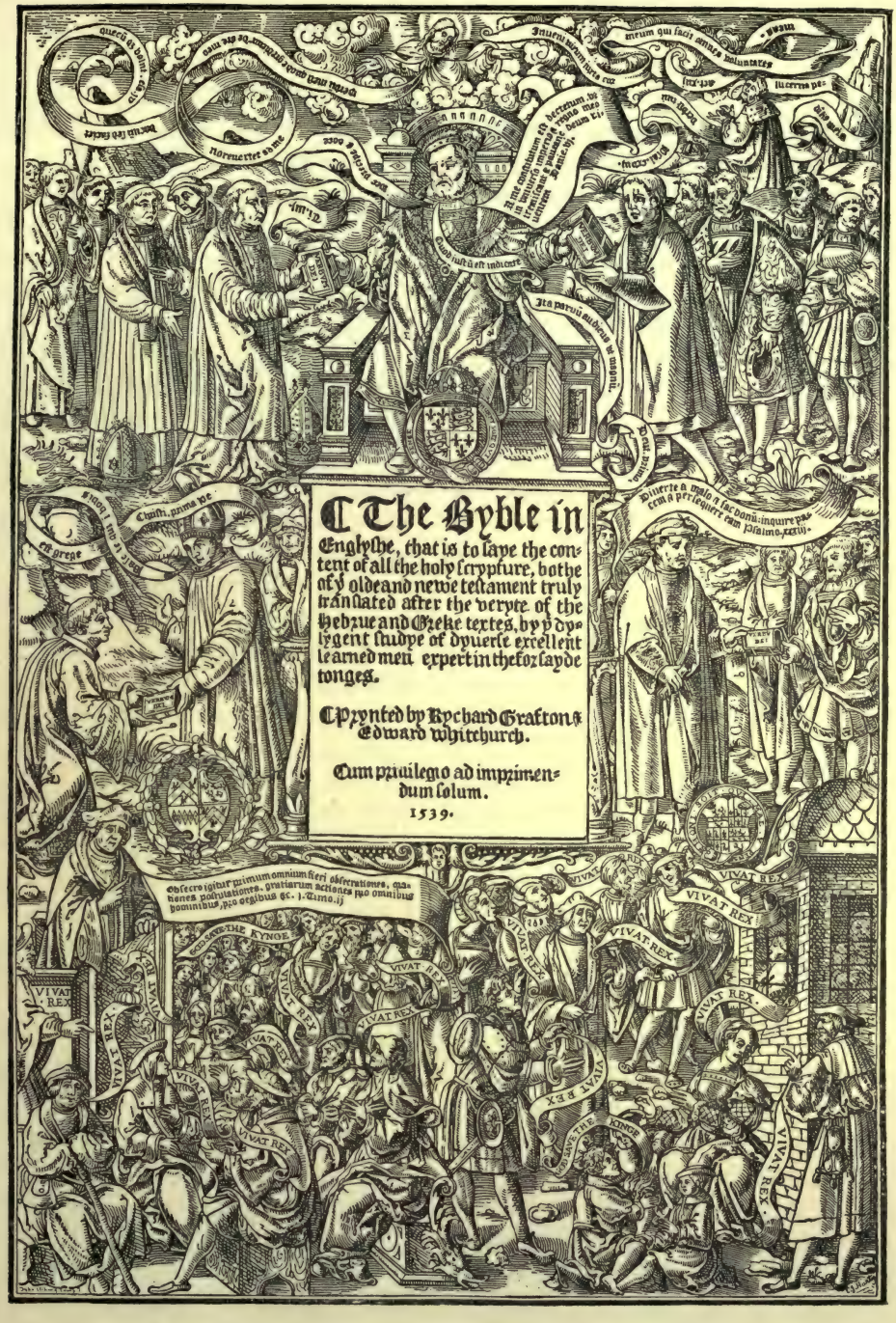
It was immediately, however, followed by a more serious work, under the superintendence of Coverdale. This edition of the Bible, known as "The Great Bible," was nothing more than a reprint of Matthew's, revised and compared with the Hebrew is sometimes termed "Cranmer's Bible," all the six later issues of this famous edition having Cranmer's preface. It is, however, better to preserve the original name—"The Great Bible"—for all the seven editions. They were issued in 1539, 1540, and 1541. Some idea was entertained by the bishops of correcting what they, or

some of them at least, termed blemishes. But it came to nothing, and "The Great Bible," mainly, as we have seen, the work of the martyr Tyndale, was left untampered with. The original editions of the translator, which contained his preface and notes, were prohibited.



BEGINNING OF ST. MATTHEW, FROM THE FIRST EDITION OF "THE GREAT BIBLE," 1538. BROUGHT OUT UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF COVERDALE. (*Baptist College, Bristol.*)

It was thus that the Holy Scriptures in English struggled into universal use. After twenty-seven years, in 1568, a revision of the Great Bible, undertaken, as we shall subsequently see, at the suggestion of archbishop Parker, by fifteen theologians, was made. This was known as the "Bishops' Bible." The first edition bears date 1568; the second 1572. The "authorised version," a retranslation from the Hebrew and Greek by order of king James by forty-seven divines, was made in 1611. This will be specially noticed in its proper place. But in this short, general summary of the history of the English Bible it may be well to anticipate just so much of the story of the "authorised version" of 1611 as to connect that famous translation with the earlier Bibles of king Henry VIII., on which we have been dwelling. The primary and fundamental rule issued to and closely followed by the translators or revisers of "1611" was


The Byble in
Englythe, that is to laye the con-
tent of all the holy scrypture, bothe
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learned men expert in the forsayde
tonges.
Cprynted by Rychard Grafton &
Edward Whitchurch.
Cum priuilegio ad imprimen-
dum solum.
1539.

TITLE-PAGE OF THE FIRST EDITION OF THE "GREAT BIBLE," 1539.

expressed in the following terms:—"The ordinary Bible read in the church, commonly called the Bishops' Bible, to be followed, and as little altered as the truth of the original will permit." This rule was strictly observed; and thus we may unhesitatingly affirm that the style, tone, and to a great extent the words, of our time-honoured English Bible were in the main settled once and for all by the reformer and martyr, William Tyndale. Finally, the company of revisers of 1881, in their preface, speak of the Authorised Version which was founded on Tyndale's noble work in the following glowing terms: "We have had to study this great version carefully and minutely, line by line: and the longer we have been engaged upon it the more we have learned to admire its simplicity, its dignity, its power, its happy turns of expression, its general accuracy, and, we must not fail to add, the music of its cadences and the felicities of its rhythm. To render a work that had reached this high standard of excellence still more excellent, to increase its fidelity without destroying its charm, was the task committed to us." *

The earnest desire for Reformation, which so evidently pervaded the nations which sprang from a Teutonic stock, including the larger part of Germany, Denmark, and England, and which had from various causes induced these peoples to make such great changes in their ecclesiastical government, ought naturally, it would have seemed, to have drawn these various peoples together. On first thoughts a union, more or less close, between Germany and Denmark on the one side and wealthy, powerful England on the other, ought to have been arranged. This, however, never came about, though attempts in this direction were made in the earlier phases of the English Reformation. As early as the year 1535, when the separation of the Church of England from the Roman obedience became an irrevocable fact, overtures were made. English ambassadors, at the head of whom was Edward Fox, bishop of Hereford, held long debates with the German theologians at Wittenberg. Points of irreconcilable difference, especially on the questions of clerical celibacy, the supper of the Lord, and the pontifical mass, arose. At one time it was agreed that certain eminent German divines, including the great Melancthon, should proceed to England to discuss the points of difference, but from various reasons, apparently mainly political, the German delegates never came, and for a time all negotiations ceased. Melancthon was ever a favourite divine with Henry, and through his influence, as we have already remarked, an infusion of Lutheran theology was apparent in the "Ten Articles," the first English confession of faith, put forth in 1536.

The idea of some union of England and Germany was revived in 1538, and a German mission, recommended in the strongest terms by Melancthon, arrived in England. In fundamental doctrines the Church of England agreed with the Lutheran churches, but it was found impossible to come to any definite agreement on certain points. These seem to have been the receiving of the Lord's Supper in both kinds, the use of private masses, in

* Preface to the New Testament, by the revisers of 1881.

which the priest received for others, and the celibacy of priests. There were other points, too, in the background, of serious moment, in which the English Church, at that time very desirous to show how closely it adhered to mediæval Catholicism, objected to make any change—notably in the question of the sacraments of matrimony, orders, confirmation, and extreme unction. Largely, it would seem, through the influence of bishop Gardiner, the envoys were compelled to depart, after a long sojourn in England, without having done anything towards a union between the Church of England and the Lutheran communities. Cranmer and Cromwell were well disposed to negotiate with such a view, but the king and Gardiner disliked the idea of any modification of the second English confession, as embodied in the Bishops' Book put out in 1537.

Once more an attempt to unite England and Germany was made. In Germany at this time it was apparently felt that a religious compact with the mighty and united England would be of the greatest importance, and the envoys seem to have been prepared for this end to make the most liberal concessions. They would even retain the office of mass if *private* masses were given up. They would admit the doctrine of the Real Presence in the Eucharist; the point of receiving in both kinds might be left an open question; holy days and feasts of saints should be allowed, and even invocation of saints, so that it were taught "that Christian men should not convert the same hope to the saints which they ought to have unto God." Even images of Christ and of the saints they did not reject, only the idolatrous adoration of them. On the question of purgatory and pardons, it was the abuse of them that they objected to, the doctrines they were willing to leave undefined. But all the negotiations were futile; no agreement was come to. Were the Lutheran churches in earnest, we are tempted to ask, when they offered such a broad basis of agreement? The envoys even suggested that a modified primacy of Rome might be admitted! Possibly this suggestion really repelled the English king. Political reasons were also present which broadened the rift between the two nations, the divorce of Anne of Cleves amongst them. At all events, the king of England was cold, the negotiations were broken off, and all idea of a union between continental Protestants and the Church of England was given up.

The religious state of England in 1538–9 was somewhat confused. The nation was divided into various parties, and among these the feeling of dislike and even abhorrence one of another ran very high. An outline sketch of these parties will help us to understand something of the king's policy at this period of his reign.

There was the party which still held on to Rome, made up of churchmen and laymen who abhorred the schism with the Papacy. This section of the community was largely recruited from the expelled monastics and by those who sympathised with them. To these, naturally, king Henry was an apostate; was one who for the sake of greed and gain had sold his church and given up the cherished sacred traditions of centuries. These could see no good for their country in the breaking

off the papal yoke. To return to the old state of things, not a few were ready even to play the part of traitors to their country and its government.

A larger and more important section were Anglicans—to use a word which has gradually come into use. These were content to separate from Rome, if only the old doctrinal teaching was rigidly maintained, the old objects of reverence preserved, the old and cherished ceremonies maintained. This party was strictly, rigidly conservative in everything pertaining to the Church, save in the one particular of the Roman obedience. With it the king deeply and strongly sympathised. He would gently reform some of the outward framework; he would make some concessions to the men of the new learning; he would remove the manifest impostures and flagrant frauds which disfigured the old teaching; he would give an English Bible to the people, perhaps hedging in the use of this Bible with some restrictions. But on the whole, the king was rigidly steadfast to the old mediæval paths of religion; as little as possible must be changed, either in doctrine or rites and ceremonies. The majority of the bishops, and most of the leading peers of the old creation who were left in England, felt very much as the king in these matters.

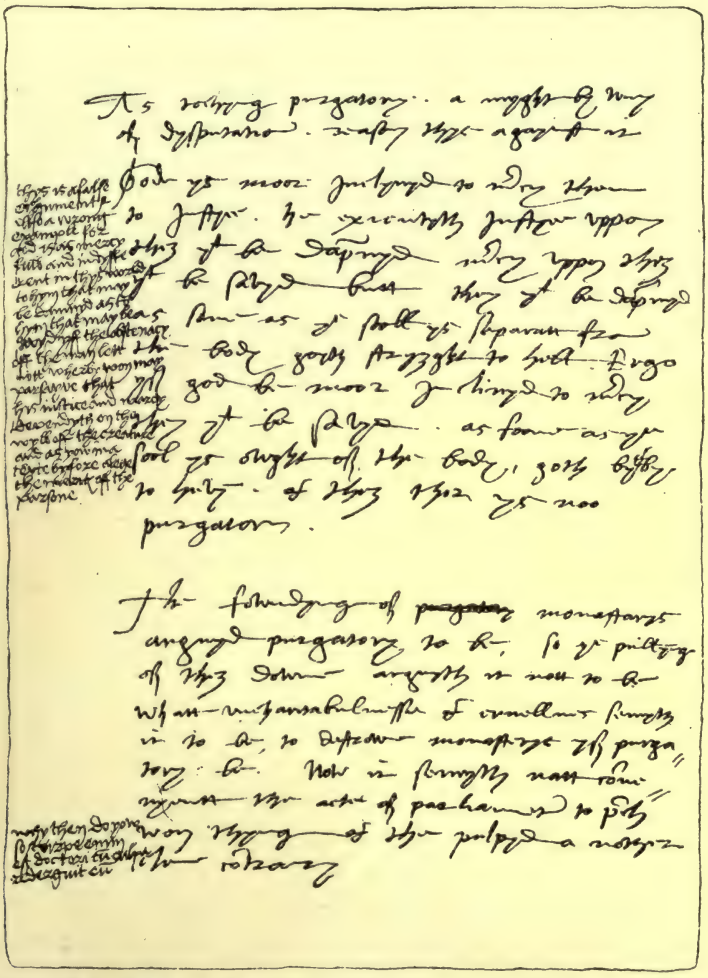
The Lutheran party in the church numbered some very eminent men—such as Cranmer and Latimer; but its definitions of religion were too subtle, too eclectic —to use a term of modern phraseology— for the mass of the English people. These, too, were rigidly orthodox in what we should now term essentials in religion, but were earnest Reformers in their passionate longing to sweep away images, relics, pilgrimages, and what they deemed mediæval ceremonies. They doubted the truth of the doctrine of Purgatory, and misliked all that doctrine involved—pardon, indulgences, and the like. They desired also that permission should be given to the clergy to marry.

Outside these three great parties lay a vast number who cannot be classed, mostly belonging to the people, and roughly denominated "heretics"—true descendants of the Lollards of the preceding century. Some were Anabaptists, some Sacramentarians, some Zwinglians: all more or less affected by the wave of Reformation which was passing over the nations of Europe, many intensely in earnest in their detestation of mediæval superstitions, but generally very ignorant, and utterly incapable of forming any serious and well-balanced judgment respecting the momentous questions which were agitating the Church.*

Cromwell, who for some years had occupied the foremost position among the king's advisers and favourites, and to whom as chief minister intense jealousy, hatred, and fear were attracted, was never a religious man. He was a most loyal servant of Henry, whom he served with a rare fidelity; but was ever the statesman rather than the churchman, caring, on the whole, little for those ecclesiastical matters in which, to his own bitter loss, he was so deeply mixed up. As far as he cared at all for these things, he belonged to the Lutheran party, especially in their hatred of Roman influence, and in their detestation

* *Cf.* Froude: "History of England," chap. xvi.

of all mediæval superstitions. His great work, the work with which his name will ever be associated—the dissolution of the monasteries—was well-nigh complete; and from henceforth his great powers, spent on acquiring this mighty plunder for his master, were not absolutely necessary to the king, whose "Catholic" and conservative policy Cromwell never sympathised with or helped forward. Other political events, notably the failure in the matter of the marriage of Henry with Anne of Cleves, widened the rift which, when the dissolution of the religious houses was accomplished, grew rapidly between the autocratic king and his powerful minister. The end of Cromwell's life and power was at hand.



TREATISE BY LATIMER IN HIS OWN HANDWRITING, CONTESTING THE DOCTRINE OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION. WITH MARGINAL NOTES IN HENRY VIII.'S WRITING. (*British Museum.*)

In 1539 the king became evidently seriously troubled, even alarmed, at the disturbed state of things in England. He had played the part of a reformer to the extreme length he intended to play it. He had cut the English Church adrift from the Roman obedience. After some hesitation he had sanctioned and even enjoined the use of an English Bible. He had strictly defined and limited the worship of saints, which had become almost an idolatry in the church; he had put down the excessive devotion at the shrines of these saints, which had long been a source of grave trouble and uneasiness to men like Erasmus and to more devout souls like Colet. But there king Henry meant to stop.

His miserable policy, however, with regard to the monastic orders, and the hideous scenes of rapacity and vulgar greed which had accompanied the dissolution—the great sin of his life—had borne its fruit. Parties had arisen, as we have seen, bitterly hostile to each other. He had roused the relentless animosity of the Catholic party, and had raised hopes among the more advanced reformers which he never dreamed of realising; while the wilder and more fanatic among the people, whom we have described as lying outside the pale of the more serious of the church parties, emboldened by the secession from Rome, and far more by the monastic suppression and the terrible scenes accompanying it, were by their intemperate words and actions and openly sacrilegious proceedings continually shocking and alarming even the more earnest and devout among the moderate reformers. "Peasant theologians in the public-houses disputed over their ale on the mysteries of justification, and from words passed soon to blows. The Bibles which lay open in every parish church, became the text-books of self-instructed fanatics. The voluble orator of the village appointed himself to read and expound, and ever in such cases the most forward was the most passionate and the least wise. Often, for the special annoyance of old-fashioned churchgoers, the time of divine service (the mass) was chosen for a lecture, and opinions were shouted out in loud high voices, which in the ears of half the congregation were damnable heresy. The mysteries of the faith were insulted in the celebration of the divine service. At one place we read that when the priest lifted up the host, a member of the congregation, a lawyer, lifted up a little dog in derision. Another, who desired that the laity should be allowed communion in both kinds, taunted the minister with having drunk all the wine and with having blessed the people with an empty chalice."*

These and similar outrages created, as may well be supposed, an intense indignation among grave folk; but in spite of this indignation we hear of bishops bearded in their own palaces with insolent defiance, and of Protestant mobs being gathered together to overawe them. Thus the king was confronted, on the one hand, with the Catholic party, extreme conservatives in religious matters, prepared even to become traitors if the old state of things and the Roman obedience could but be brought back; and, on the other, with a fanatic mob of noisy heretics clamouring for the destruction of all religious symbolism and ceremonial uses, dear to the religious and

* Froude: "History of England," chap. xvi.

earnest in the nation. Between these two extreme wings were the important and weighty sections of the community, whom we have characterised as Anglican and Lutheran.

Already in both of the two confessions of faith, which had been lately put out in England, the "Ten Articles" and the "Institutions of a Christian Man," the king had affirmed his Catholic orthodoxy, and his determination to keep the church steadfast in the old paths of Catholic faith and practice in all essential points. In the second of the two confessions he had gone even further than in the first, in the recapitulation of certain less important articles of the Catholic faith, not denied but left unnoticed in the first confession; thereby showing how he was in earnest to change nothing in points he deemed essential. In 1539, disturbed and alarmed at the ever-growing dissensions in the kingdom, Henry, in the course of a royal proclamation, dwelt upon his reasons for wishing that such ceremonies and rites should be observed as were heretofore used in the church.

His words — for the phraseology was no doubt Henry's own — were wise and well thought out. Here and there even a flash of humour lights up the measured and guarded utterances. "Bishops and curates were to instruct the people what ceremonies are, what good they do when not misused, what hurt when taken to be of more efficacy and strength than they are." To this the king adds that, "being careful over all his people, he is as loath that the dull party should fancy their ceremonies to be the chief part of the Christian religion, as he is miscontent with the rash party which hunt down what they list." And again in defence of sacraments and ceremonies, Henry reminds the people how "the old forefathers thought it well that certain occasions might be devised to keep God's will, love, and goodness in memory, and so invented signs and tokens which, being seen of the eye, might put the heart in mind of His will and promises."

After pressing the use of these ceremonies on the church, however, Henry introduced a "caveat," which showed how the wise Reformation spirit was working in his heart. After all, he said, "such things were but means and paths to religion, made to show where Christian people must seek their comfort and establish their belief, and not to be taken as savers or workers of any part of salvation." "Ceremonies," he added, "should be used, and used without superstition." Also very deeply the king seemed to feel the damage to all true religion which was threatened by the wild excesses of reforming fanatics at this time; for in a speech he made to the Parliament, he said: "I am very sorry to know and hear how unreverently that precious jewel the 'Word of God' is disputed, rhymed, sung, and jangled in every alehouse and tavern." And in a proclamation on the use of the Bible, he spoke forcibly against any layman taking upon himself to argue or to expound the mysteries therein contained.

This year, the thirty-first of the king's reign, was especially memorable in the story of the English Reformation for two famous Acts of Parliament, at first seemingly quite contradictory in their purpose. We shall probably never know all that was working in the king's mind; never be fully acquainted

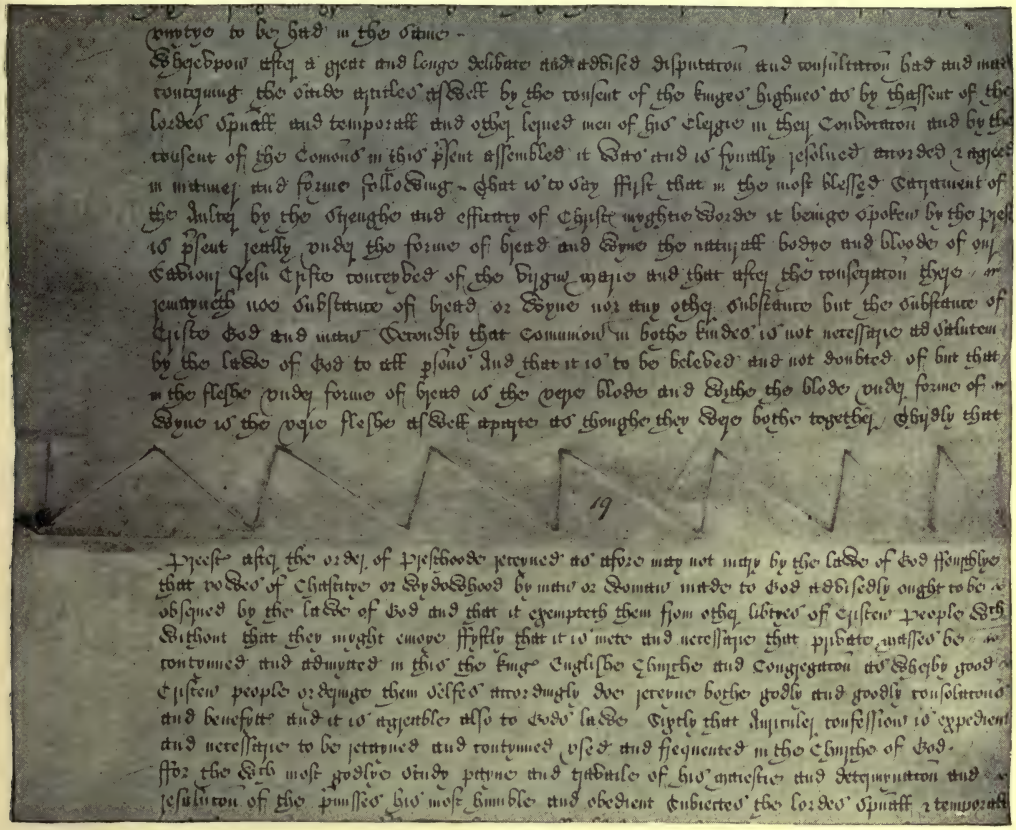
with the secret history of that year. Yet it seems possible, through the apparent contradiction, to see something of what was intended. It was a new Parliament; a house, like those which had preceded it, very subservient to the king. It passed without opposition, even without debate, the act to which we have already referred, which confirmed the surrender of all the religious houses, great and small, that surrendered voluntarily or involuntarily, and which empowered the king to confiscate, if he pleased and when he pleased, all the rest. It was, as Henry's apologist truly phrases it, "The closing scene of a mighty destruction." The same Parliament, almost with the same breath, passed the famous act—the bloody act as it is called—of the Six Articles.

They were both the outcome of Henry's will: the act giving him all the possessions of the monastic orders, and thus dealing the last tremendous blow at the Roman jurisdiction and influence in England; and the Act sternly enjoining—under awful penalties—men to accept the most questionable and disputed mediæval additions to Christian doctrine. The monastic orders were virtually gone; the *fiat* had gone forth to sweep away the remaining communities; the last link between England and Rome was severed as the last of the Roman garrisons in England, the remaining monastic houses, surrendered. The king had got his plunder, and at the same time had swept away for ever that portion of the church which was most faithful and loyal to the Roman obedience; more than ever he thought it necessary, orthodox and conservative as he was, and attached to the essential doctrines of the faith with all their mediæval additions, to assert the changeless Catholicity of England and her church.

We have tried to paint the divided state of the church and the leading characteristics of the parties within it. It was in vain that the king remonstrated, in the terms of the proclamation already quoted. Things grew daily worse, more confused, more embittered, and the king was evidently thoroughly alarmed. He would have nothing to do with Rome. He would have no monastic orders, no standing Roman army in his England; but at the same time he was equally determined that his England should be *Catholic* in the old mediæval sense of the word, with such modifications, perhaps, as the new learning suggested and he approved of. He was resolved that no favour should be shown to the extreme reforming party in the church, whose excesses he abhorred. He would have little to say even to moderate reformers. All this is clear from what subsequently happened. Let the new Parliament devise a scheme and pass enactments which should compose the religious differences in the realm on Catholic and strictly conservative lines. This was what Henry intended.

To carry these wishes into effect, a strong committee consisting of Cromwell, Cranmer, Latimer, and others was appointed, as a committee of religion, to report to the king and the Parliament. They met, it would seem, frequently, but with no definite result. Cromwell, Cranmer, and Latimer, were evidently desirous of recommending measures of reform, not acceptable to Henry's mind. The duke of Norfolk represented the king, and really

acted as his mouthpiece. Henry's chief adviser at this juncture seems to have been the subsequently famous bishop Gardiner, and the substance of the "Six Articles" was placed before Parliament as it was understood by men like Melancthon in Germany and Cranmer in England. Cromwell openly showed his mislike of the king's device, wherewith differences in religion were to be composed; Latimer



ENTRY IN THE STATUTE ROLL AT THE RECORD OFFICE, OF THE PASSING OF THE ACT OF THE SIX ARTICLES.

the basis of an act which the king determined should be the guiding rule of the church.

It was terribly reactionary, intensely conservative. If it became law, it would indeed show that England was, for the present at all events, to have little to do with Lutheranism or the Reformation as was, of course, bitterly opposed to it; Cranmer spoke long and fearlessly against it; but all was to no purpose. The king had now made up his mind, and, taking his part in the debate in Parliament, showed his intention clearly. His bitter disappointment at the Reformation extravagances, as he regarded them, was clearly expressed.

The result of the debate and of the many conferences held was inevitable, and the act of the "Six Articles" was, in spite of grave opposition, passed. The Six Articles may be summed up as follows:—

(1) The doctrine of *transubstantiation* was affirmed. "In the sacrament of the altar, after consecration, there remaineth no substance of bread and wine," but the natural body and blood of Christ are present under these forms.

(2) That *communion in both kinds* is not necessary to salvation to all persons by the law of God. This gave sanction to a custom—hotly objected to by reformers, but which had prevailed for about a hundred years in the mediæval church—of denying the cup to the laity.

(3) That priests might *not marry*.

(4) That *vows of chastity* once taken by men or women must be observed, and were of perpetual obligation.

(5) That *private or solitary masses* in the church ought to be continued as meet for godly consolation and benefit.

(6) That *auricular confession* to a priest must be retained and continued to be used in the church.

These reactionary Articles—for such they emphatically were, of which the above is a summary—the act declared, must be sternly enforced under the following severe pains and penalties:—Whoever by word or by writing denied the first article, that affirming transubstantiation, should be declared a heretic, and suffer death by burning without opportunity of abjuration, without protection from sanctuary or benefit of clergy; whoever spoke against, or otherwise broke, the other five Articles, any one of them, should, for the first offence, forfeit his property; if he offended a second time or refused to abjure when called to answer, he should suffer death as a felon. All marriages hitherto contracted by priests were declared void; and such marriages had become, since the Reformation spirit had passed over the church, of common occurrence. Archbishop Cranmer, for instance, was married. To refuse to go to confession was felony. To refuse to receive the sacrament was also felony.

The immediate result of the passing of the act of the "Six Articles" is well summarised in the following words:—"On every road, on which the free mind of man was moving, the dark sentinel of orthodoxy was stationed with its flaming sword; and in a little time all cowards, all who had adopted the new opinions with motives less pure than that deep zeal and love which alone entitles human beings to constitute themselves champions of God, flinched into their proper nothingness, and left the battle to the brave and good."*

The opinion of Lutherans and of the German reformers was well expressed by Melancthon, probably the most learned and moderate of his party in Germany, the friend and often the teacher of Cranmer, and to whom king Henry himself had ever listened with respectful attention, and not unfrequently with marked approval. In a letter to Henry, almost passionate in its disapproval of the measure, he implores the king to change his purpose. "If that barbarous decree be not repealed," he wrote, "the bishops will never cease to rage against the church of Christ without

* Froude: "Hist. of England," chap. xvi.

mercy and without pity, . . . and you, O king, all the godly beseech most humbly that you will not prefer such wicked and cruel oppressions and subtle sophisteries before their own just and honest prayers. God recompense you to your great reward if you shall grant those prayers."

One of the first results of the new act was the resignation of bishops Latimer and Shaxton, the two most prominent of the reformer bishops. Latimer, who, however, again rose to eminence and power, now fell into poverty and neglect for several years. But while individual cases of persecution are recorded, the general effect of the "Six Articles" has been exaggerated. The act continued in force for some eight years, and several times was made the instrument of a cruel persecution; but during a large portion of the eight years, its stringent provisions do not seem to have severely pressed. Four distinct persecutions, however, took place under the provisions of this hateful and reactionary statute in 1539, 1541, 1543, and 1546. In the first of these as many as five hundred persons (mostly in the metropolis) were indicted for heresy, but these were after a short time set at liberty. Again, in 1541 commissions were issued to the bishops and officials to proceed against the heretics. As before, the prosecutions were almost entirely confined to the diocese of London. About two hundred were arrested, but only one or two executions were the result; the others were released. In Salisbury three men were burned for matters spoken "against the sacrament," and in Lincoln two more. In 1543 three men were burnt at Windsor as having transgressed against the bloody act. One of these, one of the singing men of the Windsor choir, is notorious in the history of the time for his public insult to an alabaster image of the Virgin, the nose of which he publicly knocked off. This choirman, whose name, Testwood, has come down to us, was also accused of blasphemy in the course of singing an anthem. In a verse which ran "O Redemptrix et Salvatrix," Testwood was heard changing the "*O*" into "*Non*" and the "*et*" into "*nec.*" He with two others were burnt in front of Windsor Castle, the victims enduring their torments with heroic constancy. The king, when the story of their doom was related to him, is said to have exclaimed, "Alas, poor innocents!" In 1544 the "Six Articles" act was so far modified by Parliament that accusations of heresy could only be made on the oath of twelve men or more, and the time was limited within a year of the committal of the alleged offence. The fourth and last formal persecution under the hateful act took place as late as 1546, when several persons suffered at Smithfield. Amongst these was Anne Askew, who was of good birth and highly educated. Much pains were taken and torture inflicted to persuade her to recant, but she was constant, even through the agonies of the rack. Her opinions were apparently those of Frith, of whom we have already written. She was burned with three companions, in the presence of an immense concourse of spectators.

It will be seen from this brief summary that the results of the "whip with six strings," as the act has been popularly called, have been exaggerated. Though altogether a good many persons suffered for religion during the last years of king

Henry VIII.'s reign. The actual executions under its provisions were not very numerous; and it only seems to have been enforced with any severity at the intervals of time above quoted, and only in certain districts. The meaning of the detestable act, of which so much has been written, seems to have been—"that the king was roused by an idea that the church, of which he was resolved to be the supreme head, was likely to be overthrown by a torrent of what he considered infidelity and blasphemy, and that he devised and carried such a measure as he thought was suited to check the frightful evil." "Such seems to have been the origin of the act. It was evidently intended to intimidate, rather than to hurt; to pacify the people, rather than to destroy them. . . . It was meant to frighten the people, and it did frighten them." * And during the year 1539 to the first days of the year 1547, when king Henry died, the English people lived more or less under the shadow of this terrible act of the "Six Articles," ever with the fear of a possible prosecution for heresy before their eyes.

During these last years of Henry VIII.'s eventful reign, the Reformation seemingly made little progress in England; in reality, however, considerable steps were taken, which made the work we shall presently have to consider, done in the reign of the boy-king Edward VI., possible. During these closing years it is indisputable that Cranmer, the archbishop, possessed great influence with the king. It is true that the primate was not much at court; but the evident love which Henry felt for Cranmer, and his trust in his judgment, makes it almost certain that nothing in religious matters was done without consultation with his archbishop. On more than one occasion Henry threw the shield of his royal protection over his friend and counsellor, and enabled him to defeat the hostile intrigues which were being continually devised by Cranmer's many enemies. Much of this time was spent by the primate in comparative quiet and retirement and study; and a great and marked change in his views of doctrine evidently passed over the archbishop in the course of these quiet years.

The third English Confession of Faith put out with authority in this reign, made its appearance in 1543. It had been under the careful consideration of a commission, composed of bishops and doctors, for some two years and a half. It was the third great formulary of the reign, and was termed "The Necessary Doctrine and Erudition of a Christian Man," being known popularly as the "King's Book." It dealt especially with the burning questions of the age, the doctrine of the sacraments, church government, and the authority of the bishop. It has been accurately described as a revision of the first formulary of faith: "The Institution of a Christian Man," generally called the "Bishops' Book," and was, on the whole, more learned in its arguments than the first formulary.

In some respects it was markedly reactionary, notably in the preface, written in the name of the king himself. Here the too free handling of the now public and translated Scriptures is sharply commented

* Dr. Maitland, quoted by Dean Hook: "Lives of the Archbishops—Thomas Cranmer."

upon, and reasons are given for the strange parliamentary restraints which this same year were imposed upon the reading by certain of the uneducated classes of these

MARTYRDOM OF TESTWOOD AND HIS COMPANIONS (*p.* 171).

same Scriptures. "It was not necessary"—so run the words of this preface—"for all to read the Scriptures for themselves; it was sufficient to hear and bear away the lessons taught by the preachers."

In respect of the Sacraments, a higher doctrine was taught than that put forth in "The Bishops' Book." The article on baptism was re-written, and baptismal regeneration was asserted to its full extent. In the Sacrament of the Altar, for the brief article in the "Bishops' Book," declaring the doctrine of the Real Presence, was substituted a long one affirming transubstantiation and receiving in one kind, and receiving fasting. In the exposition of the

Sacrament of Penance, auricular confession was required. The celibacy of the priests, that long-disputed point, was insisted upon. In the "King's Book," however, a distinction was made between the greater sacraments of baptism, penance, and the altar, and the rest of the seven. The expositions of the Ten Commandments were practically the same as in the "Bishops' Book." Several passages against images were, however, added in this last formulary. Generally speaking, whilst a higher doctrine pervaded "The King's Book," and a decided leaning towards mediæval teaching, there is no doubt that there was less of the controversial spirit of the time in it. In commenting upon the petition for "daily bread" in the Lord's Prayer, the "Bishops' Book" had said the Word of God was principally meant, but the "King's Book" added that the sacrament of the altar was meant by the bread for which we ask.

The same reactionary spirit noticeable in this formulary of 1543, was also manifest in the ecclesiastical measures of the Parliament of that year, in which the free use of the English Bible was limited. Tyndale's version, with the notes, prologues, and prefaces, was again prohibited; and it was also enacted that no woman of the lower classes might read the Bible; no artificer, 'prentice, serving-man, husbandman, or labourer might read it, either openly or privately, nor teach or preach in the church, on pain of a month's imprisonment. But noblemen and gentlemen might read it quietly in their families; merchants, too, might read it to themselves, and so might ladies. A clause was added empowering the king to alter this act or any part of it at his pleasure.

From the tone of these enactments, evidently suggested by the king, it appears that Henry was sorely troubled at the wild excesses which were prevalent among ill-educated and fanatical persons, who took upon themselves to publicly read and expound the Scriptures. It is not, however, probable that these painful and severe restrictions placed upon reading the Scriptures were intended to be permanent. It is not likely that either the king or Cranmer—whose influence during these last years of the reign, although it does not seem to have been paramount with Henry, still was ever weighty and powerful—had any idea other than that of gradually familiarising the people with the English Bible; for at the same time (1543) an order went out that one lesson from the Old and New Testament should be read in English in the churches without exposition. (This lesson, in English, was to be read after the Te Deum and Magnificat.) An announcement was also made this same year by the archbishop, that all antiphoners, mass books, etc., were to be purged from all mention of the bishop of Rome's name, from all apocryphas, feigned legends, superstitious orations, versicles, and responses; that the names and memories of all saints which were not contained in the Scriptures or authentic doctors should be abolished, and put out of the same books and calendars. A committee of the two houses of Convocation was to be appointed to carry this order into effect. It does not, however, appear that the order in question was carried out.

The earnest desire of Henry and Cranmer to assist the people in forming a true conception of religion, was especially

manifested in their important scheme, which gave the nation in the year 1545, for the first time, a formally authorised book of private prayers and devotion in the vernacular. But these prayers were, with a few notable exceptions, exclusively for private, not for public use. Long before the Reformation period books existed, more or less generally used, for private devotion, containing the offices in English and in Latin, including the Hours, the Litany, the Ten Commandments, the Ave, and other pieces. Some of these books, known as *Primers*, contained as well short explanations or expositions. In the Reformation age, as might have been expected, these primers were multiplied. Two of them that obtained much notoriety deserve mention. Marshall's primer, which was condemned as early as 1530 by Convocation, contained besides the translated prayers many denunciations of "blind idolatry with which the worship of Christians was become depraved." The other of the more famous primers of this age, published by Hilsey, bishop of Rochester, possessed an official character, being put out under the auspices of Cromwell, then the chief minister of the crown. It retains the old Litany, but omitted all the saints named therein, save those that are found in the New Testament. It contained a calendar giving Epistles and Gospels for Sundays and saints' days, which nearly correspond with those now in use.

In 1545 Henry, no doubt under the influence of Cranmer, put out the first authorised primer with the prayers in *English*. In his preface the king stated that "he had bestowed pains to set forth a determinate form of prayer, that men might know both what they prayed and also in what words, and neither offer to God things standing against true religion, nor yet words far out of their intelligence or understanding." All schoolmasters were to teach this primer or book of ordinary prayers, and no other primer was to be taught. Besides the private prayers thus translated, including the "Hours," etc., certain parts of the *public* services were also translated and authoritatively published in English—the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the Litany, and Bidding prayers, and these were no doubt publicly used in divine service in the year 1545. Other and far more important changes in the public services were, it is clear, under the influence of Cranmer, under consideration, when the king's fatal illness stopped these measures for the moment.

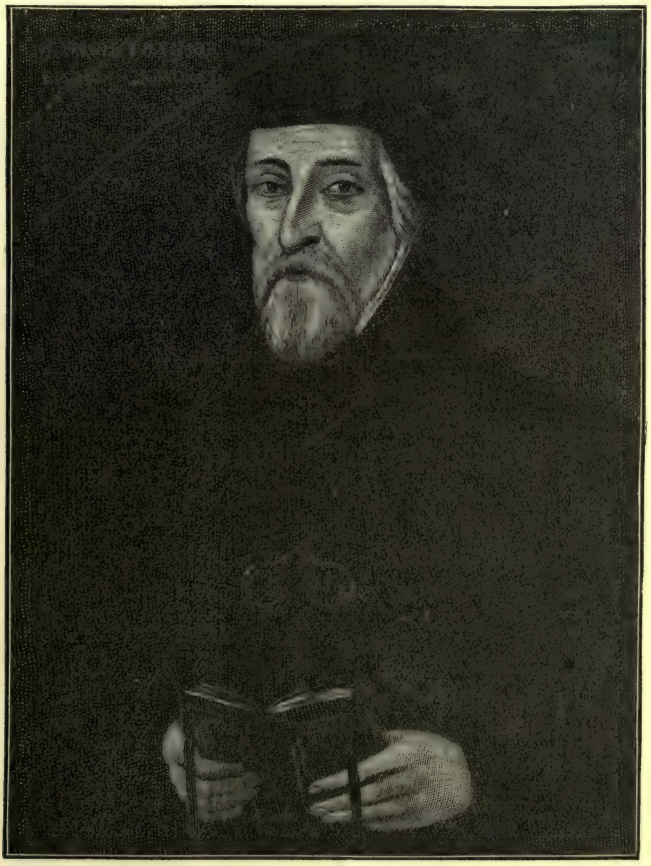
Much towards a reformation in the Church of England had been done, before the sands of that royal life ran out. The dead hand of Rome, which had pressed for so long and with ever-increasing weight upon all church life, had been — thanks to the energy of king Henry VIII.—for ever removed. Many of the more glaring abuses and exaggerations which had gradually grown up in the Middle Ages, had been swept away. Indulgences and pardons belonged to the past; the idolatrous cult of images and relics was well-nigh swept away; the Holy Scriptures were no longer a sealed book; the Bible was gradually becoming the possession of all sorts and conditions of men.

Considerable progress, too, had been made towards the general use of an English liturgy. Books containing authorised translations of the various church services were in the hands of the people; and already some of these prayers were prayed, even in church, in the familiar vernacular. It was clear that soon the old familiar but comparatively unknown Latin tongue would cease altogether to be heard in the churches of the land, and that all prayers would be sent up to the Mercy Seat in the well-loved English tongue. But they would be the *same* prayers which had been prayed in the Church of Christ from an immemorial antiquity; and it is this continuity, this changelessness in the midst of change—the language being alone altered—which constitutes the strength and beauty of the service of the English Church. They were the very prayers which Plegmund in the days of Alfred, and Dunstan in the times of Edgar, and Anselm when the Red King reigned, had prayed; only they were to be henceforth uttered in *English*, which all men in our island understood, instead of in Latin, the meaning of which only a very few really comprehended.

PUBLIC EXPOUNDING OF THE SCRIPTURES (*p* 174).

A great wrong had no doubt been perpetrated by king Henry, an awful ruin had been worked, when he destroyed the monasteries and wasted their precious treasures. But even out of this act of irreparable mischief

and wrong-doing, by the providence of God, good had already been worked. The *immediate* result of the ruin and desolation of the monasteries and the abbey churches was, as we have seen, a partial reaction in the reformers' work began again among us, after Henry's death, it was largely carried on in a conservative spirit, to which we owe the preservation of so much of Catholic truth in our formularies and ritual.



HUGH LATIMER, BISHOP OF WORCESTER.
(*From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery.*)

the Reformation work; a reaction in some respects mistaken, but which prevented the wild and destructive theories that worked such permanent mischief in the reformed churches on the Continent being carried out in England. This reaction was a breathing-time for England; and when

To one master-mind our church is largely indebted, as well for that which was happily preserved, as for that which was fortunately restored to us. Our picture of the friend of Henry's latter years—of the famous Reformation archbishop—can be no portrait of a great saint, or of a consummate

statesman, or even of a very distinguished genius. Cranmer was none of these. He was an able, honest man; highly gifted; an indefatigable worker; an earnest believer in the great truths of the faith; and, above all, a loyal and devoted Englishman; ever a patient seeker after truth; ever ready to give up what he felt to be mistaken, when he had thoroughly and with vast pains convinced himself of his error. Cranmer was never above learning from other men whose learning he felt was greater than his own; and he was ready to submit his judgment to others, when once he was persuaded that their deductions were right and true. He was a man full of human errors, human weaknesses, human failings; but, in spite of all these, he did a right noble work for the church he loved so well, and in the end died for. The large majority of serious Englishmen will ever cherish the memory of Cranmer, and will honour him as one of the chiefest and most earnest of our reformers.

During the earlier years of his archiepiscopate, Cranmer had apparently little sympathy with the opinions of the more advanced reformers on the burning questions which were agitating men's minds. A quiet reformation of the more flagrant abuses in church government, and a removal of the more pronounced superstitions which disfigured church practices, were the points he especially aimed at carrying out; but at the same time he was resolute in his determination to free his church from the yoke of Rome. He intensely sympathised with the advocates of the new learning in their earnest desire to secure for the people an English version of the Holy Scriptures; and the gift of the Bible in the vernacular was largely the result of his unflagging efforts. The English Bible for the people was supplemented, as we have seen, by the gradual introduction of first, private prayers, then public prayers also, in the tongue understanded by the masses. That during the sad years of the suppression of the monastic orders, and the shameless confiscation and waste which followed of so much that might have been devoted to God's service, he stood by supinely, without apparently venturing to remonstrate with the king, will ever appear a dark blot on his character. That others who felt deeply in this matter were equally timorous or time-serving, is poor matter out of which to construct an apology for his conduct here. It remains, and ever will, a dark chapter in his life-story.

That he vehemently opposed the passing of the "Six Articles" Act is indisputable; but it would seem that his opposition was based rather upon intense dislike of the bitter spirit of persecution which was breathed in the Act in question, than from any serious dislike to the doctrines enunciated in its provisions. The large share he took in the composition and subsequent putting forth of the "King's Book," is an ample proof that to the end of Henry's reign he had little sympathy with what is termed Reformation doctrine; and his conduct after his stern master's death, when as the head of the council he ordered a dirge to be sung in all the churches of London, and, assisted by eight other bishops, sang himself a mass of requiem, showed that he had not as yet given up his belief in the sacrifice of the mass and in the dogma of transubstantiation.

After the passing of the statute of the "Six Articles," to which he was without doubt adverse, archbishop Cranmer retired a good deal from the turmoil of public life, though he still preserved the confidence and intimate friendship of the king. It was in these years that he especially devoted himself to study, and these studies gradually produced a great change in the archbishop's opinions. Hitherto he had quietly acquiesced in the teaching which the Reformers so vehemently opposed. His private secretary gives us an interesting account of his way of life. Cranmer's usual hour for rising was five o'clock. The first four hours of the day were generally given to devotion and study. He was not in the habit, when he read, of trusting to his memory, but had his commonplace book always at hand, and he usually read standing at his desk. At nine o'clock the primate received visitors, and transacted business till one, the usual hour for dinner. After dinner he would again receive visitors; and by his courtesy and kindness he won the goodwill of all who sought his presence. Then he would enjoy for a time some field sports, in which it was said he excelled; sometimes his recreation was a game of chess. At five he repaired to his chapel for devotion. Between chapel and supper time he again refreshed himself with some outdoor exercise; of supper, we read, he frequently did not partake, although he was always present to welcome his guests. At nine he retired to rest.

During the years of his partial retirement, the famous Hugh Latimer was often his guest and companion; and there is no doubt but that this earnest and devoted Reformer, who, with all his faults, is very dear to Englishmen, exercised considerable influence over him. But his chief friend and counsellor at this time was his chaplain, the learned theologian Ridley. This remarkable man, who has stamped his views indelibly upon the formularies and teaching of the Church of England, was born early in the sixteenth century. His career at Cambridge was most distinguished; he became a Fellow, and, finally, Master of his college (Pembroke). His favourite walk in the orchard, where he would pace up and down committing portions of the Greek Testament to memory, is yet called "Ridley's Walk." Subsequently he travelled on the Continent, studying both at the Sorbonne and at Louvain; and in Germany he became intimately acquainted with several of the leading Reformers. Returning to Cambridge, he again filled various distinguished posts in his university. He came under the notice of Cranmer, of whom he became the intimate friend and counsellor.

Ridley's conversion to the principal Reform doctrines was very slow, and was the fruit of long and patient study. The famous treatise of Ratramn, to which we have alluded before at some length in discussing the doctrines of the Anglo-Saxon church in the tenth century, with its profound learning and unanswerable arguments, was the basis of his views and subsequent teaching on the subject of the Lord's supper. The remainder of his distinguished career is well known, and belongs to English history. Cranmer introduced him to the king, who gave him valuable preferment. Under Edward VI. he was successively appointed to the sees of Rochester (1547) and of London (1550).

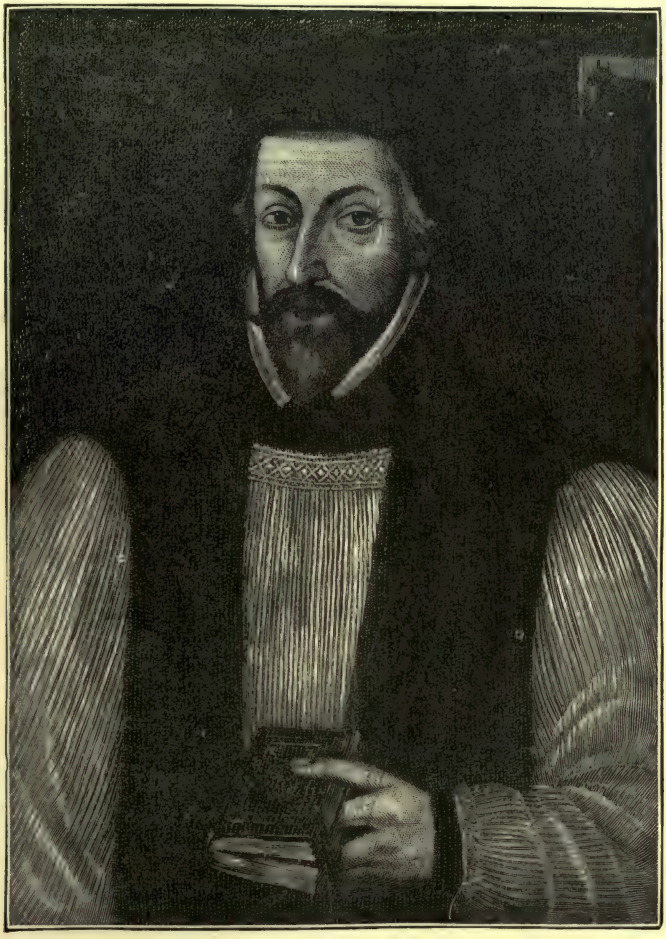
Under Queen Mary he was imprisoned in the Tower, and eventually tried at Oxford, and burnt as a heretic in 1555. He endured his martyrdom with great dignity and courage. Foxe describes him as "wise in counsell, deepe of wit, and very politike in all his doings. . . . In all points so good, godlie, and ghostlie a man, that England may justly rue the loss of so worthie a treasure." Burnet speaks of him as the ablest of the Reformers; he is described as small in stature, but great in learning. Such was the quiet scholar who brought his influence to bear on Cranmer during the last years of Henry VIII.; and Cranmer freely acknowledged his deep obligation to him. It is said that about the year 1545, Ridley communicated to the archbishop what he had discovered in the writings of Ratramn, and that then the two friends set themselves to examine the matter with more than ordinary care.

Many wise theologians in the Church of England would be glad if the Eucharistic controversy had never arisen; glad if, in his abbey of Corbey, Paschasius Radbertus had left the great mystery undefined, as it had ever been in the early ages of the church; glad if Rabanus Maurus the archbishop, and Ratramn the monk, and other learned men, had not been compelled by the alarm stirred up by Paschasius to examine and write on the hard question. But theologians and historians, although they may regret the question was ever stirred at all, are bound to relate the true story. There is no doubt but that Cranmer for years after he became archbishop, took but little interest in the discussion of a dogma which for a long time he regarded as scarcely needing much discussion. The doctrine of transubstantiation he found generally taught in the church, and he therefore received it, as did his sovereign king Henry VIII., without questioning. In the third great formulary, "The King's Book," it is clearly taught.

But the controversy was daily assuming among reformers greater importance. Protestants (we use this term generally for reformers) of all shades were urgent that the mass should be turned into a communion. The mass was regarded by the mediæval church as a sacrifice for the quick and dead. The reformers maintained that it was a communion through which the faithful were united to Christ. They taught that the Eucharist was indeed a sacrifice, but a commemorative sacrifice in which the faithful offered themselves as a sacrifice, a body of persons prepared to serve God in body and soul. The mediæval church regarded itself as offering the Lord Jesus Christ Himself. But if He was to be offered, He must be corporeally present; and He could only be corporeally present by the transmutation of the substance of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. This dogma Cranmer and Henry VIII. unhesitatingly received when the "King's Book" was put out.

In the last years of the famous reign, the unswerving determination of reformers of all lands and schools to reject this dogma of transubstantiation, weighed sorely on men like Cranmer, and his friend and adviser, Ridley. Ridley devoted himself to the study of the question, and the remarkable treatise of Ratramn, published first in opposition to Paschasius Radbertus some seven hundred years before, decided

him absolutely to throw his lot in this matter in with the reformers. He took the weighty treatise to Cranmer, and the archbishop seems from that day gradually we know were familiar to him, were also probably at this period working in his mind. Slowly, very slowly indeed, the new conviction seems to have forced



NICHOLAS RIDLEY, BISHOP OF LONDON.
(From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery.)

to have changed his old views. Cranmer's words later express this: "Ridley did confer with me, and by sending persuasions and authorities of ancient doctors drew me quite from my opinion in favour of transubstantiation." Frith's arguments, which itself upon him. He cannot be said to have really renounced the dogma of transubstantiation before king Henry's death, because he celebrated mass at the coronation of Edward VI., and sung the mass at St. Paul's on the occasion of the death of

Francis I. of France, a month or two after Henry's death. But that his opinions were already changing is clear, and it even seems probable that Henry himself, extraordinary as it may appear, and fiercely as he had fought for the doctrine of transubstantiation during the whole of his reign, cherished doubts or had to some extent changed his own views before the end came; for some arrangements had been made between the kings of France and England, shortly before the death of these monarchs, to turn the mass into a communion; and Cranmer is even said to have been commanded to prepare a form of communion.*

We dwell upon this gradual but deliberate change of opinion on the part of Ridley and Cranmer, if not also of Henry VIII. himself, because it is of extreme importance to ascertain what was intended to be taught by the formularies of the Church of England, as reformed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Ridley, the dear friend and counsellor of Cranmer, maintained a doctrine nearly identical with that maintained by Calvin, and before him by Ratramn. With the latter Ridley expresses his entire accordance. He constantly declares that whilst he rejects all presence of the natural body and blood in the way of transubstantiation, he yet acknowledges a real presence of Christ spiritually, and by grace to be received by the faithful in the communion of the Eucharist.* Ridley's own words deserve quotation, and will show his opinion with accuracy. "I say that the body of Christ is present in the Sacrament, but yet sacramentally and spiritually (according to His grace) giving life, and in that respect really, that is, according to His benediction giving life. . . . The true church of Christ doth acknowledge a presence of Christ's body in the Lord's Supper to be communicated to the godly by grace and spiritually, as I have often showed, by a sacramental signification, not by the corporeal presence of the body of His flesh"; and, again, "that heavenly Lamb is (as I confess) on the table, but by a spiritual presence, and not after any corporeal presence of the flesh taken of the Virgin Mary."

The Liturgy and Articles of our church were certainly in the main, if not entirely, compiled by these two. It is true that both the Liturgy and the Articles have been slightly altered since their time, yet by far the larger part remains just as Cranmer

* In support of this statement, that king Henry VIII. shortly before his death was determined to carry out the Reformation further, Dean Hook quotes (see "Remains," i., 321) Cranmer's words to his secretary, Murice, after Henry's death: "I am sure you were at Hampton Court when the French king's ambassador was entertained there, not long before the king's death . . . the king leaning upon the ambassador and upon me; if I should tell what communication between the king's highness and the said ambassador was had concerning the establishment of sincere religion, then a man would hardly have believed it. Nor had I myself thought the king's highness had been so forward in these matters as then appeared. I may tell you it passed the pulling down of roods and suppressing the ringing of bells. I take it, that few in England would have believed that the king's majesty and the French king had been at their peril . . . to have changed the mass into a communion as we now use it . . . and herein the king's highness willed even to pen a form thereof to be sent to the French king to consider of." See also Canon Dixon, who refers to Strype's "Cranmer (bk. i., chap xxx.) for the words: "The king (Henry VIII.) commanded him (Cranmer) to pen a form for the alteration of the mass into a communion." ("Hist. of Ch. of Eng.," chap. xii.)

* "Works—Parker Society," pp. 236–249.

and Ridley left them. Dean Hook's summary* is important, that "our reformers believed that Christ can be really present to the worthy recipient; that they considered the *res-sacramenti* to depend on consecration, and on the worthy receiving—not the receiving without the consecration, but the consecration with the receiving. They argued that the bread and wine when consecrated are intended to become to all intents and purposes that blessed thing which they represent; but such they do not become in fact until the worthy recipient has made it such to himself by faith. He then rejoices, for that he has received his Lord." Hooker (A.D. 1553 1600), to quote the words of perhaps our greatest Anglican theologian, gives the same interpretation when he writes "that Christ is personally there present, albeit a part of Christ be corporally absent—that the fruit of the Eucharist is the participation of the body and blood of Christ; that the real presence of Christ's most blessed body and blood is not therefore to be sought for in the Sacrament, but in the worthy receiver of the Sacrament." †

The words in Cranmer's Article (the present xxviii.) are "to such as rightly worthily and with faith receive the same, the bread which we break is a partaking of the Body of Christ, and likewise the Cup of Blessing is a partaking of the Blood of Christ." ‡ This was one of the forty-two articles of religion published in the year 1552. Bishop Jewel (A.D. 1522–1571), who was probably the chief writer of the second book of Homilies, and who may be trusted as one of the weightiest exponents of the Anglican belief, writes in his apology: "We plainly pronounce in the Supper the body and blood of the Lord, the flesh of the Son of God, to be truly exhibited to those who believe." The same great truth is taught in our day to every boy and girl brought up in the Anglican church, in the words of our Catechism, in the explanation of the Sacraments, added in 1664: "The body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper."

Whether or not the opinion of Tunstall, bishop of Durham, that it would have been better "to leave curious persons to their own conjectures respecting this mystery" was not a wise one, is an open question. Not a few holy and humble men in our own and in former generations certainly think with him. So evidently thought Hooker, though he closely followed the Anglican reformers in his definitions, when he wrote: "It is enough that unto me that take them, they are the body and blood of Christ. Why should any cogitation possess the soul of the faithful communicant, but, O my God! thou art true; O my soul! thou art happy." All we have done here, however, is to faithfully set forth what was beyond doubt in the mind of our great Anglican reformers themselves, when they compiled the formularies of the Anglican faith. And when they put these formularies forth they invented nothing, suggested nothing novel. They simply and faithfully restored

* "Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury, vol. vii., chap. iii., p. 152.

† "Ecclesiastical Polity," book v., chap. lxvii., 6–11.

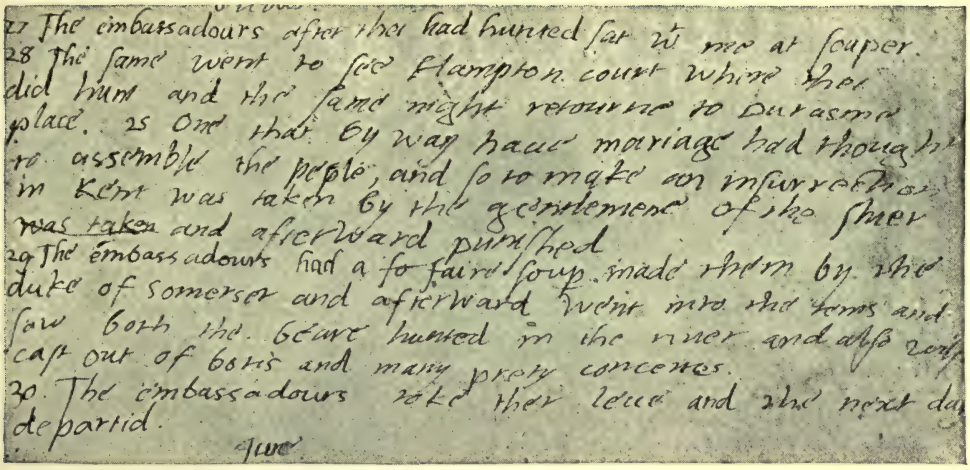
‡ See page 220, where the text of this article is given, with the changes of 1562.

the ancient creed, in the spirit, and we might almost say in the very words of the *old Anglo-Saxon church;* sweeping away the novel additions and interpretations introduced by mediæval divines. The continuity of the Anglican church with the church of Dunstan and Elfric is, in this respect, unbroken; and it has been shown already how glorious was the lineage of that church of our Anglo-Saxon fathers.

When the end came for Henry VIII., it was not unexpected. Though not an old man, his health had long been declining. His ever-increasing corpulence had given him much pain and uneasiness; and when in the last months of his life an ulcer in his leg had deepened and spread, he could no longer walk or stand, and was wheeled from room to room. The symptoms grew worse, and the king became fully aware that the end was at hand.

The day before his death, it is said, he spent in conversation with lord Hertford, the brother of his queen Jane Seymour, and consequently uncle of the future king, Edward VI., and Sir William Paget, on the condition and future of England. A few hours after this he grew suddenly worse, and being asked which of the bishops he desired to see, he answered, Cranmer. When the archbishop arrived the king was still conscious, but speechless. Cranmer, "speaking comfortably to him, desired him to give him some token that he put his trust in God through Jesus Christ: therewith the king wrung hard the archbishop's hand, and expired." Edward VI., who followed him on the throne, was scarcely ten years old when his father died.

RIDLEY'S WALK, PEMBROKE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.


27 The embassadours after ther had hunted sat w me at souper.
28 The same went to see Hampton court where ther
did hunt and the same night retourne to Durasme
place. 25 One that by way have mariage had thought
to assemble the people, and so to make an insurrection
in Kent was taken by the gentlemen of the Shier
was taken and afterward punished
29 The embassadours had a fo faire soup made them by the
duke of somerset and afterward went into the toms and
saw both the beare hunted in the riuer and also cast
cast out of both and many prety conceites.
30 The embassadours toke ther leue and the next day
departid.
June

PORTION OF A PAGE OF KING EDWARD VI.'S DIARY. (*British Museum.*)

CHAPTER XLIX.

EDWARD VI. AND THE FIRST PRAYER-BOOK.

The Dukes of Somerset and Northumberland—Edward VI.—Troubled Character of his Reign—The Homilies—Injunctions—Destruction of Images and Paintings in Churches—Repeal of the Six Articles—The First Order of Communion—The Roman Breviary—The Sarum Use—The First Book of Common Prayer in English—Description of its Principal Features—Resistance to the Reformed Liturgy—Fall of Somerset from Power.

THE will of Henry VIII., a carefully prepared document, left the government during the minority in the hands of a body of executors of equal powers, who were to be advised by an assistant body of counsellors. The executors were composed of representatives of both the parties who had formed the late king's council. The reformers and the supporters of the new learning, the conservatives and the men of the old learning, were alike members of this proposed regency. But Henry's intention that things should go on as before his death, under the guidance of this evenly-balanced council, was quickly set aside. Gardiner, who was the leader of the "old learning," was put aside; Hertford, the young king's uncle, as a result of a series of intrigues, stepped into the position of regent, with the name of Protector; and various promotions in the peerage were given to his friends, Hertford taking after a time the title of the duke of Somerset.

The years of the reign of Edward VI.—1547–1553—are a confused and disturbed period in English ecclesiastical history. During these years, which witnessed the alternate supremacy of factions, when the government was in the hands of those who, as a rule, cared for little save the advancement of their own interests, two men in succession stood prominent; in the picture of the time they fill the principal places in the canvas.

The first of these was the Protector, Hertford, better known by the title he assumed eventually of the duke of Somerset. He has been well described as "attempting the work of a giant with the strength of a woman, as being at once passionate and unmanageable. With the multitude he won a great reputation, and was the object of their love to the end. Historians dwell on his good intentions; but these were marred by overweening pride and boundless ostentation. As the result of his Scotch wars and the victory of Pinkie, he assumed the *rôle* or a hero and a great general; as the repealer of the persecuting statute of the Six Articles, he won among the people the reputation of an advocate of religious liberty, and a devoted friend of the Reformation. But his administration was generally disastrous.

As a result of his government, a dangerous and widespread rebellion disturbed the west and south of England; and the revolt spread over Yorkshire and the Northern Midlands. In the west the rebellion bore the character of a religious outbreak, being fostered by the bitter discontent of those who loved the old rites and ceremonies, and disliked the innovations of the reforming party. In the northern districts, other and various causes connected with the Protector's government were at work. The outbreaks, both in the north and west, were subdued at length after considerable bloodshed; but the prestige of Somerset was ruined. Disasters which befel the English armies in France contributed also to his downfall. His life was, however, spared at the time, and his victorious rivals even allowed him still to hold a subordinate place in the regency council; but he was subsequently accused of intriguing to regain his lost power, and eventually brought to the block in the year 1552, where he suffered with much dignity and calmness

So passionately was Somerset loved by many in spite of his faults and many weaknesses, his overweening pride, and the disasters which had overtaken his government, that many who were near the scaffold pressed forward to dip their handkerchiefs in their loved hero's blood. In the sad tragedy which closed the brilliant life, much that disfigured that life has been forgotten, and the career of Somerset, which worked much evil and mischief to his country, has been usually painted by historians in far too laudatory terms.

His great rival and successor in power, Dudley, lord Lisle, earl of Warwick and subsequently duke of Northumberland, has left behind him a far darker and more guilty reputation. He was the son of that Dudley who, with Empson, were notorious in the reign of Henry VII. as the agents of much of the greed and oppression which disfigured the great and on the whole beneficent reign of the first of the Tudor kings, and who was executed for treason in the early days of Henry VIII. The son of the justly execrated official distinguished himself under Henry VIII. as a soldier, a sailor, and a skilful diplomatist. He received the dignity of the peerage, and as lord Lisle was one of the king's counsellors who formed the regency government under Somerset. He was created earl of Warwick, and, later, duke of Northumberland. He has been well described as "shrewd, cunning, and plausible; as possessing

something of the reality, something of the affectation of high qualities, with great personal courage; a character well fitted to impose on others, because, first of all, it is likely that he imposed upon himself."

Somerset, although a worldly and ambitious statesman, was in his heart deeply attached to what he understood to be the principles of the Reformation; and we possess still a beautiful prayer, written by himself, with which he began his self-imposed duties of government. But Northumberland had no real religious convictions whatever. His bias was, if anything, in the direction of the old learning, and the party opposed to the Reformation hoped much from him when, on the fall of Somerset, he became the ruling power in the State. But they hoped in vain; he cared for none of these things. The one sole object of his life was the aggrandisement of himself and his family; everything was sacrificed to this ignoble end. For this he persuaded the dying Edward VI. to nominate his cousin, the lady Jane Grey, granddaughter of Henry VIII.'s sister, as his successor, having already arranged the ill-fated marriage between the lady Jane Grey and his young son Guildford Dudley.

When all the elaborate scaffolding he had prepared with so much care and many dark intrigues had crumbled away, and the princess Mary, against whose rightful succession to the crown he had plotted —apparently so successfully—was on the throne, Dudley professed detestation of everything connected with the Reformation. After an edifying or unedifying succession of recantations, of what under Mary's rule were branded as Reformation heresies and errors, he died, saying to the crowd who had gathered round the scaffold where he expiated his many fatal ambitions, that his fall was owing to the false preachers who had led him to err from the Catholic faith of Christ, and imploring his wondering hearers to turn all of them and at once to the church (of Rome) which they had left; in which church he from the bottom of his heart avowed his own steadfast belief. He repeated the *Miserere* and the *De Profundis* psalms and the Paternoster, and muttered "I have deserved a thousand deaths;" then tracing with his finger on the sawdust sprinkled round the block a cross, he kissed it devoutly; then laid his head on the block, and so died—perhaps in earnest at last. For many years a bad, evil man, he perished absolutely unregretted.

To these two men were committed the destinies of our country during the seven years of the reign of Edward VI. The sketch will help us in forming an estimate of the work accomplished in that confused, sad period. Of the boy-king an outline picture must also be drawn, before we take up the narrative of the all-important religious work which was carried on in the midst of such unpromising surroundings.

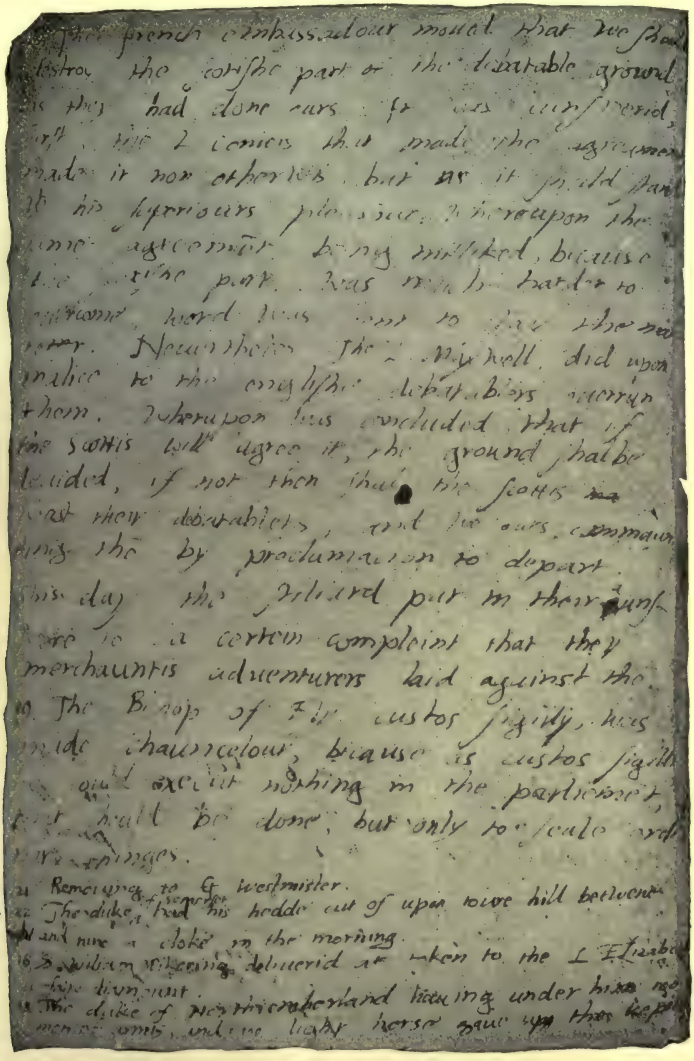
Edward VI., king of England, was born in 1537 at Hampton Court. He was the son of Henry VIII. and of his third and best loved wife, Jane Seymour, his birth costing his mother her life. The greatest pains, from his earliest years, were bestowed upon the training of the solitary male hope of the Tudor dynasty. When he was six years old, he was placed under the

tuition of Sir John Cheke, the famous Greek scholar, and the learned Roger Ascham. All his biographers dwell on his amiability and deep piety, and his too precocious quickness in learning "He would gently promise me often," wrote Roger Ascham afterwards of his loved pupil, "to do me good one day." He learned as a boy to speak and read Latin well, and made great progress in Greek; he was also a good French scholar, and could play on the lute. With all this too early learning he was by no means allowed to neglect athletic exercises. Nothing was forgotten in the education of this promising heir to the crown of the mighty English nation. He even in his diary tells us how he loved games.

THE DUKE OF SOMERSET.
(After the portrait by Holbein.)

When Henry VIII. died, he was scarcely ten years old. Then followed his six years or a little more of kingship. He was barely sixteen when the end came. His was a loveless, melancholy childhood, overshadowed with the state and stiffness of a

Tudor court, under the guardianship of such men as the protector Somerset, his uncle, whom he loved but little, and the unprincipled Dudley, duke of Northumberland. His sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, had separate establishments, and he saw little of them. His character was absolutely irreproachable. The boy-king was conscious of his high destiny, fully aware of the awful responsibilities to which he was called, and devoted himself to study and to preparation for his future career; and on



PAGE OF KING EDWARD VI.'S DIARY, WRITTEN IN HIS OWN HAND, CONTAINING REFERENCE (*) TO THE EXECUTION OF THE DUKE OF SOMERSET (*p.* 190). (*British Museum.*)

public occasions he ever bore himself with a quiet dignity beyond his years. The learned Italian, Cardan, who paid a visit to England about 1552, thus writes in glowing terms of the impression which Edward VI. made upon him: "I saw him, the marvellous boy, at the age of fifteen years. He knew seven languages, including Latin and French, both of which he spoke fluently, Italian, Spanish, and a considerable amount of Greek. He asked questions about my philosophy, and very searching were the questions he put to me about the book which I dedicated to him, and particularly as to my great discovery as to the reason of the comets (Cardan was a famous astronomer and mathematician). Ah, he led me among the stars! He was as sweet, too, as he was learned. Alas for his early grave! He favoured the arts before he was old enough to know them; before he was old enough to use them, he knew them. Alas! that he could only give a specimen, not an example of virtue."

He was naturally religious and thoughtful, and all his sympathies were with the Reformation. But, as we have said, it was a loveless, joyless existence for a boy, and well calculated to foster the seeds of weak health and disease, which so soon closed the career that gave such promise of nobility and devoted earnestness. He seems to have cared little for any of his nearest relations. When Somerset, his uncle, who was ever kind to him, was brought to the block through the influence of Northumberland, we read this cold and apparently unfeeling entry in the young king's diary—"The duke of Somerset had his head cut off on Tower Hill between eight and nine in the morning"—nothing more: no expression of regret or even of surprise! He excluded without apparently any regret his two sisters from the succession. Mary's religion was hateful to him, but it is difficult to see why Elizabeth was shut out.

He was attacked soon after Somerset's death by small-pox, and, although he recovered from the dread malady, the seeds of consumption had been sown, probably during his convalescence. Other complications of sickness were quickly developed, and men saw that the hours of the young king were numbered. He was a great sufferer at the last. Eruptions came out over his skin, his hair fell off, and then his nails and afterwards the joints of his toes and fingers. Northumberland was suspected of hastening the end by poison; but this is absolutely improbable. Dudley had many sins to answer for, but not this.

Edward VI. was scarcely sixteen years old when he breathed his last. We possess several admirable portraits of him by the great and famous Holbein. His fair, sweet, boyish face, with his grey eyes and his sad, earnest expression, is very familiar to us from them. One who saw him shortly before his death, describes him as "of stature below the usual size, with a gesture and general aspect sedate and becoming."

Such is a rough picture of the young king and the chief persons of the unhappy regency government, which lasted during the six and a half years from January, 1547, to July, 1553, when the boy-king died. It was during these sad years of confusion and misrule that the great liturgical reformation was carried out, mainly by Cranmer; yet most of his work, done in

that period of stress and storm, has been enduring. "While the Church of England remains, the image of Cranmer will be seen reflected on the calm surface of the Liturgy. The most beautiful portions of it are translations from the Breviary; yet the same prayers translated by others would not be those which chime like church bells in the ears of the English child. The translations and the addresses, which are original, have the same silvery melody of language, and breathe the same simplicity of spirit."* While we marvel at the almost unearthly beauty of the quiet solemn praise and prayer, woven into the wondrous tapestry of our Anglican Liturgy amid the sordid tumult of plot and intrigue and rebellion going on all around, the same train of thought which disposes us to wondering admiration of the great work done at such a time, also leads us to find in the same sordid tumult of plot and intrigue excuses for the errors in judgment which were undoubtedly made, and the grave mistakes which were committed, in those six and a half years of work, carried on amidst such disturbing conditions.

When Henry VIII. died, we have seen how the minds of Cranmer and Ridley were being led towards further reformation; and we saw that, had the king lived, fresh advances in that direction were imminent. One is even tempted to wish that the great erring life had been prolonged, for it seems probable that some of the things most to be deplored would never have been done: such as the wanton and irreparable destruction of altars, images, shrines, tombs, stained windows, and the like. But when Henry died there was no one to restrain the violent and destructive spirit which too often accompanied good and righteous reforms. With Cranmer in his forward movement were associated, first and foremost, Ridley, just nominated bishop of Rochester; Holgate, archbishop of York; and four other bishops. The new protector, Somerset, as far as his many state cares and private ambitions permitted him, heartily sympathised with Cranmer and his friends.

The first work undertaken by the primate was the putting out of twelve homilies, authorised by royal authority—the present first Book of Homilies of the Church of England. This was ordered to be read in churches every Sunday. This book, intended for the public instruction of the people, which contained some true and admirable pieces of popular theology, while it did not contradict, must be regarded as watering down in some important particulars the teaching of "The King's Book." The mention of the Sacraments, which had formed so important a place in the formulary put out under Henry VIII., in the Homilies was scanty and only incidental; strangely enough, no single Homily was devoted to their exposition.

At the same time, the Paraphrase of Erasmus on the New Testament was published by authority. This Paraphrase, written by one who undoubtedly was the foremost literary genius of the age—although by no means of the same nature and spirit as the polemical Commentaries of Tyndale—was not a work calculated to infuse a calm and spiritual tone among the fervid and often excited men of that time.

* Froude.

Putting out this Paraphrase at such a time must be looked upon as a regrettable step. Gardiner, who was the leader of the conservative party in the Church of England, warmly remonstrated, but to no avail.

Next followed in the same year (1547) a general visitation of the kingdom, under royal authority. The country was divided for this purpose into six circuits, among thirty visitors, composed partly of lay, partly of clerical officials. These carried with them the new books above referred to—the Homilies and Erasmus's Paraphrase; and what was more important, the celebrated Injunctions of Edward VI. These Injunctions were in part a reproduction of former manifestoes of Henry VIII., and repeated what had been formerly set forth concerning the king's supremacy, the English Bible, and the instruction of the people in the rudiments of the faith, etc. But there were some very important new Injunctions, admirable and wise in spirit and in tone; such as directions for the lessons to be read in English, and also the Epistle and Gospel in English at high mass; for an English Litany, no longer to be sung only in procession as formerly, but to be always sung immediately before high mass. Certain ancient customs were forbidden—others were still permitted. Waxen tapers before images and shrines were reduced to two, which were to be set only upon the high altar before the Sacrament.

The distinction between "images" which were superstitiously abused and those which were not, as expressed in earlier royal pronouncements, was maintained in these Injunctions; but in the following year (1548) an order in Council directed that *all* images, whether abused or not, were to be removed from churches. The result was that innumerable pictures and paintings of feigned miracles that were in walls, glass windows, or elsewhere in churches, or even in private houses, were ruthlessly destroyed. Feigned miracles were found as difficult to be discerned from true miracles as abused images from other images. "Thenceforth began that villainous scraping, coating, or whitewashing of frescoes, and that indiscriminate smashing of windows, which obliterated in countless instances the most various and beautiful examples of several of the arts, and at a blow took from the midst of men the science, the traditionary secrets, which it had taken five centuries to accumulate." * The comparatively rare examples we now possess of painted windows of the pre-Reformation period, were preserved, there is little doubt, to avoid the expense which would have been incurred had they been broken, in replacing them with plain glass to keep the wind and rain out. To this not unnatural wish to save needless expenditure, to take one conspicuous example, we owe the conservation of the matchless wall of translucent jewelled glass, the gift of a pious layman who, in the days of Edward III., wished to commemorate the battle of Creçi, and which for 550 years has been among the glories of the superb choir of Gloucester.

One who is, comparatively speaking, rarely stirred to indignation by any of the regrettable Reformation excesses and exaggerations, when penning his graphic

* Dixon: "History of the Church of England," chap xiii.

picture of the results of this unhappy Injunction, and of the supplementary order in Council of the following year, thus should remain no memory of the same. . . . Painted glass survives to show that the order was imperfectly obeyed;

Photo: H. W. Watson, Gloucester.

THE GREAT EAST WINDOW, GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

breaks into an eloquent and stirring outburst of indignant anger: "From wall and window every picture, every image commemorative of saint or prophet, was to be extirpated and put away, so that there but, in general, spoliation became the law of the land. The statues crashed from their niches; rood and rood-loft were laid low, and the sunlight stared in white and stainless upon the whitened aisles.

The churches were now whitelimed, with the Commandments written upon the walls, where the quaint frescoes had told the story of the Gospel to the eyes of generation after generation. The superstition which had paid an undue reverence to the symbols of holy things was avenged by the superstition of as blind a hatred. . . . It was no light thing to the village peasant to see the royal arms staring above the empty socket of the crucifix to which he prayed; the saints, after which he was named in baptism, flung out into the mud; the pictures on the church walls daubed with plaster, over which his eyes had wandered wonderingly in childhood." *

The months of 1547 passed on. In November the first Parliament of the Protectorate met, and with it the Convocation of the clergy. The feeling in favour of a sharp advance in the Reformation was very pronounced. The "Six Articles" act, and other statutes which had been enacted in the days of Henry IV. and his son against the Lollards, were repealed. The old process of the *Congé d'élire*, or licence to elect a bishop addressed to the dean and chapter, was unfortunately departed from, and an act was passed "for the election of bishops," in which it was directed that they should be appointed by letters patent of the king. This act was repealed by queen Elizabeth. The question of the sacrament of the altar was brought up, and with the view of checking the profanities which were too common on the lips of the extreme party of Reformers, here blasphemy was made penal by statute. But in the same act, communion in both kinds was enjoined on laity as well as on clergy. The sacrament of the altar in this act was called "the Supper of the Lord, the Communion and partaking of the body and blood of Christ."

One more important measure became law this year. Henry VIII. had received from Parliament the power of suppressing chauntries, hospitals, and other mediæval corporations. Death had interfered with his generally exerting this last power of confiscation. The act was now renewed, in spite of the opposition of Cranmer. It is especially deserving of notice that at this juncture in the Reformation, Convocation unanimously agreed in the communion being administered under both kinds, and regarded with favour the proposed abolition of celibacy in their order.

The year 1548—the second of the Protectorate—commenced with an event which gives us some index to the rapid march of serious public opinion. Latimer—somewhile bishop of Worcester—who had been silenced for eight years, preached at Paul's Cross a remarkable course of sermons. One of these, the sermon "of the Plough," we still possess. It is a good specimen of the oratory of the day, which, while it denounced with fervour and truth mediæval superstitions which still too often kept their hold upon the people, was too often disfigured with wild and intemperate allusions, ill suited to the progress of a calm and thoughtful Reformation. "The best ploughman," he said, "in the realm is the devil. He is always in his parish; he keeps his residence" (thus alluding to the too frequent absence of bishops from their

* Froude: "History of England," chap. xxiv.

dioceses). "With him it is away with books, and up with beads; away with the light of the Gospel, and up with the light of candles. Yea, it is roundly, up with all superstitions and idolatry, censing and painting of images, palms, ashes, and holy water; up with purgatory pick-purse, down with Christ's Cross; let all things be done in Latin, nothing but Latin. God's Word may in no wise be translated into English! Woe unto thee, O Devil! That Italian bishop yonder is thy chieftain, and has prevailed to make us believe vain things by his pardons, to frustrate Christ's sole merits of His passion."

In the many-coloured story of the English Reformation, the serious historian has to relate many an act over which he mourns, has to paint many a scene of ruthless, heedless destruction. Men's passions were loosed, gross exaggerations were unscrupulously advanced, selfish greed and narrow fanaticism coloured too many of the works and days of the reformers; much that was venerable and beautiful, soul-stirring, and helpful to religion was heedlessly and thoughtlessly swept away. In striking contrast to these acts of barbarous destruction and stupid fanaticism, in contrast to those words and writings deemed to be religious, but forged in the white-heat of passion, stand out the noble English translation of the Bible, the work of Tyndale the scholar and his friends, and the beautiful English liturgy, the result of the labours of Cranmer and his associates. In the English Bible and in the Anglican liturgy we see the best and most beneficent side of the Reformation of our church. Most of what is really good and great in the change that passed over the Church of England in the fifteenth century is traceable to these noble and beneficent works. In the one, the poorest as well as the richest, the illiterate peasant and artisan as well as the trained and practised scholar, could read and ponder over, as he had never read and pondered over before, the grand and moving story of God's dealings with and His surpassing love for men; in the other he could pray, as he had never prayed before, to his God, Redeemer, Friend.

The first important liturgical work of the Reformation—the Sacramentary, the first English order of Communion—was authoritatively ordered for general use in the Easter-tide of the year 1548. Briefly, its history was as follows.

We have already seen how Parliament had passed an act for the administration of the Eucharist in both kinds, thus dealing with one of the flagrant abuses of the later mediæval church. As a necessary sequel to this act, a commission of bishops and doctors, composed of divines belonging to what is best called the schools of the old and new learning, had been appointed by the council to compose an order of Communion in English. Over this mixed commission Cranmer presided, and was throughout the guiding spirit. They met at Windsor Castle, and their labours were completed before the Easter of that year (1548). We may well conclude that much, if not most of the work, had been already prepared by Cranmer and Ridley.

This first English Order of Communion was a most careful and cautious piece of liturgic reformation of the old missal, the "Sarum Use" being principally used. So

cautious, indeed, were Cranmer and his fellow-workers, that in the "Reformed Order," while providing for the changes about to be detailed, out of extreme reverence, and perhaps hesitancy in finding the exact words in our vernacular, the actual oblation and consecration were allowed to remain in the mediæval *Latin;* the exhortation and direction addressed to the communicants being, however, now in English. The priest was also forbidden to vary from the old rites and ceremonies of the mass "until other order should be provided." The great changes were: (1) provision being made for administering the Sacrament *in both kinds;* (2) a general Confession in English was added, to be repeated by all the people. In the mediæval use the Confession was said secretly by the priest. The people who communicated had, as a rule, made their confessions *before* they came.

This introduction of a public confession was an open attack upon the old practice of secret or auricular confession.* Dean Hook gives, as the especial reason for this change, the fact of the rarity of communicants being owing to the supposed necessity of prior confessing; and confession to God being necessary, a *general* public confession and absolution were added to the service. But the compilers of the "Reformed Order of Communion" were so tender and careful not to wound the consciences of devout and earnest men, that they urged a mutual charity in the following wise and loving words: "Let not such as shall be satisfied with a general confession be offended with those that doth use, to their further satisfying, this auricular and secret confession to the priest; nor those who think needful to the quietness of their own consciences further to lay open their sins to the priest, be offended with those that are satisfied with their humble confession to God, and the general confession in the church." But in spite of this permission, the new Order for ever swept away the absolute necessity of auricular confession and private absolution before communicating.

The English part of the new Order of Communion was mainly derived from a German model—the "Consultation of Hermann," the elector archbishop of Cologne. Hermann owed his work chiefly to the Lutheran Bucer. Bucer derived his formularies largely from the liturgy given to Nuremberg by Luther himself. The influence of German reformers in the revision of the public services which rapidly followed the putting out of this first reformed Communion Service, was very considerable. The disturbed state of Germany at this time drove away many of the leading divines and theologians from their own country. Not a few of these exiles received a warm welcome in England, and several of the more prominent were hospitably entertained at Lambeth by Cranmer, who profited largely by their advice in his liturgical labours. Among these were Peter Martyr, a learned Lutheran divine; Martin Bucer, whose reputation in Germany as a follower of Luther was deservedly great; Fagius, the learned Hebraist; and Alasco, the Pole.

There was considerable opposition to the new "Order of Communion," as might have been looked for. Many of the clergy misliked the new spirit of reform which

* *Cf.* Dixon: "Hist. of Ch. of Eng.," chap. xiv.

LATIMER PREACHING TO THE CIVIC AUTHORITIES AT PAUL'S CROSS.
(*From the picture by Sir George Hayter.*)

breathed through the direction to administer the sacrament in both kinds; the permission to communicate without prior secret confession and absolution, which took away (so felt many of the party of the old learning) from the clerical character of the service, struck a blow at the position and influence of the clergy. Quietly the "new order" was evaded in various quarters—more especially, it is said, in some of the cathedral churches. Some of the bishops, too, notably Gardiner of Winchester and Bonner of London, who had no share in its composition, were negligent in the enforcement of the use of the book. A good deal of uneasiness and even some bitter discontent pervaded the church in this period of change; in certain places it was almost a veiled rebellion. Preaching was entirely forbidden by royal proclamation. Already preaching had been strictly limited, bishops and clergy having been ordered only to preach in their own cures. None other might preach but licensed preachers. But now total silence was imposed upon the pulpit, pending the labours of the commissioners at Windsor, who were engaged in the preparation of the uniform Order of Public Prayer. The reform of the "Breviary," as we shall see, was proceeded with immediately after the reform of the "Missal" was completed.

From abroad, after the reform of the Missal in the shape of the "Order of Communion," came various voices from the great Continental reformers of approval and of encouragement. Bucer, who may be fairly taken as the representative of the Lutherans, after warm congratulations on the work of the Windsor commissioners, wrote: "No relics of the old leaven will long remain in you, either in doctrine or discipline. The work will go on, the sacraments will be administered according to Christ's institution, communicated to all who should receive, declared and acknowledged to be the signs of His grace." Calvin wrote, before the close of the year 1548, a long letter to the protector Somerset, urging him to go on as he had commenced. "Pursue the work," he wrote, "which thou hast begun, till thou hast rendered thy kingdom the most desired in the world. Go on; refrain not thy hand. . . . Though strong, thou seemest to need strengthening by holy exhortation. . . . Great difficulties hast thou; nor is it wonderful that the bulk of men refuse the Gospel. . . . I hear that there be two kinds of men who seditiously stir themselves against you and the realm—those who walk disorderly in the name of the Gospel, and those who are sunk in the old superstitions. . . . There is a lack of good pastors among you. Supply that defect, but have a care of rash and erratic men. See that you have lively sermons; preaching ought not to be dead, but lively, not ornamental, not theatrical, but edifying. . . . Let there be a form of doctrine published, received by all and taught by all. . . . It is of no use to do things by halves; a little leaven of the Roman corruption will leaven the whole mass of the Supper of the Lord. I hear with pain that there is a prayer for the dead in your celebration. I know that this is not meant for purgatory. I know that it is an ancient thing, designed to show that in one communion all, the quick and dead alike, are of one body. But still it is an addition to the most sacred of rites.

Moreover, you have chrism in confirmation, and you have extreme unction. How frivolous!"

It was, as we have seen, at the Eastertide of 1548 that the reformed Missal, the first English Order of Communion, came into public use. The Windsor commissioners, under the presidency of Cranmer, at once set to work on the remainder of their great task, the composition of the first Prayer-book, or, as it may generally be termed, the reform of the *Breviary*. Now what was this "Breviary" and the other mediæval service-books, which Cranmer and his fellows had before them?

To go back many centuries, we find in the early Middle Ages many "uses" of worship, variously derived from very early liturgies known as the liturgy of St. James or of Antioch, from which the Russian liturgy of the present time is derived; the liturgy of St. Mark or of Alexandria; the liturgy of St. Peter, the basis of the Roman rite; the liturgy of St. John or of Ephesus, which passed into Spain and Gaul, and so to the far West, and which is known as the Gallican liturgy. This was the ancient liturgy of the British church, largely, though not universally used in England by the Anglo-Saxon Church before the coming of the Norman. In the eleventh century a great liturgic reformation was effected by Pope Gregory VII. (Hildebrand). This was very generally received throughout the West, but still with great variations in different lands. In England in the same century Osmund, bishop of Salisbury (Sarum), in 1078, shocked at the prevailing want of uniformity in the services of the Church of England, consolidated with great skill and pains the services for his own diocese of Salisbury. These became a model for the arrangement of services in other dioceses. And though his "use," known as the "Sarum Use," was not avowedly adopted in every other diocese, yet there is perhaps no diocese in England in which the influence of the "Sarum Use" cannot be traced.*

The principal office-books of the "Use of Sarum," so generally adopted in mediæval England, were roughly as follows:—

(*a*) The *Missal*, which contained all that the priest required for the service of the Mass: the fixed portion—the Ordinary and Canon—in the middle of the volume, preceded by the variable portions—Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, etc., for Sundays from Advent to Easter; after the Canon or fixed portion, the Collects, etc., for the remaining Sundays in the year; and then the similar Collects, etc., for saints' days.

(*b*) The *Graduale* contained the musical notation to the Introits, to the Nicene Creed, and such portions of the Canon as were sung.

(*c*) The *Processionale* included such parts of the service as were sung in procession.

(*d*) The *Ordinale* (Pica or Pie) was the book of direction for priests.

(*e*) The *Breviary* contained the services for the canonical hours, matins and lauds, prime, tierce, sext, nones, vespers, compline. They were composed of prayers, psalms, hymns, and canticles, with lessons or Scripture. This comprehensive book began to be called the *Breviary* towards the end of the eleventh century. It was usually called *Portiforium* in England. It

* Dean Hook: "Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury," vol. vii., chap. iii.

was divided in the Sarum Use into two parts—Pars Hyemalis, the services from Advent to Whitsuntide, and Pars Æstivalis, from Trinity to Advent.

(*f*) The *Legenda* contained the lessons read at the matin offices.

(*g*) The *Manuale* was the book of occasional offices, containing the offices for

KING EDWARD VI.
(*From the drawing by Holbein in the British Museum.*)

baptism, matrimony, visitation of the sick, extreme unction, burial, etc.

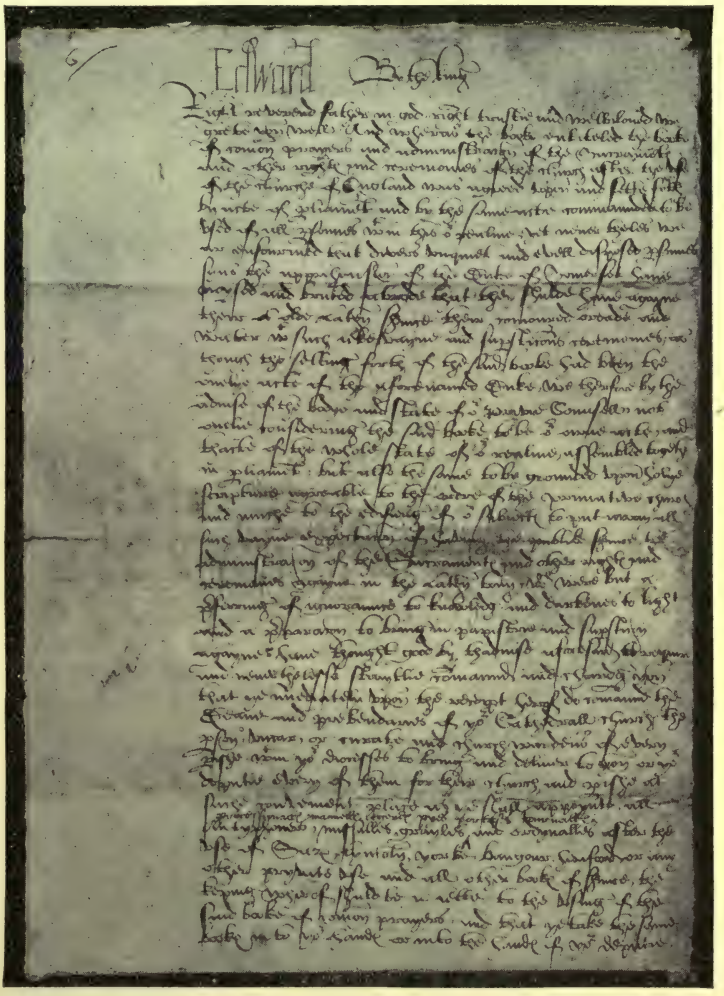
(*h*) The *Pontificale* included the offices peculiar to the episcopal order, as confirmation, ordination, and consecration.

In 1535, under the warrant of Pope Clement VII., Quignon, cardinal of Santa Croce, produced a reformed Breviary, which was accepted in many dioceses in various countries. In this reformed Breviary the Latin language was, of course, retained. The canonical hours were reduced. Two-thirds of the saints' days were omitted, as well as all the offices of the Blessed Virgin. Many of the versicles, responds, etc., which Quignon deemed superfluous, were cut out, and not a few of the Legends which had crept in were here omitted; while, on the other hand, care was taken in this reformed Breviary that the greater part of the Old Testament and the whole of the New, except portions of the Apocalypse, should be read through in the year. The Council of Trent, however, suppressed Quignon's reformed Breviary, and produced a recension of its own for the Roman use. The reason alleged by this great liturgical (Roman) Reformer for omitting the offices of the Blessed Virgin deserves notice, as it shows that the growing cult of Mary was not viewed favourably by some thoughtful minds, even in the Roman obedience. "The Church," said Quignon, "was bound to adore Mary, but she would be better pleased with a system which by a more convenient and expeditious method allured the clergy to the Divine Word of her son Jesus Christ." This was probably the chief reason why the "Breviary" of Quignon was suppressed.* Besides the books of the "Sarum Use" and the reformed Breviary of cardinal Quignon, Cranmer and his colleagues had before them the German "Consultation of Hermann" above referred to, composed by Bucer and Melancthon on the basis of the Nuremberg liturgy compiled by Luther himself. The "Consultation" also, we must bear in mind, was drawn mainly from ancient sources.

Out of the "Sarum Use" mainly, however, the first English Prayer-Book was

* *Cf.* Hook: "Archbishops," vol. iii., chap. iii.

made; and, on the whole, the work was well done. The great majority of the formularies were ably and happily translated from originals which had been used in Christian churches of the highest antiquity. The more prominent of the superstitions which had in mediæval times gradually crept into the primitive liturgies, were eliminated. The whole was presented for the first time in a tongue which all Englishmen could understand and follow. The spirit of the English Reformation, of course, breathed through the whole book, but it was a spirit which rose high above exaggerated reform on the one hand, and a timid and fearful conservatism on the other. The new book was ready before the close of the year 1548, and was in the hands of the Parliament in the month of December. And in the January of 1549 it was established by the first act for the Uniformity of Religion. The printing of the Prayer-Book was at once taken in hand, for by the Whit Sunday of that same year the Act of Uniformity enjoined that it should be used throughout the land. In some churches this date was even anticipated.



LETTER OF KING EDWARD VI. AND HIS COUNCIL TO THE BISHOPS IN CONFIRMATION OF THE USE OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, AND ORDERING THEM TO "DEFACE AND ABOLISH" ALL ROMAN CATHOLIC SERVICE BOOKS, 1544. SIGNED AT THE TOP BY EDWARD. (*British Museum.*)

Let us now shortly examine the First Book of Common Prayer of king Edward VI., of which we hear so much. As we have said, its basis was the Sarum Breviary. In the first place, the length of the original "Use" was much reduced. Everything appeared in English — prayers, psalms, lessons, sentences. The "Hours" were abolished. A single modest volume now contained Breviary and Missal and occasional offices. Instead of the complicated and lengthy "Seven Hours," the services of the Breviary were divided into two—the service for matins and the service for evensong.

The principal changes from the Breviary were as follows. A preface, which set forth the principles on which the services were compiled, is the introduction to the book. This preface, which is still retained, was largely taken from the reformed Breviary of cardinal Quignon. Like the Breviary services, the morning and evening order began with the Lord's Prayer; but whereas formerly the Lord's Prayer, followed by the "*Ave*," formed the *secret* devotion of the priest, it now was ordered to be said with a loud voice. The spirit of the Reformation was closely to associate the people as much as possible with the prayers. The silent, secret, solitary prayers of the priests in all the services, which had formed so notable a part of the mediæval services, were changed into prayers in which all the worshippers could join. The "*Ave*"* was abolished. The Psalms were introduced according to their present monthly arrangement. The invocation of saints was abolished, and many ceremonies which were deemed useless and superstitious were done away with.

Much of the musical character of the old services was taken away. Provision was made in the lessons for reading almost the whole of the Scriptures. The New Testament, with the exception of a few chapters of the Revelation, was now read in its entirety. The Athanasian creed, prescribed daily in the old Breviary, was now ordered to be said no more than six times in the year. On the general aspect of the new reformed services, it has been said with considerable truth that, "of the high choral tone which marked them from antiquity, the daily prayers of the church lost much in this sweeping revision. A lower, sadder religious sentiment was indeed the character of the age; and while this led to the abolition of a great deal of music, theological critics have not failed to remark, furthermore, throughout the book, the depression of many phrases that had been more joyful, hopeful, or trustful as they stood originally."*

The second part of the First Book of Edward VI., containing the Eucharistic service, which was now termed "The Supper of the Lord and the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass," was generally the Communion order as arranged and put out by Cranmer and the Windsor commission in the preceding order, which

* The "*Ave*" consisted of the words of the "Angelic Salutation," St. Luke i. 28 (and 42). The Latin form was "Ave Maria gratiâ plena dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus et benedictus fructus ventris tui, Jesus. Amen. It is rendered in the Prymer, from a MS. of about A.D. 1410: "Heil, Marie, ful of grace, the lord is with thee, thou art blessid among wymmen; and the blessid fruyt of thi wombe, Jesus. So be it."

* Canon Dixon: "History of the Church of England," chap. xv.

we have already spoken of, but with some important alterations. First, the whole service was now in English. Those portions which had been left in Latin—the Consecration of the Host and the more solemn prayers and hymns—were now translated into the tongue of the people. Other alterations were also made which gravely changed much of the character and teaching of the old Missal, whether of Sarum (Salisbury) or of any other English church. Of these alterations the more notable were: The many prescribed gestures of the priests, by which were signified the various parts of the great mystery of the Passion—such as the kissing of the pax, the elevation of the Host, the breaking of the Host—were omitted.

In direct teaching the following is remarkable. In the old prayer of consecration there was nothing that answered to the declaration now inserted, that the Sacrifice of the Cross was "a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world," and that the celebration was a "commemoration and a perpetual memory" of the Saviour's death. The elements were called for the first time, at the moment of consecration, "creatures of bread and wine," as if to exclude the notion of transubstantiation. The old words "that they might be made" were limited to "that they might be" the body and blood of Christ; and it was prayed that this might be by the operation of the Holy Spirit and Word. In the Sarum Missal the "Canon of the Mass," or the original long prayer of consecration, divided into several parts and enriched with many ceremonies, was said secretly by the priest.* In the new order the priest was directed to "say or sing plainly and distinctly the whole prayer." It is notable that prayer for the dead was retained in this First Prayer-Book of 1549, and also that the invocation of the ministry of the holy angels was still left there.

The bread to be used in this Communion Service was ordered to be of one sort and fashion throughout the realm—"that is to say, unleavened and round as it was afore, but without all manner of print, and something more large and thicker than it was."

One more striking feature in the Eucharistic service of the First Book of Edward VI. was the omission of nearly all the Preparation ceremonial which was enjoined upon the celebrant in the Sarum Missal and other mediæval uses, before the mass. This elaborate ceremonial introduction did not, however, belong to primitive antiquity.

The new sacramentary largely carried out the idea of the leading reformers, that the Eucharistic service should be a Communion. The mass had become almost exclusively a clerical function. The great mediæval solemnity was undoubtedly a beautiful and touching representation of the various scenes of the Passion, but comparatively small was the share that the people bore in this, the greatest of the services of the church. After all, the lay worshippers were expected to do little more than *hear* "mass." Well-nigh all the changes in the reformed office were in this direction of "communion." The substitution of English for the mysterious Latin, a tongue understood by very few of

* *Cf.* Canon Dixon; "Hist. Ch. of Eng.," chap. xv.

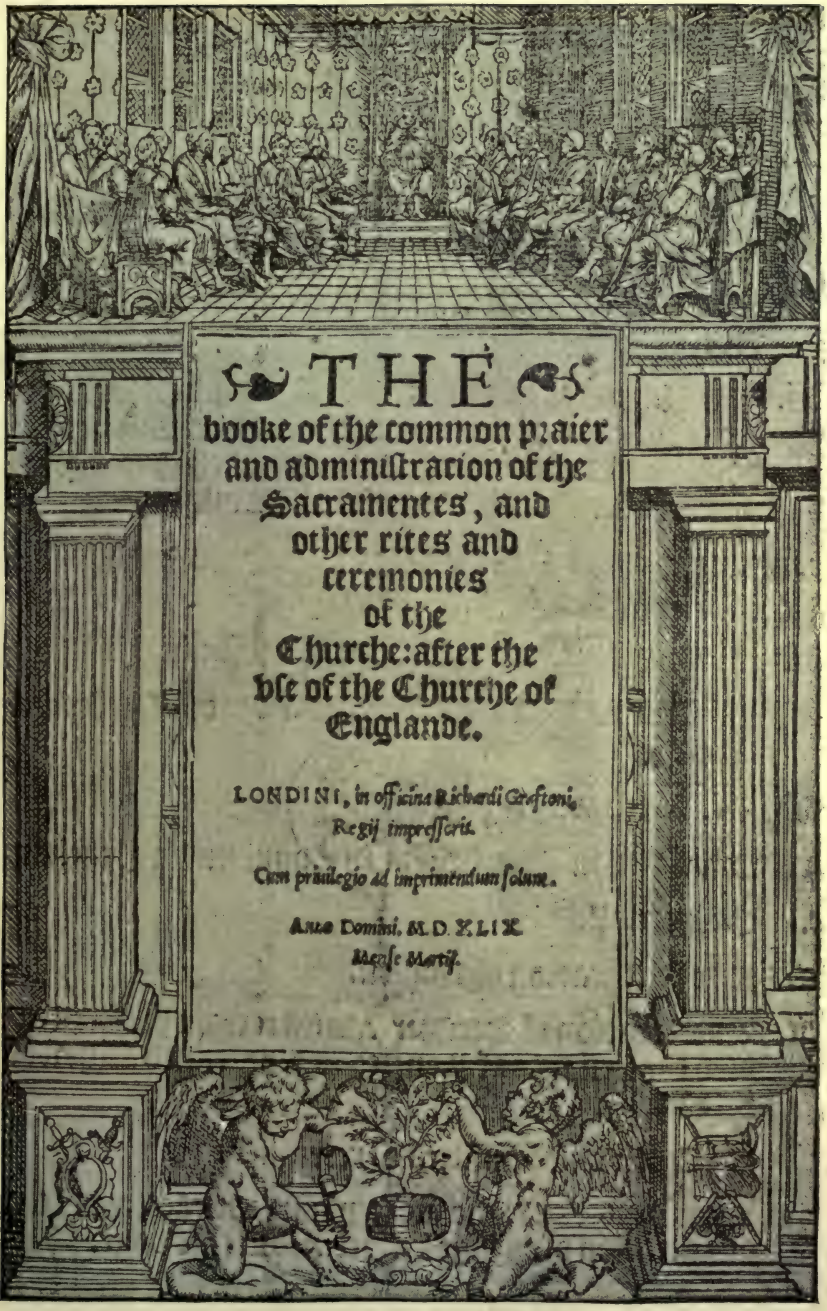
the worshippers out of the priestly order; the doing away with secret saying by the priest of the most sacred portion of the service; the interdiction of most of the elaborate and mysterious ceremonial performed by the celebrant, much of which was hardly comprehended by the great majority of worshippers; the substitution of the general confession by the people for the private or secret confession said by the priest in the celebration of the mass; the reception by the people of the blessed sacrament *in both kinds*—all this emphatically tended to change the mediæval mass into a communion.

While, however, rejoicing that the solemn Eucharistic service was brought by the great Anglican reformers nearer to the people, more home to their hearts, more within the comprehension of all sorts and conditions of men; that the worshipper was enabled to share, as he had not done for centuries, in the awful mysteries; that the doctrine taught in the words spoken and symbolism adopted approached more closely the purer doctrine of long past ages of the church; the serious student of church history will be very guarded as to any expression of unstinted disapproval of all the mediæval teaching. He may feel, and justly feel, that Cranmer and Ridley, Melancthon and Bucer, and the earnest and prayerful scholar-divines of their goodly fellowship, were led by the Holy Spirit in the great Reformation controversy to choose the better part; but it is a grave mistake to speak or think lightly of the great mediæval solemnities. The Church of England may be deemed happy and blessed that she has recovered much of the ancient simplicity of Christian worship, while she has faithfully preserved the priceless treasures of its deeper teaching concerning the most sacred mysteries of the faith once delivered to the saints. But it will ever be the wisdom of our church to speak with reverence and respect of ceremonies and ritual, which she has wisely changed and simplified, but which have been the joy and the delight, and are still the refreshment, of many holy and humble men, numbering in their ranks not a few scholars and learned men, who are journeying, we dare to hope—ay, and to believe—with the same brave earnestness of purpose as we are, towards the city which hath foundations.

The Baptismal office was reformed largely upon the model of the book of the great Lutheran teacher, Hermann of Cologne. Some of the mediæval rites were yet retained by our conservative reformers, such as the ceremony of exorcism of the devil, the clothing of the baptised infant in symbolical white raiment. Probably owing to the admonition of Calvin, whose words to the Lord Protector we have already quoted, chrism was done away with, and a prayer for the inward unction of the Holy Spirit was substituted for the outward anointing with oil. The cross was, however, retained in the reformed service.

The Catechism in its first part, with its clear-cut definitions of Christian doctrine as we possess it now, was included in the office of Confirmation. The second admirable part—that relating to the sacraments—belongs to a somewhat later period. It was only added to our Prayer-book, as we shall see, in the year 1604.

The addresses at the beginning and end of the office of Matrimony were added in



TITLE-PAGE TO THE FIRST EDITION (1549) OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER.
(*British Museum.*)

the First Book of Edward VI., but some of the mediæval rites were suffered to remain in the service. In the Office for the Sick the spirit of conservatism preserved still extreme unction. In the Burial Service prayers were offered, as before, for the dead. The stern, uncompromising rubric against unbaptised, excommunicated, and unhappy suicides, was only added in 1661. It found no place in the books of the Reformation age.

The order to use the new Prayer-book, with its sweeping changes in the old services, in certain districts excited a religious war. In the west of England especially, the zeal for the old forms of religion seems to have been especially strong. Devonshire and Cornwall for a considerable time were the scenes of what was almost a civil war. The government eventually succeeded in restoring order; but the religious revolt had to be stamped out in blood. The demands of the insurgents were strange, almost petulant in their anger against the new innovations. They asked that the "Six Articles" of Henry VIII. might be revived; that the mass should be again said in Latin, and be celebrated by the priest alone, without others communicating; that the sacrament might be delivered to the people only at Easter, and then but in one kind; that images should be set up again, and souls in purgatory should be prayed for by name. "We will not have," said these angry lovers of the old customs and rites, "the new service or the Bible in English. . . . We will not have God's service set forth like a Christmas play."

These strange requests, formulated by the religious malcontents of the west, throw considerable light on the curious and unhappy perversions of religion which were common in the church, when Cranmer and Ridley were firm in their determination to change the mass into a communion.

Besides the west country, at this time sporadic outbreaks in the eastern counties, in Oxfordshire, and even in Yorkshire, had to be put down with a high hand and considerable bloodshed. In the east and midlands, however, although religious questions were doubtless mixed up with the causes of discontent, other reasons were at work which excited men to rebellion. The government of the upstart lords of the council was distrusted and disliked. Agrarian troubles, such as the enclosure of common lands, which deprived the poor cottagers of their ancient rights, stirred up the people to revolt. And no doubt the confiscation of the old abbey lands, followed by the suppression of hospitals and chantries, at this time contributed largely to increase the misery of the poor.

The fall of Somerset and his government quickly followed upon the bloody suppression of this wide-spread revolt. The England of 1549 and the following year was indeed a troubled scene, in the midst of which Cranmer and his associates constructed the new religious formularies of the Church of England. But the great work of reformation and reconstruction went on, though the surroundings were so unpropitious, and the government of the country so precarious, the king all the while but a child, and surrounded with vacillating and self-engrossed ministers and counsellors.

CHAPTER L.

THE SECOND PRAYER-BOOK. DEATH OF EDWARD VI.

The Reformed Ordinal — Ridley destroys Altars in Churches — Bishop Hooper and the Puritan Party—Their Destructive Work—Hooper's Subsequent Deprivation and Martyrdom—Knox and His Influence—Further Influence of Foreign Reforming Theologians—Cranmer's Book on the Sacrament—The abortive Reformed Canon Law—The Forty-two Articles of Religion—Their Moderation—Subsequent Puritan Alterations Sketched—The Second Prayer-book—Sketch of the Variations in it — Iconoclasm of the Puritan Party — Brief Sketch of the Reformation Divines—Death of Edward VI.—His Attempt to Secure a Protestant Succession.

THE year 1550 (April) saw the next important step in the liturgical reformation, in the new English ordinal, which replaced the old "Pontificale." Great changes were made here. In the new "ordinal" the five lower grades in the ministry—ostiaries, lectors, exorcists, acolytes, and subdeacons—found no place at all. Deacons, priests, and bishops were alone retained, and in the ordination of these the ceremonies, formerly of a most elaborate nature, were reduced to a primitive simplicity. The changes now made in the old "Pontificale," depriving it of many of the old mediæval ceremonies, and leaving it a much simpler rite, left it indeed shorn of much of its old stateliness; but at the same time all that was necessary to convey the clerical character was maintained. The inherent authority of the episcopal office was not diminished, since no orders were admitted which it took not a bishop to confer. In the new "ordinal," shorn though it was of most of its many elaborate ceremonies, a return was merely made to primitive simplicity. It, however, offended certain of the English bishops, and led to the removal or retirement of certain of these prelates. The ordinal was not bound up with the volume of Common Prayer until 1553.

In the same year (1550) Ridley was promoted from the see of Rochester to London. He, very early in his new dignity, put forth on his own responsibility the injunction for turning altars into tables. His plea for this, in his own words, runs: "The form of a table may move and turn the people from the old superstitious opinions of the popish mass and to the right use of the Lord's table." He set the example of this change, when in St. Paul's he broke down the high altar by night and set up a table there. A very general demolition and destruction followed throughout the churches of England of much that was associated with holy things. Towards the end of the year 1550 letters legalising this destruction were sent out in the king's name to the bishops by the council. Accompanying these "state letters" ordering the demolition of the remaining altars, were certain reasons which the bishops were required to expound through the medium of discreet preachers, explaining the motives wherever altars were taken down. The stone altars thus destroyed were not unfrequently used for most ignoble purposes, and the

desecration gave at the time bitter offence.

This deeply regrettable development in the progress of the Reformation was pushed on by men of the spirit of Hooper, who at this juncture became one of the principal figures in the history of the time. Little is known of the early life of this celebrated man. He received his training at Oxford, and subsequently travelled abroad, and in Zurich saw and admired the extreme and exaggerated reforms introduced by Zwinglius—reforms in Zwinglius's teaching not unmixed with very grave doctrinal errors. He then composed several able but ill-balanced tractates on the burning and mysterious points of theology, which in this restless age of inquiry and reform were too often heedlessly tossed to and fro. Returning to England, he became the acknowledged chief of the extreme party of the "Gospellers" as they were termed. Hooper was one of the children of the Reformation for whom we cannot but feel a grudging admiration. Deeply persuaded of the evils of the corruptions of Rome, he could see no beauty or reality in mediæval symbolism which appealed to so many. His whole nature was absorbed in the thought how what he hated might be swept away. His teaching was often harsh and austere. But that, in spite of this repellent austerity, he possessed vast influence over the hearts of men, is evident. He became one of the protector Somerset's chaplains, and a prominent preacher in London.

With all his faults, there was much that was admirable in Hooper. Intensely in earnest, persuaded of the dire necessity of change, able and real, never self-seeking, he only, alas! could see one side of a controversy, and ruthlessly trampled down everything which to his narrow views seemed likely to promote the superstitions which he looked on as fatal to true religion. To Hooper the new ordinal, purged though it had been of so many of the ancient ceremonies and rites, was obnoxious as still containing much that in his opinion belonged not to the primitive and best church.

These scruples, boldly and rashly advanced, have gained for Hooper the title of Father of Nonconformity. Many devoted souls have since followed in his track, but they do not represent the real mind of the majority of the English people, and their teaching has generally been repudiated by the conservative spirit of the Anglican church. This has ever in the long run shown a deep and reverential regard for rites and ceremonies hallowed by long custom, and precious with their symbolism to many devout minds; a shrinking to interfere with them has ever been a characteristic feature among our most thoughtful divines. The Church of England since the Reformation has been reproached by some, lauded by others, for its adoption of a middle course, preserving as it has done the mediæval rites and ceremonies, beautiful and instructive in their touching symbolism, in all cases when this conservation of ancient uses did not teach a doctrine unknown in the primitive Christian church. This *Via Media Anglicana* generally approves itself, as it has been again and again seen, to the majority of thoughtful and cultured Englishmen. But Hooper and

his school are always with us, and should never be ignored or lightly spoken of. He represents a minority, it is true; but it is a minority of intensely earnest and religious men, who contribute a battalion, insignificant neither in numbers nor in character, in that mighty army of religious Englishmen who are playing so great a part in the story of the world. Well will it be for us if those who guide the thoughts and direct the policy of our church, ever bear in mind the existence in our midst of the sturdy, God-fearing descendants of this uncompromising and honest, though no doubt in many respects mistaken reformer.

Unlike Cranmer, Hooper was never called to guide and direct the Church in the storm and stress of the Reformation. Unlike Gardiner, he was never the recognised chief of a great party. Unlike Ridley, he never weaved formularies of faith and doctrine. Unlike Latimer, whose marvellously winning personality ever commended his somewhat strange views and ideas to uncounted thousands; less famous in church and state than Tunstall or Bonner, Hooper is the representative, rough-hewn English reformer, the type and example of thousands in his day, who were heart-sick at the sight of the superstitions which overlaid and distorted all true religion. His soul loathed the flagrant abuses which disfigured all church life; and he longed with a real saint's longing for a return to the simplicity and guilelessness painted in the beautiful life which lives along the inspired pages of the New Testament. He saw little beauty in the majestic piles which the

piety and devoted earnestness of the Middle Ages had erected with so much pains and care. The stately ritual, the impressive forms of the Catholic service, meant nothing to him. They inspired no ennobling thoughts ; they whispered no lofty imaginings ; they suggested no grand ideals.

To men like Hooper was owing the iconoclasm of the age, the terrible destructiveness which to many of us seems akin to impiety and irreverence. To their sad work we owe "the empty shattered niche which once canopied the image of a saint in glory, or loved king or holy abbot, and now looks down on us from a hundred bare and naked walls." To their melancholy industry our churches owe the destruction of an incalculable mass of rare and precious furniture—chalices, crosses, candlesticks, many of them curiously chased and carved by an art the very secret of which is hopelessly lost ; translucent windows of jewelled glass, stained by a craft of painters of surpassing skill and ingenuity—such matchless skill as the world had never seen before, and whose craft, alas! has never reappeared again ; tombs and sepulchral monuments, many of them of rare quaint beauty; altars innumerable of all sizes and materials, with the richest hangings and coverings of cloth of gold and tissues of silver ; shrines all ablaze with gold and gems ; costly vestments worked and embroidered in past ages, when time was disregarded if devoted to the service of God and His church ; church plate of various descriptions, composed of precious metals, and church bells of rare and exquisite sweetness of sound, of all sizes and weights. All such things perished in innumerable quantities owing to this sad misdirected zeal. during the reign of the boy-king Edward, between the years 1549 and 1553. In the blind and fanatical fury which the preaching and writing against mediæval idolatry stirred up, we even read of the desecrated and demolished altars being used for pig-sties: "*aræ factæ sunt haræ ;*" while parlours were often hung with altar-cloths, tables and beds were covered with copes, and many a chalice, once used in the most sacred office of our religion, was used as an ordinary drinking-goblet.

That Cranmer disliked Hooper at first is clear ; and only later, when the devoted piety and single-heartedness and utter absence of all self-seeking of the bigoted and fanatical reformer compelled admiration and recognition, did the archbishop show himself friendly. Hooper became a great power, and may be taken as a fair representative of a vast number of the more advanced reformers. In the year 1550 he was offered the newly-founded see of Gloucester, just vacant by the death of the first incumbent, Wakeman. The stern and uncompromising teacher at first, however, stoutly refused the dignity, if he were obliged to wear the dress and take the oath prescribed by the new ordinal. Subsequently, when remonstrated with by Ridley, he replied that he did not condemn the ceremonies and vestments as sinful ; they were not evil in themselves, but simply things which lacked the authority of Scripture. The dress of a bishop was peculiarly obnoxious to him. He declined to yield to the persuasion of Cranmer, or to the sharp remonstrances of Bucer, who blamed him for disputing about trifles. Hooper replied in a vigorous paper in

which he maintained his orthodoxy in all the important matters concerning the faith. "I am no heretic," he wrote; "I abhor every heretical opinion of antiquity, and I abhor the anabaptists and blasphemers of our own time;" but he persisted in refusing the episcopal habit. He was even committed by the Council to the Fleet prison for his obstinate disobedience to the law. At length he yielded, consenting to accept the bishopric on condition that he was only expected to wear the detested dress in preaching before the king or on other extraordinary occasions. Even this slight concession gave offence to the extreme reformers with whom he sympathised. As a bishop, all concur that he ruled his diocese well, showing that "doctrinal fanaticism was compatible with the loftiest excellence." Simple, even austere in his own living, he was lavish in his hospitality and generosity; absolutely impartial, he gained universal respect if he failed to attract love.

We may anticipate a little, and trace his brief career to its noble close, since we have chosen him as an example of the extreme Reforming party, whose influence was so marked, and often so harmful and confusing, in the Reformation settlement. Very early in the great reaction under Edward VI.'s sister and successor, queen Mary, bishop Hooper was arrested and deprived. In prison, where he languished for some eighteen months, he was treated by the new powers with extreme harshness. When at length brought to trial he steadily refused to make any submission, and after degradation was condemned to die in his own cathedral city. On his last journey, his firmness and constancy won him the hearts of his guards. Arriving at Gloucester, where he was dearly loved, the road leading to the city was lined for a mile with people, and the mayor with an escort was present to prevent a rescue. The house where he spent his last night on earth is still shown, and is reverently regarded after nigh three centuries and a half.

The evening before his execution, one of the commissioners appointed to superintend the death scene, Sir Anthony Kingston, visited the prisoner. He loved the old man well; for in the old days Hooper had been the means of rescuing him from evil ways and a dissolute life. Kingston found him in his little room praying. Bursting into tears, he spoke to his old friend and master, begging him to submit himself to the new laws, and so preserve his life. "Oh, consider; life is sweet and death is bitter. Seeing, then, life may be had, desire to live, for life hereafter may do good." Hooper answered: "True it is, Master Kingston, that life is sweet and death is bitter; therefore, I have settled myself through the strength of God's Holy Spirit patiently to pass through the fire prepared for me." Kingston then took his leave; his words on parting are memorable, because they show the stuff of which these earnest though fanatical Reformers were made, and the power which they evidently exerted over men's hearts. "I thank God that I ever knew you; for God appointed you to call me, being a lost child. I was both an adulterer and a fornicator, and God, by your good instruction, brought me to the forsaking of the same."

Other officials came to him the same

evening—the mayor and aldermen and sheriffs—to shake him by the hand. He only prayed them that there might be a quick fire, and reminded them he was well aware he might have life and worldly gain if he would but consent to confess that his doctrine was falsehood and heresy.

During the early hours of his last night, the bishop slept quietly. Then until the guard fetched him he continued in prayer. It was a February morning of the year 1555, and windy and wet. The spot where he suffered is now the poor and somewhat squalid St. Mary's Square, just outside the old gate of the great abbey. The windows of the gate, unchanged, are still there; they were occupied on that sad day by a company of priests, beholding the scene. The charred stake to which he was bound was lately dug up in the old churchyard, and is preserved by the citizens as a precious relic. He had been suffering from sciatica, and walked with difficulty; but men say, even in his grievous pain he smiled when he saw the stake.

The officers in charge placed a box before him, which they told him contained his pardon, if he would but recant his errors. "Away with it!" Hooper cried. Then they undressed him, and tied gunpowder between his legs and arms—a last mercy to hasten death. Shivering, not with fear but with cold, with his own hands he arranged the faggots round him. The torture was long and terrible; the wet and windy morning prevented the flames from rising; and when the powder exploded, it only added to the agony he was enduring with so much constancy. Several times dry faggots were laid round the stake—still the sulky flames only smouldered; but the martyr never flinched. "Lord Jesus, have mercy on me," the pitiful bystanders heard him mutter more than once; and they noticed how his lips continued to move as though in prayer. At last the end came, and the brave spirit went to God.

These Reformers were indeed in terrible earnest!

There is little doubt but that Cranmer, Ridley, and their learned assessors were considerably influenced, from the year 1550 onwards, by the arguments and writings brought to bear upon them on the part of foreign theologians of eminence on the one hand, and by the more extreme among the English Reformers on the other. There was, it must be borne in mind, no controlling spirit in England during the boy-king's reign. The sovereign was a child; and neither of the two men who in succession wielded the chief power in the land—Somerset and Northumberland—had any definite views on the burning religious questions which agitated the time. Somerset was a moderate Reformer, it is true; but his wayward and too often self-seeking spirit prevented him from exercising any powerful influence over the counsels of the great Anglican theologians. And when he disappeared from the Protector's seat, his successor, Northumberland, in a still less degree made himself "felt" with Cranmer and his fellows. The new regent—for that was really the position filled by Northumberland during Edward's later years—was one who in modern parlance would be termed a mere opportunist of the baser

sort. As for the grave questions of theology, they were to him of little moment; they only interested him so far as they could be made subservient to his selfish statesman and theologian or no mean power, was missed at the helm of the State in the storm-filled years which followed his death.

MARTYRDOM OF HOOPER AT GLOUCESTER.

schemes for his own and his family's aggrandisement. Even those who most bitterly condemn the works and doings of Henry VIII. must feel how sorely the strong wise hand of one who, with all his faults and grievous errors, was at once a

The home and foreign influences to which we have referred as weighing with Cranmer and his friends are distinctly visible in most of those all-important formularies put out after 1550; notably in the elaborate "Reformatio Legum,"

in the "XLII. Articles of Religion," and more particularly in the so-called Second Prayer-book of Edward VI., issued officially in the year 1552. In the last of these a less conservative spirit is especially noticeable. The views of the gentler of the foreign divines colour strongly the alterations made; and in a less degree the thoughts of men like Latimer, Hooper, and even Knox were present in the mind of the archbishop when he ruled out many of the words and expressions contained in the first Prayer-book of 1549, and swept away some of the ancient rites and ceremonies of the mediæval church which were preserved in the earlier work. Of Latimer and Hooper we have spoken already as good and prominent examples of the powerful and influential, more extreme division of English Reformers. The third of these eminent men belonging to the "home" section of Reformers, John Knox, is of course more exclusively connected with Scottish history during the troubled days of Mary Queen of Scots. With this later part of his life, and with the mighty changes which his fervid spirit inaugurated in Scotland, we shall speak very briefly, as our work is mainly confined to England.

But in the days of Edward VI., Knox played a considerable part as a leader among the more extreme Reformers in England. It was Knox especially to whom is ascribed the question which arose at this juncture, of kneeling at the Eucharist. "I thought it good," said Knox, "to avoid all other gestures than Christ used, or commanded to be used, and to use sitting at the Lord's table." He was a more daring and lawless innovator by far than Latimer, or even Hooper, and positively invented a form of his own instead of the prescribed "Order of Holy Communion," a form which he deemed more in accordance with primitive simplicity. He obtained great fame as a preacher of the extreme school. The duke of Northumberland in 1552 caused the bishopric of Rochester to be offered to him, cynically giving as one of the causes of such promotion, that "as a bishop, he would act as a whetstone to Cranmer." But Knox refused the proffered bishopric, as well as various other preferments. He, like Latimer and Hooper, cared little for earthly dignities or possessions. After Edward VI.'s death, during Mary's reign, we hear frequently of this zealous Reformer as prominent among the English exiles on the Continent.

But his great and enduring work was done subsequently in Scotland. There his labours have been variously estimated according to the temper of the historian. One speaks of him as having instigated "the terrific Scottish revolution." More sympathetically, perhaps more justly, Mr. Froude estimates the influence of this great though fanatical and gloomy spirit in his native country, when he writes of him at a later period: that "it was not for nothing that John Knox had for ten years preached in Edinburgh, and his words had been echoed from a thousand pulpits;" and how he succeeded in teaching the people "that princes and lords only might have noble blood, but every Scot had a soul to be saved. . . Elsewhere the plebeian element of nations had risen to power through the arts and industries which make men rich; the commons of

Scotland were sons of their religion. While the nobles were chasing their small ambitions, or entangling themselves in political intrigues, the tradesmen, the mechanics, the poor tillers of the soil had sprung suddenly into consciousness with spiritual convictions for which they were prepared to live and die. The fear of God in them left no room in them for the fear of any other thing, and in the very fierce intolerance which Knox had poured into their veins, they had become a force in the State. The poor clay which a generation earlier the haughty baron would have trodden into slime, had been heated red hot in the furnace of a new faith. . . . . [Scottish Protestantism] was shaped by Knox into a creed for the people; a creed in which the ten commandments were more important than the sciences, and the Bible than all the literature of the world—narrow, fierce, defiant, but hard as steel."

After a work-filled life of almost boundless influence, so far as Scotland was concerned, he fell quietly asleep in 1572. The beautiful memories of his serene death-chamber show us how intense and abiding had been his faith, how very real his life—with all its errors, lived according to his light. On the last day of that life, he begged his wife to read him the seventeenth chapter of St. John's Gospel, "where," he told the bystanders, "he first, years before, cast anchor." As night drew on, the family assembled in his room for the ordinary prayers. "Sir," said one of those present to the dying theologian, "heard ye the prayers?" "I would to God," answered Knox, "that ye and all men heard them as I have heard them, and I praise God of the heavenly sound." Then with a long sigh he said, "Now it is come."

Froude, who is ever at his greatest when he dwells on the character of these rugged Reformation heroes, thus sums up: "It is as we look back over that stormy time, and weigh the actors in it one against the other, that he stands out in his full proportions. No grander figure in the entire history of the Reformation in this island than that of Knox. In purity and uprightness, in courage, truth, and stainless honour, the Regent Murray and our English Latimer were perhaps his equals; but Murray was intellectually far below him, and the sphere of Latimer's influence was on a smaller scale. . . His was the voice which taught the peasant of the Lothians that he was a free man, the equal in the sight of God with the proudest peer or prelate . . . he it was who raised the poor commons of his country into a stern and rugged people, who might be hard, narrow, superstitious, and fanatical, but who nevertheless were men whom neither king, noble, nor priest could force again to submit to tyranny; and his reward has been the ingratitude of those who should most have done honour to his memory."*

Besides the party of more extreme English reformers, numbering in their ranks many serious and earnest men, notable examples of which we have sketched, another body of foreign influences more or less in the same direction were brought to bear upon Cranmer and what we may term his official assessors,

* "History of England," vol. x., chap. xxiii.

in their work of preparing the reformed service-books and formularies of faith. The archbishop was helped in his work by a little group of foreign divines, who hoped to find in England a quieter and safer home than their own agitated and sorely disturbed country afforded them, and who were generally kindly received in England. Some of the more moderate of these theologians were welcomed warmly by the English archbishop, and we find them placed in prominent teaching positions at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Of these the chief were the following :—

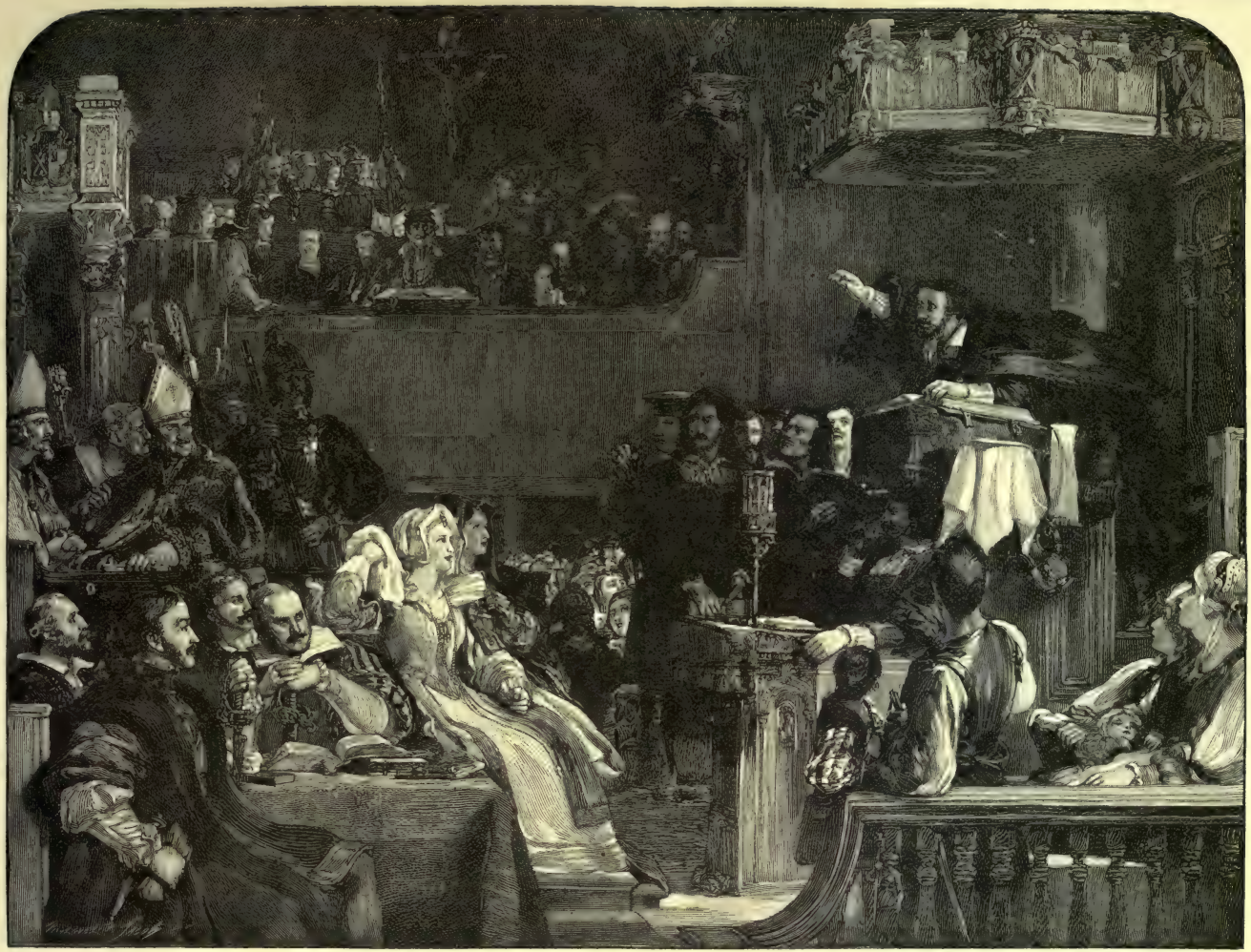
(1) *Martin Bucer*, a German divine, born near Strasburg, originally a Dominican friar. Sent by his order to study at Heidelberg, he soon became distinguished as a student of Greek theology, and also as the friend of Luther. He obtained later great fame as a teacher in Germany. In 1548 he came to England, and received the appointment of king's professor of divinity at Cambridge. Before he had completed his third year of teaching, he died, and was buried with great honour in the English university, as many as three thousand persons, it is said, following him to his grave. He exercised considerable influence over Cranmer. In some points this influence was exerted largely in a conservative direction, notably in his desire to preserve the three orders in the ministry, which he maintained were appointed in the beginning by the Holy Ghost. He called it a device of Satan to destroy the order of bishops. But, on the other hand, to Bucer's suggestions were owing some of the less happy emendations in the Second Prayer-book of Edward VI., put out in 1552. We shall presently allude to his famous "Censura" of the First Prayer-book.

(2) *Peter Martyr*, a native of Florence, the second of the great foreign divines who shared the intimacy of the English primate, was in his youth an Austin canon, and became prior of a house near Lucca. He seems to have been deeply impressed with some of the writings of Zwinglius, the Swiss reformer. He gave up his preferment, and then studied in Switzerland. His doctrines finally were largely tinged with the teaching of Calvin. In England he settled at Oxford, where among his more renowned pupils were Jewel, Nowell, and others, who afterwards became famous. He was of a vehement and ardent temperament, but he lacked the reverential spirit of Bucer. His view of the Sacraments was lower, nor had he the same regard as Bucer for ecclesiastical order. He was a man, however, of great learning and eloquence, and a diligent student of Holy Scripture.

(3) *Paul Fagius* was appointed professor of Hebrew at Cambridge, but, dying soon after his arrival, was succeeded by *Tremellius* as professor of that language in the university.

(4) *John Alasco* was a Pole; he was a man of great activity and zeal, and superintended the Dutch or German congregation in London. He, too, was a follower of Calvin. Melancthon painted his character as daring and self-opinionated.

Besides these, were other foreign divines in England occupying no formal official positions. These theologians acted as the teachers and spiritual guides of considerable foreign congregations driven from their own country by the disturbed state of



THE PREACHING OF JOHN KNOX BEFORE THE LORDS OF THE CONGREGATION, 10TH JUNE, 1559.

(From the painting by Sir David Wilkie, R.A., in the National Gallery of British Art.)

affairs on the Continent, and who had settled mostly in London.

All these influences no doubt considerably affected the tone and spirit of the successive formularies put out after the year 1549, the date of the Act of Uniformity sanctioning the First Prayer-book of Edward VI. We must briefly describe the more important of these writings and formularies.

In the year 1550 Cranmer published his book on the sacrament. In it he wrote: "Monks, friars, pardons, pilgrimages are gone . . . Two chief roots still remain —the popish doctrine of transubstantiation . . . the sacrament of the altar, and of the sacrifice and oblation of Christ made by the priest for the salvation of the quick and the dead." Gardiner, who had not yet been deprived of his see, replied to the archbishop's treatise by a lengthy tractate on the other side, a work of great learning and ability, in which, however, he did not hesitate to charge Cranmer with being a heretic and a sacramentary. Gardiner was deprived and imprisoned in the year following (1551), and remained in duresse until the accession of queen Mary.

As far back as the year 1532 the clergy in their submission to king Henry VIII. had expressed their willingness to accept a complete reformation in the elaborate system of canon law. In 1534 an act was passed to nominate commissioners to effect this object. The act was renewed in 1536 and 1544. During these years the work slowly progressed, largely under the supervision of Cranmer. In 1549, under Edward VI., a new commission was issued; and in 1551 eight persons, again under the presidency of Cranmer, were nominated by the crown to bring the great work of recasting the ecclesiastical laws to a conclusion. Peter Martyr was one of these. It was finished, was this great work of codification of the ancient canons of the church, adapted to the new state of things, but was never signed, owing no doubt to the king's sudden death. It was finally rejected by Parliament in the time of Elizabeth.

This "*Reformatio legum ecclesiasticorum*," which thus came to nothing, was a vast piece of work, a monument of industry and pains. It was divided into fifty-one "titles," and embraced almost every point connected with faith and ecclesiastical practice. The disciplinary laws were very stern, and still claimed the right of the church to send obstinate heretics in fundamental doctrines of the faith, such as the doctrine of the Trinity, to the stake. Comprehensive and far-reaching as was this code of ecclesiastical laws, it would be scarcely worth while to dwell upon it, as it never received official sanction.

Far more important in the story of our national church, however, was the publication of the "Forty-two Articles of Religion" in the year 1552, which, with certain alterations and modifications, are still the "Articles of Religion" of the Church of England. Of these Cranmer and Ridley were no doubt the chief compilers, and by far the larger portion of them remain just as these two — the greatest of the Anglican Reformation divines—left them. Their chief sources were the Lutheran confessions of faith, especially the confession of Augsburg. Our Reformers, however, while using, by no means

exclusively followed the great German formularies; for on certain of the most debated subjects new expressions and even contrary definitions were used. The Articles of Religion were long under careful discussion, and before being finally published were sent to certain of the bishops for inspection and criticism. Whether or no the "Forty-two Articles" were ever formally sanctioned by Convocation, is a doubtful point.

Considering the fierceness of the theological disputes of the time, and the pressure evidently exercised upon the archbishop and his counsellors, generally speaking the Forty-two Articles showed a surprisingly comprehensive and moderate spirit. That they have passed through such a furnace of subsequent criticism, and have endured with, comparatively speaking, such few and unimportant changes to our own day and time, is the best proof of the wisdom and learning and gentleness of their famous author. "The broad soft touch of Cranmer," writes the last, the most patient, and perhaps the truest of the later Reformation historians,* "lay upon them as they came from the furnace—a touch which was not wholly retained in the recension which afterwards reduced them to thirty-nine." . . . It was, for those burning times, a gentle declaration indeed, which taught that, like the great eastern churches, the Church of Rome had erred both in worship and faith, without errors specified; and that general councils might err, and sometimes had erred; and a similar moderation is noticeable when neither images nor pictures nor saints, but only the worshipping, the adoration, the invocation of them, are denied to have the warranty of Scripture; and when Purgatory and pardons are termed not as now, Romish, but scholastic doctrines. The great and burning question, which had agitated the church for so many ages, on the "marriage of priests" was, save for the brief interlude of Mary's reign, by these articles decided for ever as regarded the Church of England. *Such marriages were lawful*, was the definite pronouncement.

In the Articles referring to the sacrament "of the Lord's Supper," round which so fierce a controversy was still kept up, the language is less gentle, the doctrine more accentuated. Ridley and Cranmer felt here that in the mediæval teaching the gravest errors were pressed home; against these the spirit of the Reformation revolted. Here there must be no mistaking the sound of their trumpet. It was no longer the question of mere ceremonial observances, or of customs and objects hallowed by the reverence of centuries, concerning which men like these would wish, while purging away superstitious practices, to speak and generally to act with gentleness and consideration;* doctrines were involved here for the truth of which many a noble soul in that heart-searching age was content to die. Sacramental grace was generally maintained; but the doctrine of the *corporeal* presence was denied, because the body of Christ was in Heaven. In the XXIXth (the present XXVIIIth) Article,

* Canon Dixon: "History of the Church of England," chap. xxi.

* There were some sad and notable exceptions to this general rule, however, to which we have adverted above; in particular respecting Ridley's action in the desecration of the altars.

"transubstantiation" was explicitly denied. The Article now numbered XXXI. styled sacrifices of masses as fables and dangerous deceits. In the revision of 1562, in this Article, "blasphemous" was prefixed to fables. The text of the original XXIXth (now the XXVIIIth) Article of 1552-3, marking the change made in the revision of 1562, is printed in the note below.*

In the Forty-two Articles of 1552-3, there was no article on "the Holy Ghost;" but there were four more at the end which were omitted in the revision under queen Elizabeth in 1562. These were on the following points: "That the resurrection of the dead is not past already." "That the souls of men departed do not perish with their bodies, or sleep till the day of judgment." "That the notion of a millennium is a faith derived from Jewish tradition, and is against the sense of Scripture." "That it is a grievous error to teach that all men, however they may live, shall be saved at last." To these Articles of Religion the clergy were required to subscribe; penalties of deprivation were to follow after a term of disobedience. But king Edward VI. died before the specified term expired.

The influence of the more extreme among the English Reformers and of the foreign scholars present in England was, however, far more marked in the revision of the first Service-book. This revision work was carried on through the year 1551. In the April of 1552 Parliament passed the law for using it, and the service as revised in the "Second Book of Edward VI." was heard for the first time in St. Paul's on the feast of All Saints, November 1, 1552. The boy-king died eight months later. It was thus only the Service-book of the Church of England for this short period. But its effect on the worship of the Anglican church must not be measured by the brief period of its use; for it was the basis upon which the present Prayer-book of our church was, though not altogether, very largely framed.

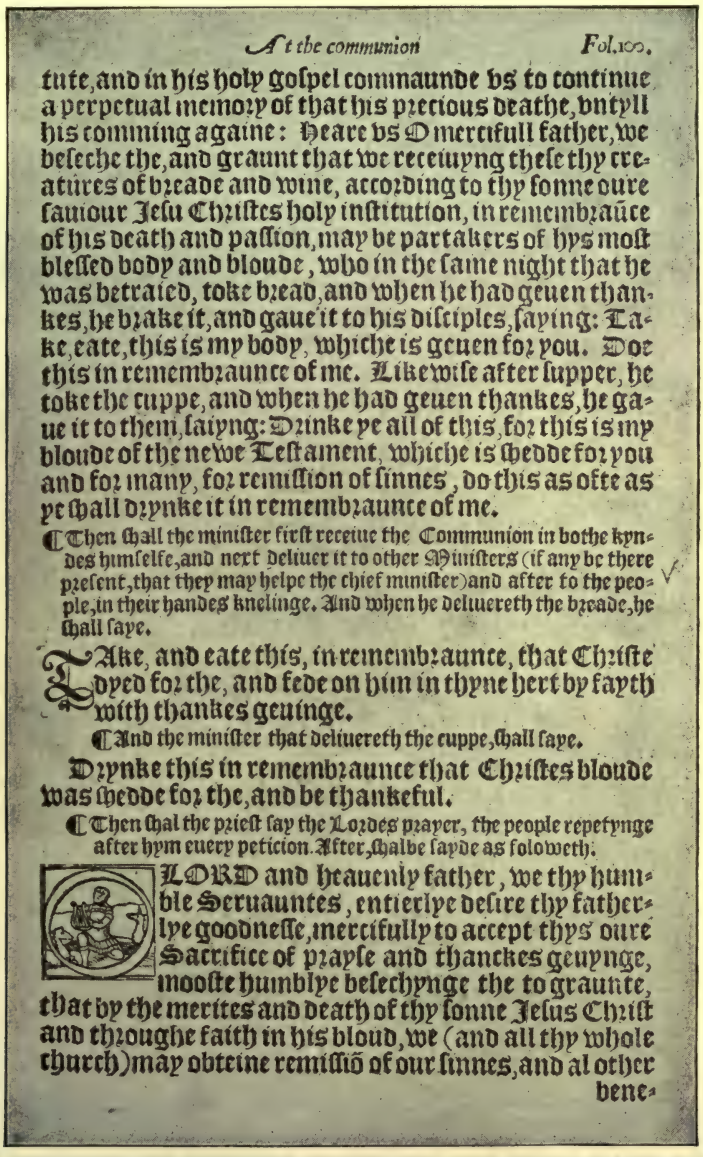
It was to be expected that this most important formulary would be especially coloured by the powerful outside influences so busily at work in England; for while the archbishop's book on the Sacrament, and the Forty-two Articles, were

* "The Supper of the Lord is not only a sign of the love that Christians ought to have amongst themselves one to another, but rather it is a sacrament of our redemption by Christ's death, insomuch that to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the same, the bread which we break is a partaking of the body of Christ, and likewise the cup of blessing is a partaking of the blood of Christ. Transubstantiation, or the change of the substances of bread and wine in the Supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by Holy Writ; but it is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture [in 1562 here were inserted the words, "overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament"]: and hath given occasion to many superstitions. *Since the very being of human nature doth require that the body of one and the same man cannot be at one and the same time in many places, but of necessity must be in some certain and determinate place, therefore the body of Christ cannot be present in many different places at the same time; and since (as the holy Scriptures testify) Christ hath been taken up into heaven, and there is to abide till the end of the world, it becometh not any of the faithful to believe or profess that there is a real or corporeal presence (as they phrase it) of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist.*"

[In 1562 the words in italic were left out, and the following were inserted: "The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after an heavenly and spiritual manner, and the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is faith."]

"The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped."

designed rather for the clergy and the student of theology, the public Service-as the prayers, of the whole church. It was to bring about a thorough revision of



At the communion Fol. 100.

tute, and in his holy gospel commaunde vs to continue a perpetual memory of that his precious deathe, vntyll his comming againe: Heare vs O mercifull father, we beseche the, and graunt that we receiuyng these thy creatures of breade and wine, according to thy sonne oure sauiour Jesu Christes holy institution, in remembraūce of his death and passion, may be partakers of hys most blessed body and bloude, who in the same night that he was betraied, toke bread, and when he had geuen thankes, he brake it, and gaue it to his disciples, saying: Take, eate, this is my body, whiche is geuen for you. Doe this in remembraunce of me. Likewise after supper, he toke the cuppe, and when he had geuen thankes, he gaue it to them, saiyng: Drinke ye all of this, for this is my bloude of the newe Testament, whiche is shedde for you and for many, for remission of sinnes, do this as ofte as ye shall drynke it in remembraunce of me.

¶ Then shall the minister first receiue the Communion in bothe kyndes himselfe, and next deliuer it to other Ministers (if any be there present, that they may helpe the chief minister) and after to the people, in their handes kneling. And when he deliuereth the breade, he shall saye.

TAke, and eate this, in remembraunce, that Christe dyed for the, and fede on him in thyne hert by fayth with thankes geuinge.

¶ And the minister that deliuereth the cuppe, shall saye.

Drynke this in remembraunce that Christes bloude was shedde for the, and be thankeful.

¶ Then shal the priest say the Lordes prayer, the people repetynge after hym euery peticion. After, shalbe sayde as foloweth.

LORD and heauenly father, we thy humble Seruauntes, entierlye desire thy fatherlye goodnesse, mercifully to accept thys oure Sacrifice of prayse and thankes geuynge, mooste humblye beseechynge the to graunte, that by the merites and death of thy sonne Jesus Christ and throughe faith in his bloud, we (and all thy whole church) may obteine remissiō of our sinnes, and al other bene-

PAGE CONTAINING THE COMMUNION SERVICE FROM THE SECOND PRAYER BOOK OF EDWARD VI. (*p.* 223). (*British Museum.*)

book was for the people also, and regulated the rites and ceremonies as well these, which were so intimately bound up with the religious life of the people, that

the efforts of the more extreme reformers among the foreigners settled in England, as well as the English divines of the same school, were directed.

In the preceding year, 1551, Bucer, who was then settled as Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, at the request, apparently, of the bishop of Ely, formally examined and carefully criticised the First Prayer-book of 1549. He embodied the results of his labours in his well-known "Censura" of the English service. A copy of the "Censura" of Bucer was sent to Peter Martyr, the Italian scholar who was officially teaching at Oxford, and the results of the labours of Bucer and Martyr were forwarded to Cranmer. Not a few of the changes and emendations of the two foreign divines were embodied in that great popular formulary put out with authority later in 1552, and known generally as the "Second Prayer-book of Edward VI."

The "Censura" of Bucer, more or less endorsed by Peter Martyr, which so strongly coloured the Second Prayer-book, of which we are about to speak with some detail, was a somewhat long and exhaustive treatise of twenty-eight chapters, in which almost the whole of the First Prayer-book was carefully reviewed. Bucer wrote that he had examined the First Prayer-book with a view of determining whether he could with full approval hold office in the Church of England. "I found nothing therein," he went on to say, "that was contrary to the Word of God, properly understood, though there were some things that might appear without a candid interpretation, contrary to that Word." He then with great pains set out what he deemed objectionable, or at least liable to misconception, from his point of view. One curious criticism of Bucer on the structural form of churches was fortunately not adopted. "To have the choir separate from the rest of the church," urged the great German teacher, "is anti-christian, and makes the ministers, of whatever life and doctrine, nearer in station, as it were, to God than the laity. From the shape of the most ancient churches, and from the writings of the Fathers, the station of the clergy was in the middle of the church." This was at least a bold assertion, and certainly is not borne out by what we know of many of the early Christian sacred buildings. Had this unfortunate recommendation been carried out, the many stately churches, abbeys, and cathedrals of England would have been irretrievably spoiled by the demolition of the chancels. Happily the good sense of Cranmer prevailed here, and the ruin of so many noble and venerable homes of prayer, thus gravely recommended and pressed, was averted: a special rubric was inserted ordering that the chancels should remain as they had done in times past.

Still, the variations made in the Second book were many, and by no means in all cases for the better. Some of them were fortunately ruled out, as we shall presently see, in the subsequent revision of the English Prayer-book. Among the more notable changes were the additions to the commencement of the morning and evening prayers—viz., the introductory Sentences, the Exhortation, the General Confession, and Absolution. This generally had the tendency of making confession a public instead of a private act. A similar inten-

tion has already been noticed in the first English Communion Service. This important change has subsequently held its position in our Prayer-book, and the spirit which dictated it has commended itself generally to the spirit of the Anglican communion. Among other and less important alterations to be noticed was the insertion of the Apostles' Creed into the evening prayers, while the Athanasian Creed was ordered to be said on thirteen feasts, instead of only on six days in the year.

The order of Holy Communion showed greater changes. The Ten Commandments were added to the service. Certain alterations in the position of the prayers in the service, of no great moment, were made, such as the removal of the hymn *Gloria in excelsis* from the beginning to the end. What was really regrettable was the omission of the direction for the so-called manual acts in consecrating. In this Second Book the celebrant simply read of our Saviour taking, blessing, and breaking, without doing it himself; and in the solemn words spoken to the communicants, all mention of receiving the body and blood of Christ was left out. These unhappy omissions were subsequently restored in the Elizabethan revision. In this Second Book only the second clause of the words now used appeared, thus: "Take and eat this"; "Drink this." The mixture of water with wine was omitted, as were also the sign of the cross and the invocation of the Word and the Holy Ghost at the consecration of the elements.

The rubric concerning vestments ordered that neither alb, vestment, nor cope should be used; a bishop should wear a rochet, a priest or deacon only a surplice. The remonstrance of Bucer, upon which this direction respecting vestments was evidently based, was singular, and deserves mention as showing what was in the mind of the more learned and moderate of the extreme Reformers here:—"I wish that the vesture appointed for that ministration [of the Holy Communion] were taken away, not because it is impious, but because we ought to have nothing in common with Romanising antichrists."

In the Visitation of the Sick the ceremony of anointing the sick person according to the ancient custom was disused, and the directions for private confessions and reserving portions of the consecrated elements were omitted. In the Burial Service the prayers for the dead, and the office for the Eucharist at funerals, were struck out. In Baptism, the triple immersion was abandoned, as were also the exorcism and the use of chrism. The water was to be consecrated whenever the service was used. The Ordinal was also stripped of some of the ancient ceremonies retained in the First Book.

A strong effort was made by the extreme Reformers to omit the rubric enjoining the communicant to kneel. The First Book contained no directions here, as the kneeling attitude had hitherto been unquestioned. Hooper and Alasco publicly preached and inveighed against this reverent custom. John Knox, when at Berwick, introduced a rite of his own, from which the attitude of kneeling was excluded. Cranmer received a communication from the council, who were hardly pressed in this matter, urging him to consult with Ridley and Peter Martyr as to

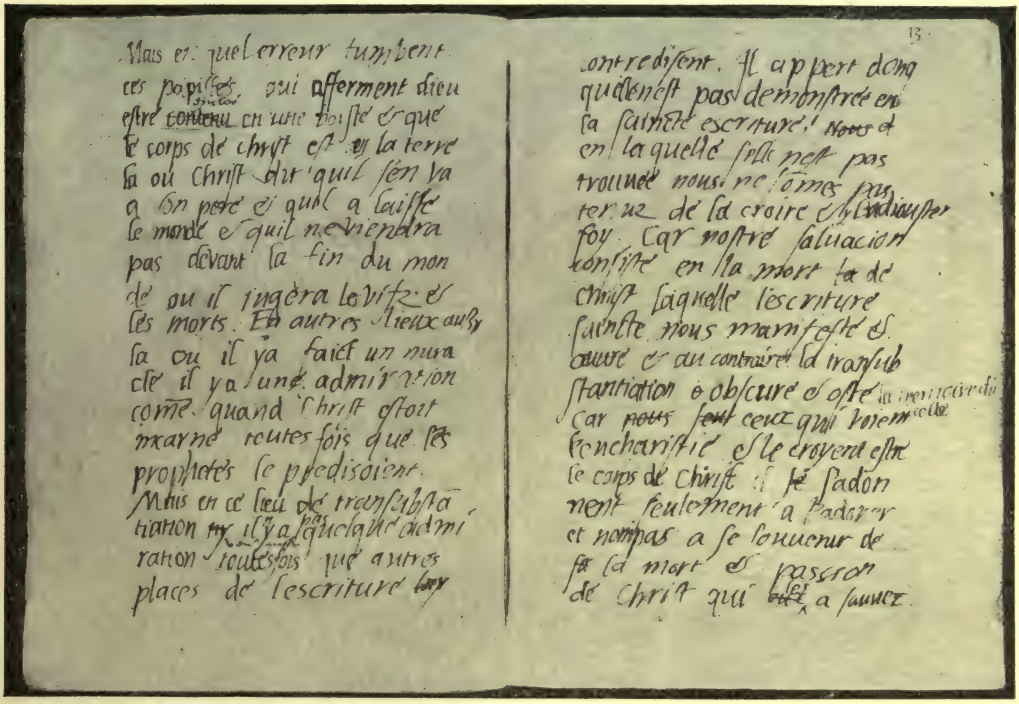
the advisability of omitting the rubric. But Cranmer positively refused to yield this point at the bidding of men whom he termed "glorious but unquiet spirits, who would still find faults if the book were altered every year." Some words of conciliation were however appended to the "kneeling" declaration, in which it was explained that though the gesture of kneeling was retained, there was nothing of superstition involved in it.

The word "altar" was significantly removed from this Second Book. There is little doubt but that the English Reformers were determined, rightly or wrongly, to give up the use of this word; nor has it ever been restored to the Anglican Prayer-book. It is, however, unquestionable that the general language of Christians, both early and later, has been favourable to the use of it. The word was certainly used by the Fathers, even from the time of Ignatius in the early years of the second century; on the other hand, the only name by which we are certain that it is called in the New Testament, is "The Table of the Lord" (1 Cor. x. 21). The words of bishop Andrewes (1555—1626) are wise: "The same is fitly called an *altar*, which again is as fitly called a *table*." The learned Mede (A.D. 1586—1638) well writes: "The seat or raised fabric appointed for the setting and celebration of this holy mystery (the Eucharist) was *the holy table* or *altar*, for by both these names hath that sacred *biere*, as I may call it, of the body and blood of Christ been ever promiscuously and indifferently called in the church."

The impartial historian, while acknowledging the inestimable benefits which the labours and patient learning of Cranmer and his faithful associates have conferred on the Church of England, on a general review of the great formularies compiled under their direction during the reign of king Edward VI., cannot help acknowledging that grave harm was wrought to some of the works of these really great and devout men, owing to the pressure put upon them by the extreme and exaggerated views of some belonging to our own country, and some imported from the Continent, whom Cranmer, as we have seen, wearied with their constant and overbearing importunity, pathetically called "glorious but unquiet spirits," recognising their splendid earnestness, while at the same time he somewhat revolted against their restless, dogmatising, and even uncharitable requirements. The term "grave harm," as being wrought to their generally admirable work, is used here advisedly; and a very brief catalogue of the leading ecclesiastical events of these stormy six or seven years, during which the "formularies" in question were published, will serve to show the effect on Cranmer and his friends, who guided the course of the English Reformation at this momentous period, of this terrible and constant pressure.

In 1547 the Injunctions of Edward VI. as to public worship were put out. In the year 1549, the First Prayer-book made its appearance. In this book the service of the church was largely denuded of ceremonies, some of them beautiful and suggestive, but others of them no doubt more or less coloured with mediæval superstition. Later in the same year, by act of

Parliament, were ruthlessly destroyed all the remaining images that could be found, not only in churches but in private houses; and even all the precious records of mediæval ritual contained in books and manuscripts were hunted out and destroyed. In 1550 the ancient English ordinal was and for some time even without the thin veil of the royal letters through the council, which after some considerable delay appeared to legalise this lamentable destruction and desecration. Strange to say, the learned, devout, and generally moderate Ridley was foremost in this sad



AUTOGRAPH TREATISE OF EDWARD VI. ON THE DOCTRINE OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION. (*British Museum*)

shorn of much of its old splendour, and very many of its suggestive and emblematical rites, which belonged to an immemorial antiquity, were done away with. The same year, 1550, witnessed the destruction throughout England of the altars, so long the centres of the most solemn service of the church; an act of sacrilege—for we can call it nothing else—carried out with remorseless pertinacity under the same influence, business, and Cranmer, the tenor of whose mind would have revolted at such a ruthless desecration, though he does not appear so prominent in the affair, from the tone of his remonstrance with Day, bishop of Chichester, who flatly refused to comply with the royal letters directing the destruction of the altars, evidently viewed the ill-omened procedure with tolerance, if not with approval.

The year 1552 was unhappily memorable for the determination of the council "to search all the shires of England for the remaining church goods." The official visitation which followed upon this resolve of the council, swept the churches of an incalculable mass of rare and precious sacred things, including plate and other objects of the greatest value, and rich with the beautiful and artistic workmanship of the mediæval times. We have already given a summary of what was lost to the church in this miserable attempt to enforce simplicity in divine worship, "a cruel purification," as it has not inaptly been called. Cranmer in this instance evidently disapproved of the proceedings, and seems to have remonstrated against the wholesale spoliation. But the strong current of public opinion, let loose by the wild words and exaggerated remonstrances of the extremists among the home and foreign Reformers, was too strong for him; and these men, who, with all their earnestness and real piety, were the authors of such mischief to the cause they had so deeply at heart, worked their will, and the sad spoliation left its dark and disgraceful mark on the English Reformation story.

The year before, 1551, Bucer's "Censura" of the First Prayer-book, and Martyr's endorsement of it, embodying the views of the more moderate of the foreign (Lutheran) Reformers, a criticism invited by the rulers of the English church, was actually taken as the groundwork of the great revision of the Prayer-book to be used in the public services of the church, and which resulted in the putting out in 1552 of the famous work known as the Second Prayer-book of Edward VI., which in its acknowledged shortcomings, notably in the Communion Service, has been already briefly discussed. Here, again, Cranmer appears in one notable instance—this time successfully—as the advocate of the older and reverential posture of kneeling at the Communion, which the hot-headed and fanatical party of extreme reform strangely deemed superstitious, and wished to do away with.

Of the divines and theologians who occupy a prominent place on the canvas of the historical painters of this important period of the six or seven years' reign of the boy-king Edward VI., first to take the leaders of the new learning—"the Reformation" divines. Of these, Cranmer and Ridley occupy so important a position that the other figures of the group are almost forgotten. We have already written of these two, and shall have again occasion to dwell upon them and their influence and character, when we come to the last sad scenes of their lives in the reign of Mary. Latimer, who perhaps occupied among the early Reformation leaders the third place, will also come before us once more in the Marian tragedy.

Of the others of this group, who are after all in the popular estimate little more than "names," Ponet, who followed Ridley as bishop of Rochester when Ridley was translated to the see of London, and who subsequently succeeded Gardiner at Winchester when that prelate was deprived, was a man of brilliant parts and of much general knowledge. At once a skilled mechanician and an accomplished linguist, he was also distinguished as an able

preacher. He was known also for his violence in polemical discussion. As a theologian he has gone down to posterity as the author of the short Catechism in Latin and English which was printed with the "Forty-two Articles" of 1552-1553 (the latter being the official date of their publication). This catechism was an able work in the form of a dialogue between a master and his scholar. It never appears, however, to have been widely circulated, and the king's death virtually closed its public history. Ponet, although he held such high office during a considerable part of the reign, cannot be said to have exercised a leading part in the Reformation, and—which was extremely rare among the personages who surrounded Cranmer—his character was not stainless, a grave charge of immorality being alleged against him. He was among the bishops deprived at the beginning of queen Mary's reign, and he then fled the country.

Miles Coverdale, somewhiles bishop of Exeter, must always be held in grateful remembrance among members of the Anglican communion for his work in connection with our versions of the Bible. First as a fellow-worker with Tyndale, and later as the coadjutor of Cranmer, for some twenty years he laboured incessantly on the Scriptures. He was the chief editor of the famous edition known as Cranmer's or the Great Bible. In 1551 he became bishop of Exeter, was deprived on the accession of Mary, and for two years languished in prison. Known rather as a scholar than as a Reformation divine, he was released, and resided at Geneva, resuming among the English congregation of exiles there his loved biblical labours. On the accession of Elizabeth, his views had become too much coloured with the opinions of the Genevan reformers for a bishop of an Anglican see, and for some time he discharged the humbler duties of rector of St. Magnus, London Bridge, dying in 1566.

Scory was Ridley's chaplain, and eminent as a preacher. He successively filled the sees of Rochester and Chichester. Under queen Mary he was deprived, and submitting also in the new state of things to be separated from his wife, we hear of him abroad as "superintendent" of the English congregation at Embden in East Friesland. In queen Elizabeth's reign he was one of the consecrating bishops of archbishop Parker.

Goodrich, bishop of Ely, is principally known as receiving the seals of chancellor on the disgrace of Rich in the year 1551, thus reviving once more the tradition of an ecclesiastical chancellor. He would doubtless have appeared on the roll of the prelates deprived under Mary, but death closed his life-story.

Barlow, bishop first of St. David's, then of Bath and Wells, was deprived and imprisoned under queen Mary. He was one of the consecrating bishops of archbishop Parker.

Taylor, dean and afterwards bishop of Lincoln, was deprived under Mary. He died in 1554.

Holbeach, bishop of Lincoln, once a Benedictine monk and prior of Worcester, was one of the most learned of the group of bishops; he died two years before the death of Edward VI.

Harley, bishop of Hereford, was deprived under Mary. He died in 1554.

Holgate was once master of the order of the Gilbertines. In the days of the great suppression he had easily consented to the surrender of the houses of his order, and his reward was the see of Llandaff in 1542. He married, and was in consequence especially an object of dislike to the Romish

MILES COVERDALE, BISHOP OF EXETER.
(*From an old print.*)

party. He had the reputation of being a wise and statesmanlike ecclesiastic. A year or two later he became the northern archbishop. Holgate, too, was deprived in 1554, and died in 1556.

Bird, bishop of Chester, in earlier years had been much employed by Henry VIII. in state business, and was a man of considerable learning; he was deprived in 1554, but on his abjuration and divorce from his wife, was befriended by Bonner, and appointed to the less influential office of a suffragan bishop.

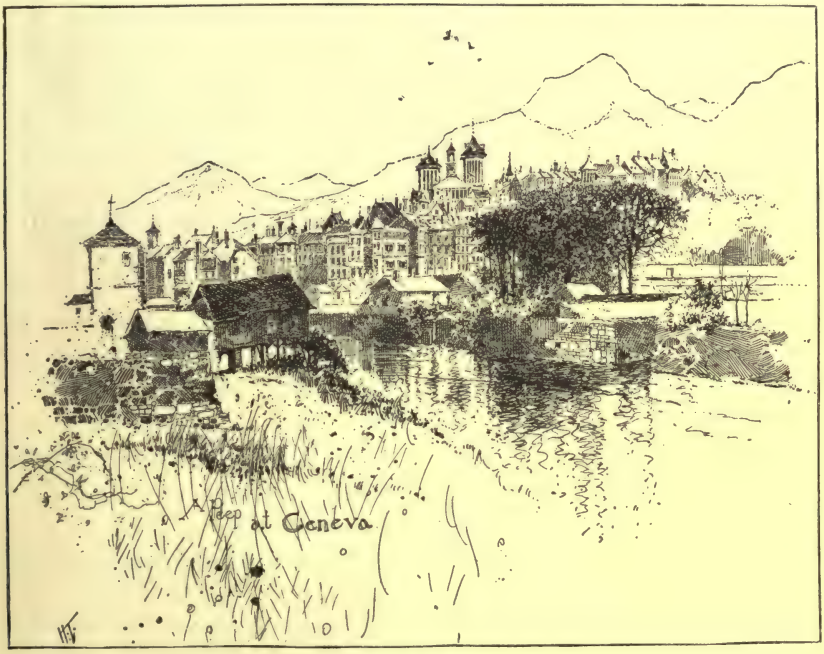
Bush, bishop of Bristol, resigned in 1554, and so evaded formal deprivation.

Thirlby, bishop of Westminster, then of Norwich, then of Ely, came to the front in the days of Henry VIII., and in the opinion of the king was "an inferior Gardiner." He was the first and only occupant of the newly-founded but soon suppressed see of Westminster. When that see was again merged in London, Thirlby was translated in the year 1550 to Norwich. As a sympathiser in the new learning, in spite of his lukewarmness in the progress of the Reformation, he was suffered to retain his see during the reign of Edward VI. Under Mary he became bishop of Ely, and was one of the judges at Cranmer's trial. He refused to take the oath of supremacy to Elizabeth.

These are the best known of the prelates of Edward's reign. We find some of their names among the lists of the ecclesiastics who assisted in the preparation of the "Reformatio Legum" and other formularies, but they are comparatively insignificant personages. The few really eminent men, who as reformers, or representatives of the new learning and its influences, took a prominent part in the events of this reign, were Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and John Knox, and the foreigners Bucer and Peter Martyr.

Among the men of the "old learning," still to use that well-known appellation, who with more or less vigour resolutely opposed the progress of the Reformation —after the foremost man of the party, Gardiner, the well-known bishop of

Winchester, who will come before us still more prominently in the next reign, and Bonner, who, as we shall see, subsequently won for himself an unenviable fame—ranks Cuthbert Tunstall, who, in earlier days as bishop of London, but better known as bishop of Durham, played a distinguished part in the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Mary. Archbishop Warham appointed him his vicar-general, and he rose rapidly to very high preferment in the church. His reputation for learning extended far beyond his native country, and he was favourably noticed by the great Erasmus. In the earlier years of his career as bishop he was regarded as the chief of the men of the "old learning." But his conspicuous moderation unfitted him for leadership in that stormy age, and he soon gave place to Gardiner. We read of him as endeavouring to suppress Tyndale's New Testament, "thinking it better," as Burnet says, "to burn the books of the heretics than the heretics themselves." In 1550, on a charge of misprision of treason, he was deprived of his see and committed to the Tower. By queen Mary he was restored to his bishopric, but his gentleness and moderation failed to commend him to her government. On the accession of Elizabeth he declined to take the oath of supremacy; but Tunstall really seems to have misliked other and impending doctrinal changes more than "the oath." He was committed to the gentle custody of archbishop Parker, and died at the advanced age of eighty-five in 1559, after a long and, on the whole, noble and blameless life.



GENEVA.

Heath, bishop of Rochester, then of Worcester, and afterwards archbishop of York and chancellor, a very learned and conscientious man, was reckoned as one of the moderate supporters of the old learning, and was only deprived of his see in 1551, when the influence of the extreme reformers swept away so many of the old landmarks. He was imprisoned by the council of Edward VI., but released and restored to his see on Mary's accession. Under queen Mary, Heath was translated to the archbishopric of York, and when Gardiner died he received the great seal as chancellor. Elizabeth retained him as a privy councillor for a time, and was reluctant to part with so good a man. He finally declined, however, to submit to the new order of things, was once more deprived, and suffered a long imprisonment in the Tower. He died in retirement in 1579, after a long and industrious life of seventy-nine years—much of it spent in positions of high dignity and great responsibility. He will ever be remembered as one of the most distinguished and noble representatives of the "old learning."

Day, bishop of Chichester, was not opposed to some of the earlier measures of reformation, and was one of the commission engaged in the compilation of the First Prayer-book of Edward VI., but was averse to the subsequent acts of the reforming party. When the directions were issued to destroy the altars in the churches, Day positively refused compliance. He was deprived in 1551, and imprisoned. Queen Mary at once freed him from confinement, and restored him to his see. He died in 1556.

The concluding events of Edward VI.'s reign are well known, and are described in the many histories of England. In his great zeal for the reformed religion he was persuaded by Dudley, duke of Northumberland, who was all-powerful in the regency government, to direct the succession so as to exclude his sisters. The dying king was, no doubt, intensely in earnest, and his whole thoughts were bent on securing the crown to one who would favour the progress of the reformed party, to which from his heart he was deeply attached. But with Northumberland it was different. It is difficult to credit this able but unprincipled statesman with any real concern for religion. His heart was apparently alone fixed on the permanent aggrandisement of himself and his family. The hurried marriage of his son, lord Guildford Dudley, with the lady Jane Grey, who after the daughters of Henry VIII. stood next in succession to the throne, tells us only too clearly what was in his mind.

We are, however, only specially concerned with archbishop Cranmer's part in the transaction, as the representative of the Church of England. That he had no confidential communication with Northumberland beforehand is clear. For a time he resolutely refused to sign with the council the fatal instrument altering the succession. Still, there is no doubt that he was influenced by well-founded apprehension that the accession of the princess Mary, who was a devoted and bigoted adherent to the old forms of religion, would be a fatal blow to the interests of that reformation which had been his life's work. And behind his well-grounded fears for the

reformed Church of England rose up in Cranmer's mind the dark shadow of the divorce of Mary's mother, and the shame and unmerited ignominy under which Katharine of Arragon closed her sad life. Of all the reformers in England, archbishop Cranmer, who had been so fatally involved in that long-past tragedy, had most to fear if Katharine's disinherited daughter became queen of England.

But though, in the strange device of Edward VI. to change the rightful succession, on the letters patent the name of Cranmer stands *first*, that signature was only written *after* all the others, judges, ministers of state, and great nobles, had appended their names. It was indeed a strange scene around the bedside of the dying boy. The judges and great lawyers were from the first most unwilling to sign such a document, being aware that if thus, at the bidding of a king little more than a child, under the influence of a minister personally interested in the question as was Northumberland, they sanctioned such a momentous change in the succession, they would be guilty of high treason. The first day witnessed their refusal; sent for again on the day following to the king's bedside, they were asked angrily why they had not prepared the letters patent. Reluctantly they yielded, but not before receiving in writing a pardon if their consent should later prove to have been a crime. All signed save Cranmer. He would not add his name, notwithstanding the urgent reasons he had for dreading the accession of Mary, even when he heard that the judges had acquiesced and consented to sign, till he had seen the dying Edward, who begged that he would not stand out alone against his royal will. Then he yielded. Others, when later they had to defend their action, pleaded mental reservation and some such excuse. But Cranmer was too noble to advance any such plea. He frankly said that when he signed at last, "he did it unfeignedly and without dissimulation." A few days later Edward expired, and lady Jane Grey became queen.

Some amazement has been expressed at the imperious and decided conduct of the young king on his death-bed, considering he was but a boy—not yet seventeen years old. But the circumstances of his life must be remembered. He was most precocious in intellect, and for some six years, since he had become king, he had been accustomed to the most slavish adulation. It has been well remarked, that under the elaborate system of the Tudor etiquette of his court, "he beheld the human race mostly in the act of genuflexion." Even his sisters Mary and Elizabeth fell on their knees whenever they spoke to him. What was evidently foremost in his thoughts when dying, was a passionate desire that the Reformation, as he understood it, should meet with no check in England. Hence his indignation with the judges who dared to cross his will, and his vehement entreaties to his old friend Cranmer not to hinder his purpose.

CHAPTER LI.

MARY AND THE ROMAN REACTION.

Mary's devotion to Romanism—Disputes about her private Mass—Popular Revolt against the Dudley Plot, and Accession of Mary—Restoration of the Mass—Changes in the Episcopate—Protest and Arrest of Cranmer—Breaches of the existing Law by the Queen's Command—Her Coronation—Reversal by Parliament of recent Ecclesiastical Legislation—and by Convocation—Great Protestant Reaction caused by the Excesses and Cruelties of Mary—Reasons for Unpopularity of the Reformers—Impetus given by Mary to the Reformation Cause—Its Chief Elements.

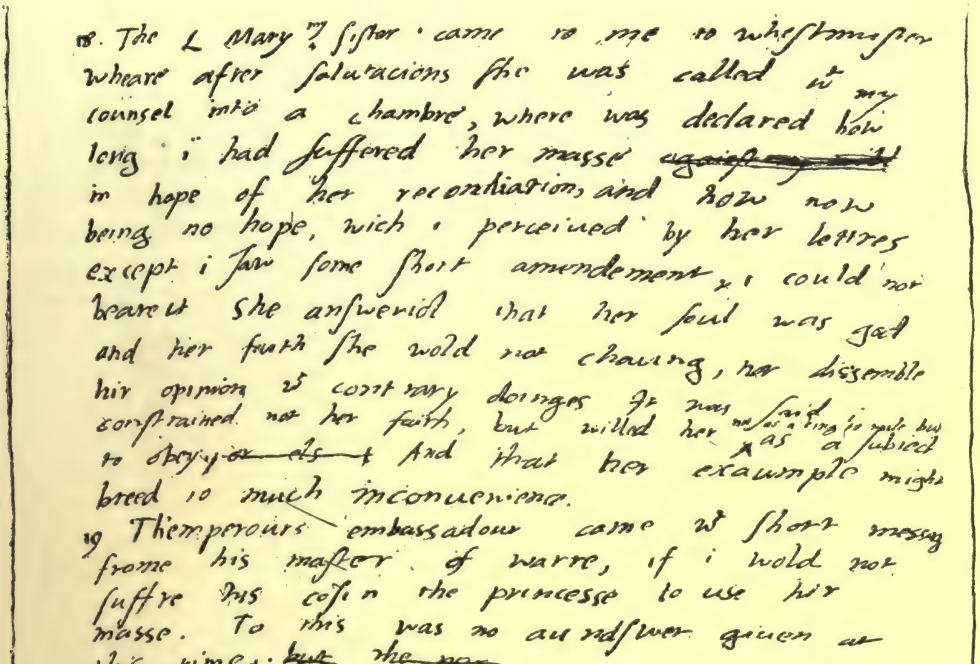
THE dread of the dying boy-king that the accession of his sister Mary would work unknown evil to the Reformation cause he loved so well, was well founded. All through his six years' reign his sister's devotion to the old forms of religion had disturbed him, and her determination to have nothing to do with the new reformed services, but to maintain in her own household the ancient mediæval mass, several times threatened seriously to embroil England in a war with Mary's mighty relative, the emperor Charles V.

Mary's fervid attachment to the old form of religion was no mere political predilection. She was descended from a stock, and belonged to a family, whose devotion to the mediæval rites—which we will now term Romanism, though it meant far more than merely an acknowledgment of the papal supremacy—was a passion, and was the guiding principle of Philip II., son of the emperor Charles V., in all his tortuous policy. Her hereditary attachment to "Romanism" was fanned into a steady flame of intense devotion by the sight of her mother's misfortunes, and she regarded the Reformation as the principal cause of all her troubles, of the cruel divorce, and of her own pretended stain of illegitimacy. From her childhood she hated the reformers, of all schools, with an intense hate. They were in her eyes not merely bitterly hostile to what she had been trained from her child-days to regard as the truth; they were besides her own personal, irreconcilable foes.

As early as 1549 troubles began, as to her right to hear mass in her own household. The mass was forbidden to be celebrated before her now that Parliament had confirmed the English service. Mary insisted on its continuance in her own household, expostulating in plain terms with the council of the Protector. "I see men," she said, "whom my father (Henry VIII.) made from nothing, take usurped power on them. They have broken his will and made laws contrary to it, contrary to the customs of all Christendom, contrary to the law of God and His church." Such language was not calculated to conciliate; and an attempt was made to connect her with the popular risings in the west and east of England. She disclaimed all such complicity, and for a time was suffered to have the service she claimed in her own private chamber.

We hear again of the troubles occasioned by the vexed question of the lady Mary's

mass in 1550. A story, probably true, is told that the boy-king, when advised for state reasons—the state reasons being the foreign complications which were likely to arise from the displeasure of the emperor Charles V. at hearing that his kinswoman Mary was affronted and persecuted in the matter of her attachment to the old forms of religion—to permit Mary to have the mass in her own house if she desired it, wept and sobbed at the thought of sanctioning what he felt was against the truth. Cranmer and Ridley, when the young king left the room, wept too at the memory of the strange scene, and said to Cheke, Edward's tutor, "Oh, Cheke, be glad of such a scholar, which hath more divinity in his little finger than we in all our bodies."



8. The L Mary my sister came to me to whestmynster
where after salutacions she was called in my
counsel into a chambre, where was declared how
long I had suffered her masse against my will
in hope of her reconciliation, and how now
being no hope, wich I perceived by her letters
except I saw some short amendement, I could not
beare it She answeried that her soul was safe
and her faith she wold not chaung, nor dissemble
hir opinion is contrary doinges. It was said
constrained not her faith, but willed her as a king is not bound
to obey [illegible] And that her exaumple might
breed so much inconvenience.
9 The emperours embassadour came with short message
from his master of warre, if I wold not
suffre his cosin the princesse to use hir
masse. To this was no answer given at
this time, but the not
20. The bis. of Caunterbury, London, and Rochester
did conclude to give licence to sinne was sinne,
to suffre and winke at it for a time, might
be borne, so al hast possible might be
used

PAGE OF KING EDWARD VI.'S DIARY, CONTAINING REFERENCES TO THE DISPUTE WITH PRINCESS MARY ABOUT HER MASS. (*British Museum.*)

The painful dispute gathered fresh force as the Reformation advanced in England.

The emperor personally remonstrated in strong terms, while Edward VI. looked upon it as a matter of conscience to prevent a service being held which he deemed sinful. In 1551 the matter became one of state importance. Charles V. even threatened war if his kinswoman was further insulted. Edward, however, remained obdurate, and the mass was forbidden. In spite of the royal command, however, it was suspected that the illegal service was still celebrated before the princess in private. Mary, in the year 1551, spoke thus to the royal council: "I am his Majesty's faithful subject and poor sister, ready in all things to obey his laws, but rather than use any other service than was used at the death of the late king, my father [the mass was then used], I will lay my head on a block and suffer death." Such was the princess whom Edward, with his intense convictions in favour of the Reformation, with good reason dreaded to think of as his successor on the throne.

But all the elaborate pile of intrigue built up round the bedside of the dying boy, firmly cemented, as it seemed at the time, by the intense conviction of the king that the succession of his sister Mary to the throne he was vacating, would work unknown evil to the Reformation cause in England, fell to pieces almost at once like a house of cards. Never was so rapid, so complete a ruin as that of the cause of Northumberland and his friends. In the lady Jane Grey the party of the Reformation had an almost ideal candidate for the crown. Her extreme youth—she was nearly of the same age as Edward VI.—was the only point that could be alleged against her. Her natural abilities were very conspicuous. She had at that early age acquired an amount of learning rarely possessed even by mature scholars of the first rank. At fifteen she was busily engaged in Hebrew studies, she could already read and even write Greek, and in Latin she could write with ease and freedom. Her piety was real, simple, unfeigned. She had no ambition, although she must have been fully conscious of her undoubted nearness to the crown. Edward's health had long been very precarious, and upon his sisters Mary and Elizabeth the official stain of illegitimacy, in spite of Henry VIII.'s will, rested; while on the royal descent of the lady Jane, the grand-daughter of Henry's sister Mary, rested absolutely no suspicion or doubt.

But she had been persuaded into a marriage with Guildford Dudley, the petulant and self-seeking son of a self-seeking, ambitious father; and the dark shadow of the general hatred and distrust which was the deserved guerdon of Northumberland, fell upon Northumberland's gifted and ill-fated daughter-in-law. Brilliant, pure, devoted, as confessedly was the lady Jane Grey, from the moment of Edward's death she was regarded by every serious man in England as simply the instrument of the unprincipled statesman who evidently intended to use her for the purposes of his own selfish aggrandisement. In England patriotism has ever been the powerful factor in all the great crises of the nation; and the thoughtful and earnest among the reformers, although they were conscious of the extreme danger to their cause which the accession of Mary threatened, were equally conscious that no permanent good could result to true

religion if the destinies of England were entrusted to the Dudleys and Northumberland.

Hence the rapid collapse of the Dudley plot. On July 8th, 1553, Northumberland and the lords of the council saluted the lady Jane as queen. On the 19th of the same month all was over, and queen Jane's father, the duke of Suffolk, convinced of the hopelessness of her cause, with his own hands hysterically tore down the canopy under which his daughter was sitting in royal state in the Tower, telling her she was no longer queen, and that such distinctions were not for one of her station. The quiet, simple girl-queen heard his passionate words unmoved, and asked if she might leave the Tower and its royal state for her old home. The Tower of London, however, as the poor ten-days' queen sadly found, was a prison as well as a palace.

The rapid change that in ten or eleven days had passed over queen Jane's fortunes, and which temporarily stayed the progress of the Reformation, came about in a manner we need state but briefly, as the story has been so often told. The intelligence of the king's death was quickly conveyed to Mary, who without an hour's delay quitted her home at Hunsdon in Hertfordshire, and fled northwards into Norfolk, where for a season she would be in security and among faithful friends. It was time; for only a few hours after her flight the Dudleys came to secure her person; but Mary was already far away. Very quickly round her gathered a group of nobles and other influential persons, who sympathised with her in religious matters; and more who were gravely dissatisfied with Northumberland's well-known pretensions and boundless ambition. From the first London, though overawed by the presence of the Dudleys and their armed retainers, was hostile to the new arrangement, which so arbitrarily altered the succession. Mary, from her Norfolk headquarters, at once put out an able proclamation in the form of a letter to the council, requiring them to immediately proclaim her accession. In the council there was much wavering; intense dislike and jealousy of Northumberland helping to forward Mary's cause. Treachery was in the air. Northumberland could trust no one; so at once, mindful of his old soldierly instincts, he put himself at the head of a hastily gathered force, and marched to Norfolk to disperse the little army which was rapidly gathering round Mary. But it was of no avail; the feeling of England was against him. His own troops were disaffected, and mutinied in favour of Mary. The council in his absence—they said to avoid a civil war—decided to restore the crown to its lawful owner, and ranged themselves with the citizens of London on the side of Mary. Northumberland returned to London a prisoner closely guarded. The ten days' reign of the lady Jane Grey was over, and Mary was generally acknowledged queen.

Cranmer and Ridley, the real chiefs of the English Reformation, were deeply involved in the matter of the substitution of the lady Jane for Mary. Cranmer's name stood at the head of the fatal letters-patent, and of other public declarations of Northumberland. His reluctance at first has been related; but when once he had signed, we hear of no flinching. Ridley, on one of the two Sundays of queen Jane's reign, preached by order of the council a

sermon at Paul's Cross, which was never forgiven him. In it he made personal allusion to Mary. "There was no hope," he said, "to be conceived but that she would disturb and destroy all that which with such great labour had been settled in the reign of her brother."

On the 3rd of August, 1553, Mary entered London in great state amid loud rejoicings, her sister Elizabeth accompanying her. The scene at the Tower must have been a striking one, when she kissed the group of distinguished captives who were languishing there. "These are my prisoners," she said with the matchless Tudor grace which ever stormed men's hearts. The bishops of the old learning were freed and restored to their forfeited dignities—Gardiner, Bonner, Heath, Day, and Tunstall,* Tunstall being released from the prison of the King's Bench, Bonner from the Marshalsea ; the other three were among the Tower captives. Great leniency was shown to the political offenders, and only three of the chiefs were put to death. Of these, of course, Northumberland was one. The behaviour of the brilliant but worthless leader of the movement to set aside Mary and Elizabeth in favour of lady Jane Grey, during his last days on earth, brought dishonour upon the reformers whose views he professed to share. In a fine passage Froude well describes his state of mind after his condemnation, and gently suggests that the duke of Northumberland's famous apostasy was perhaps determined by nobler motives than the forlorn hope of purchasing life by thus abjuring the principles of the Reformation, and so gaining Mary's favour and pardon. "He had affected religion, talked about religion, played with religion, till fools and flatterers had told him he was a saint; and now in his extreme need he found that he had trifled with forms and words till they had grown into a hideous hypocrisy. The infinity of death was opening at his feet, and he had no faith, no hope, no conviction, but only a blank and awful horror, and perhaps he felt that there was nothing left him but to fling himself back in agony into the open arms of superstition. He asked for a confessor."* Gardiner visited him in his prison in the Tower. Northumberland very earnestly prayed for his influence to save him from the death he so dreaded. But though the now powerful prelate interceded, the intercession was of no avail. The sin in his case had been too great to be pardoned. Before his execution, which has been already related, he heard mass and made a public profession of his reception of the pre-Reformation tenets.

This was in the August of the same year. The public death and apostasy of the self-constituted leader and champion of the reformers, of course, produced a sad impression on the public mind ; and, amazing to relate, almost without protest, the restoration of the old Latin mass was effected in St. Paul's and in other important centres. The great crucifix was replaced in the rood-loft ; the altar was replaced and adorned as in old times ; the old forbidden doctrines were preached ; and scarcely a murmur was heard !

A very few weeks before the great change passed over the country, the funeral rites of the dead Edward VI., after

* Short sketches of each of these prelates have been already given.

* "History of England," vol. vi., chap. xxx.

some delay, were performed in Westminster Abbey by Cranmer according to the English Book of Prayer, Gardiner at the same time, in the presence of the queen and council, performing a mass of requiem in the Tower. Mary would not have permitted Cranmer to have used the reformed rite, had it not been for the persuasion of the Spanish ambassador, Renard, in whose judgment Mary placed the fullest confidence. "Edward," urged the Spanish statesman, "as a heretic, should have a heretic's funeral." This was the last public function at which Cranmer presided. It must have been a sorrowful day for the great archbishop, when he laid his old master's son to rest in the stately abbey amongst his royal ancestors. A forlorn spectacle indeed, for with Edward were buried, so far as man could see, the hopes of Cranmer's life. The Reformation work would soon be destroyed; the yoke of Rome would be again welcomed in England; the old mediæval superstitions, gradually swept away with so much pains and trouble, would once more be allowed to mar and to disfigure religion. Cranmer at this time might easily have escaped, as did many others, to foreign lands, but the old man disdained to fly; he would tarry

LADY JANE GREY REFUSING TO ACCEPT THE CROWN.
(From the picture by C. R. Leslie, R.A., by permission of the Duke of Bedford.)

here and see the end. Alas! it soon came.

Events moved during the first months of Mary's reign with extraordinary rapidity. The ease with which the formidable power of Northumberland was crushed, the enthusiastic reception which Mary met with when she came to London, the apparently unanimous welcome of her government in the country generally, the prompt and public recantation of all the Reformation doctrines by the great leader himself before he expiated his offences against Mary on the block, no doubt contributed to mislead the queen as to the real strength of the Reformation in England. We hear of warnings addressed to her by the wiser and more far-seeing politicians of the friendly cabinet of her kinsman, the emperor Charles V. It is clear, too, that her ablest counsellor, Gardiner, whom she speedily restored to his see of Winchester, and to whom she entrusted the seals of the chancellor, intensely as he was opposed to the Reformation, would have advocated far greater moderation as the policy of the now dominant party; but he was overruled. The emperor Charles himself, with great wisdom, urged her not to be hasty at the beginning in altering what she might find amiss; she should be conciliatory, waiting for the determination of Parliament, and making at first no edicts contrary to those which were established in the realm.

But the queen was obstinate. Intensely in earnest herself, in matters connected with religion she could brook no delay. In direct opposition to what was the law in the land, in the very first months of Mary's reign the Latin mass and services were publicly restored in many of the London churches, in the universities, in several at least of the cathedrals in various parts of the country; and mostly, as we have remarked, without any serious opposition. Even in Rome this rapid and precipitate action was viewed with grave mistrust and some dislike. It was deemed premature. A public reconciliation with the Pope ought to have preceded the formal restoration of the Latin rites; for England, it must be remembered, was under a solemn interdict, and the wiser and more far-seeing of the Roman doctors feared that a reaction might speedily sweep away Mary's hasty work. Mary, however, was not to be stayed. A royal proclamation was issued, forbidding all preaching save by persons specially licensed by the queen herself. At first this was limited to London, then to the diocese of Norwich, where the Reformation feeling was very strong; but almost immediately afterwards this proclamation, forbidding preaching or reading and interpreting the Scriptures save by licensed preachers, was extended to the whole kingdom.

Some at least of these stern reactionary measures were in certain cases set at naught, and a few arrests were made in consequence. Among the arrested was Latimer. He might have escaped from the country; but Latimer's was no craven spirit. He, like Cranmer, disdained to fly; he would die, if needs be, for his faith. The council committed him to the Tower. In the meantime the deprived bishops—Gardiner (Winchester), Bonner (London), Voysey (Exeter), Heath (Worcester), Day (Chichester)—were reinstated in their sees in the place of Ponet, Ridley, Coverdale, Hooper, and Scory.

Other important changes in the Edwardian episcopate soon followed. They may be thus shortly summarised :—Paul Bush, to avoid deprivation, resigned the see of Bristol. Hooper, who held the sees of Worcester and Gloucester, was quickly ejected from the former by the restoration of Heath, and subsequently from the latter on charge of heresy. Ferrars, of St. David's, who under some obscure charges had been imprisoned by the late government, was now formally deprived. Bird, who was married, was ejected from Chester, and Holgate from the arch-see of York.

For the first three or four months of Mary's reign the chief Reformation theologian, Cranmer, was left unmolested, but unforgiven, at Lambeth. He had many powerful friends. It was even meditated that some gentleness might be used towards this eminent and widely-loved man. His conduct in the matter of Northumberland's "letters-patent," altering the succession, was well known ; how intensely he had disliked the "device" of the dying king, and how only at last, under the pressure of Edward's own personal entreaties, he had yielded. It was, too, no doubt considered by Gardiner and the wiser heads among Mary's counsellors that if Cranmer as archbishop quietly submitted to the changes and then resigned, leniency in the form of a pension and an honourable retirement would well serve the cause of the Roman party. It would be a disheartening example to the earnest lovers of the Reformation—such an ignoble end for the famous Reformation archbishop. So Cranmer was left in peace for several months, while in his own cathedral of Canterbury the mass was set up again by the vice-dean, a former monk, in the absence of the dean.

Men marvelled whether the great archbishop could see this change unmoved. They only marvelled a short space ; when from the quiet study of Lambeth issued such a manifesto, in the form of a declaration from Cranmer, that the party of Mary at once saw they had to reckon with a powerful and determined adversary indeed. Very stern were the words the archbishop used, and showed that he was the uncompromising foe of the new reactionary policy of Mary. He thus wrote : "I never set up the mass again in Canterbury. It was done by a false, flattering, lying monk. The noble Henry reformed some things in the Latin mass ; the late Edward took the whole of it away for the manifold errors and abuses thereof, and restored Christ's Holy Supper according to His institution. But the Devil is now going about to overthrow the Lord's Holy Supper and restore the Latin satisfactory masses. And some have herein abused the name of me, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury ; wherefore this is to signify to the world that it was not I that set up the mass in Canterbury, but that monk with a dozen of his adherents. The Lord reward him in the day of judgment."

In counsel with Peter Martyr, who arrived from Oxford, where his work was now over and done, he added to the above a formidable challenge : "He, Cranmer, along with Peter Martyr and four or five more reformers, were ready to defend the common prayers of the churches, ministration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies ; were ready to show that

all the doctrine and religion put out by Edward VI. was more pure and according to God's Word than any that had been used in England these thousand years. Let God's Word be the judge." This and more, embodied in the formidable declaration, though not printed, was circulated so generally in manuscript through London, "that the press," said Renard, the Spanish ambassador, "would not have sent out more."

When Cranmer put this forth, he was well aware that his life must pay the forfeit. At once the archbishop was summoned to the council. He withdrew none of the above strong and noble words, and was at once committed to the Tower, where, in company with his old friends Ridley and Latimer, he waited the sure guerdon of his brave protest. Peter Martyr was allowed to leave the kingdom.

Upon queen Mary, flushed with her undreamed-of success, and preparing fresh measures for the destruction of the Reformation, many great and difficult questions began to press for a speedy settlement. In the church, what action was to be taken with the married clergy? What, if any, restitution was to be made to the church of all the broad lands and possessions of which it had been deprived by successive acts of her father and brother? What steps were to be taken for the succession to the crown? for only her frail life stood between the succession of the Protestant princess Elizabeth to the throne, and the undoing of all her present work. Should she not at once marry and give an heir to the throne, who would carry on the work which was next her heart? If so, whom should she take as a husband? And, lastly, who was to be the successor of Cranmer, the reformer, in the arch-see of Canterbury, with all its boundless influence?

On the first of these great state questions her mind was made up; but the change would be a hazardous and dangerous experiment, of enforcing celibacy upon a large and influential body of Anglican clergy. The restitution of the spoils, earnestly desired by Mary, would seriously affect and probably alienate many of the greatest and most powerful of the nobles and gentry. Her marriage was a singularly vexed and confused question. Her Spanish kinsfolk and friends—and Mary ever listened with preference to their advice—strongly pressed on her the desirability of an alliance with Philip of Spain, son and heir of the emperor Charles V. Others even suggested cardinal Pole as a possible candidate for her hand, Pole being only as yet in minor orders. It is not, however, probable that Pole was ever seriously thought of. In England the thought of the Spanish marriage was generally most distasteful. Such an alliance, all true lovers of England felt, would go far to destroy the independence of their country, and would not improbably reduce it, at all events for a time, into the condition of a province of the vast Spanish dominions, like the Low Countries. Courtenay, afterwards earl of Devon, the English candidate for the queen's hand, was of the blood of the Plantagenets, and was popular among the people; but this alliance seems ever to have been distasteful to the queen. The succession to Cranmer's arch-see was an anxious question. Gardiner, the chancellor, with

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his undoubted talents, his high reputation, and his splendid record of suffering endured for the cause, seemed naturally designated for the primacy; but here again Mary's personal predilection pointed to another person, for Gardiner, though bigoted and earnest, was too patriotic an Englishman to satisfy the queen and her Spanish friends; so his hopes were doomed to be disappointed. Besides all these confused and complicated interests, the presence of her sister Elizabeth, already popular and ever loved among the people, the hope from the first days of Mary's reign of the English reformers, was a standing menace and even a positive danger to queen Mary and her projects.

The temper of the new rule was quickly shown in the measures taken for breaking up the foreign congregations established in England, notably the one under the superintendence of the extreme reformer, Alasco, in London, and the congregation of Flemings formed at Glastonbury. These and others were obliged to seek a new refuge on the Continent.

On October 1st, 1553, Mary was crowned at Westminster with much stately ceremony. It was noticeable that the old Latin rites, although contrary to the law of the land, were used on this occasion. A few days later met the first Parliament of her reign. Again the law was broken, for the old mass of the Holy Ghost was celebrated solemnly before the two Houses. By this Parliament, however, an act was speedily passed repealing all the statutes of Edward VI., nine in number, regarding religion. The contents of this drastic act, which virtually broke up the Reformation work as far as Parliament could do it, were indicated by the words of the preamble, which spoke of the "divine service and good administration of the sacraments." Thus the following Edwardian acts were formally repealed:—The Act for receiving in both kinds; the Act for the election of bishops; the two Acts which abrogated the laws against the marriage of priests; the Acts for putting away the old service-books and images; the two Acts of Uniformity, which established the First and Second Prayer-books of Edward VI.; the Act which among other things dealt with holy days and fasting days. The divine service as used in the last year of king Henry VIII. was ordered to be re-introduced, thus restoring the Latin use. Nothing, however, was said in this great act respecting the Roman obedience, and no pains or penalties which would follow non-observance of its decree were mentioned.

While Parliament was sitting, at a state trial at the Guildhall, archbishop Cranmer, the lady Jane Grey, her husband, lord Guildford Dudley, and his two brothers Ambrose and Henry, were found guilty of high treason and sentenced to die. None of these death-sentences were, however, immediately carried out. Mary wished to spare her fallen rival, the lady Jane Grey, and hesitated before even sending the three Dudleys to the block. Cranmer, whose death was certainly resolved on, was spared for a time for a singular reason. The reformer archbishop, it will be remembered, had in the days of Henry VIII. received the pallium from Rome, and, according to the old Roman rule, was amenable to no mere secular tribunal. As

will be seen, neither the queen nor Rome ever dreamed of eventually sparing that great life, but for the moment he was safe.

In conjunction with this Parliament met the Convocation of Canterbury. The prolocutor chosen by the lower House was Weston, the new dean of Westminster, a fervid supporter of the new state of things. His words at the opening were remarkable as expressing the views and feelings of that party of the clergy who were opposed to the Reformation. "The queen," he said, "has called together so many Athanasiuses from all parts of the kingdom, who may mend the Catholic faith, in miserable manner rent and torn; so many imprisoned Chrysostoms among the bishops has she rescued from their bonds for this. Noble sufferers, it is your work to rebuild the walls which the heretics have broken down. . . . There is one thing on which we may congratulate ourselves. That blasphemous and erroneous book, which they call the Book of Common Prayer, never passed our Houses."

The prolocutor then proceeded to invite the lower House to debate on matters of religion, and, producing the volume which contained the forty-two Articles of Religion and the short catechism of Ponet, which he characterised as "that pestiferous and heretical book put out without your consent," desired that the House should first debate the articles of the catechism concerning the sacrament of the altar. He added that the Book of Common Prayer was also "very abominable." The House, as may be supposed, under the now dominant influence was mainly composed of men devoted to the anti-Reformation policy; but it contained a small fraction of reformers. It must have been a stout-hearted little band who were bold enough to confront the now triumphant reactionary party at such a moment. The reformers spoke gallantly and temperately, but the result was, of course, at such a time a foregone conclusion. The majority in favour of the anti-Reformation was very large; it numbered three hundred and fifty against eighty. The mass was restored, and celibacy was once more enjoined upon the clergy of England.

In the upper House four articles were passed treating of the great subject in dispute. They may be summarised:—"For communion in one kind; for transubstantiation; for the adoration and reservation of the Eucharist; and concerning the substance of the Eucharist—the institution and intention." This important Convocation, which for a time virtually destroyed the Reformation so far as official acts could do so, was dissolved by queen Mary on December 13, 1553. From the 20th of that same December it was forbidden that the service and communion should be celebrated in English in any part of the kingdom. Married priests were also no longer to officiate. The Latin service was to be universally used. Altars were to be set up again, and the ancient ceremonies of the mediæval church, which had been abolished, were to be restored.

In a little more than six months after Edward VI. had breathed his last, this tremendous change had passed over England. As yet, however, nothing had been done towards bringing back the Roman obedience. All things were, however, now ready for this crowning act of the great religious revolution. "An absolute

retrogression, doing away the work of a quarter of a century, was about to be attempted, as if there had been no Reformation, as if the mighty revolution, whose furrows ridged every field, had been a dream, to vanish without trace. This attempt to obliterate the past, which is without parallel in history, gives a melancholy fascination to the name of the only ruler who ever essayed so impossible a task: nor would Mary have ventured on it, if from the beginning she had not been listening to foreign voices."*

To assert, as some of our most thoughtful writers on the Reformation in England have done, that without queen Mary and the policy of her reign, the Reformation in England would have been impossible, or at least long delayed, appears to be a paradox; and yet, when the startling statement is fairly examined, it will be found to be strictly accurate.

When Mary ascended the throne, her popularity among her subjects was enormous. The English have ever been at heart a devotedly loyal nation, and Mary was acknowledged by all ranks and orders in the realm as the lawful heiress of the crown. The undeserved woes of her mother Katharine of Arragon—woes in which her daughter and only child had long shared—appealed to the chivalry of the people. There was much, too, in the character of the blameless solitary princess, which, before the sad policy of her rule had alienated from her the heart of her people, attracted to her, if not universal love, certainly the general respect of the majority of more serious Englishmen. Stainlessly pure, intensely in earnest, fervidly religious, there was much in Mary's character that gave fair promise of a noble reign. And yet, after five unhappy years she closed her life and reign amidst the general execration of the nation, which had so rapturously welcomed her accession.

The government during her brother's reign, lasting between five and six years, had been in the hands mainly of political adventurers—of men who had been usually content to seek their own self-aggrandisement rather than the good of the nation. Things had gone ill with England, from the day when the sceptre fell from the strong hands of Henry VIII. Home matters and foreign affairs had been equally mismanaged. Somerset, the young king's uncle, in spite of his many errors and fatal mistakes, had enjoyed a certain popularity; but Somerset had perished on the block, mainly as the result of the intrigues of factions, and his successor to the chief place in the regency was a man who was generally mistrusted, and by many hated.

The reformers, who during the years of Edward VI.'s reign had had their own way in religious matters, had also failed to carry with them the people. A large number of these were still devotedly attached to the old forms and rites and ceremonies. These became more precious and valued when they were violently superseded; while the wanton excesses of

* Canon Dixon: "History of the Church of England," chap. xxii. The writer of this necessarily brief summary of the Edwardian work and the Marian reaction desires to express his deep sense of the conspicuous fairness of Canon Dixon's exhaustive and scholarly History of this period, of which he has ventured largely to avail himself in the short *précis* of the Formularies of Edward VI.

THE NORMAN TOWER AND NORTH TRANSEPT
WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

the extremists among the reformers had alienated and even disgusted many serious persons, who were really anxious for a reformation of the crying abuses which disfigured alike church practices and church life. The destruction of the monasteries and the confiscation of their property, the shameful desecration of altar and shrine, the pillage of so many churches, had excited a burning indignation in the minds of not a few even of those well disposed to the English services, and who joyfully welcomed the English Bible and the beautiful liturgy in the vernacular, who rejoiced at the abrogation of mediæval superstitious ceremonies, and who accepted with real joy the restoration of a truer interpretation of the most sacred rites of the church. The real benefits which the Reformation had conferred on the people, were by many forgotten in the disgraceful excesses which, alas! accompanied the efforts of the reformers, and which were multiplied as time advanced. Indeed, it is not too much to say that when Mary, amid the joyous acclamations of the nation, became queen, the Reformation and its chiefs were positively unpopular among many, only coldly viewed by others, and even hated by a powerful and numerous section of Englishmen.

But this widely-spread feeling of love and loyalty to the queen, was changed, long before her short reign of five years came to an end, into bitter hate; such hate as no sovereign of England, not even such

a king as John, had righteously earned by his misdeeds. Surrounded by a group of advisers drawn from the party in England who disliked with a blind dislike every innovation in matters of religion; urged on by Spaniards and foreign counsellors, to whom the very name of the Reformation was accursed; dominated by the influence of cardinal Pole, the pure and saintly Romish bigot, who knew nothing of the English temper and the English mind; for the last four years of her reign queen Mary set on foot, and with all the powers of the state continued, the most deadly persecution ever witnessed in this land. In this short space of time three hundred persons were positively burnt at the stake for their religious opinions, while at least another hundred, says Lord Burleigh, were lamentably destroyed by hard treatment in prison and in other ways. All this went home to the English heart; it has never been forgotten; has for ever associated the old forms of religion—Romanism, as it is popularly called—with the idea of bitter, relentless persecution; and has thus invested the Reformation doctrines and practices with a halo of estimation, even of veneration, in the minds of Englishmen, which these doctrines and practices never possessed before. "The ruthless plundering of the monasteries, the desecration of altars and shrines, the sad spectacle of ruined abbey and desolated church, were all effectually veiled by the smoke which went up to heaven from the three hundred Marian burnings."

Then, too, the martyrs of the reforming party were not only made up of the poor rank and file who perished so patiently and so bravely in those cruel flames, but the famous chiefs of the great movement acquired through their sufferings, nobly borne for the sake of the truth they professed, a new position in the eyes of the people. Leading reformers such as Ridley and Latimer, Hooper and Ferrars, spoke from their prison rooms in the Tower, at Oxford, or at Gloucester, with a power and authority which their words or writings had never possessed before. The spectacle of Cranmer's right arm withering in the fire at Oxford, impressed England in a way which the great archbishop had failed to do when he counselled Henry VIII., or presided over the Windsor divines, or guided the childhood of Edward VI. Men felt—many for the first time—how *real* must be the faith which nerved these illustrious leaders to endure such torments for the principles they had spent so many years in pressing home to England.

Thus it came to pass, strangely enough, that Mary, and the men who surrounded Mary during her five years' reign—Philip the king and Renard the ambassador, Gardiner and Bonner the bishops, and, chiefest of all, Mary's dearest friend, Pole—in these five short years gave a new colour altogether to the Reformation. The great religious movement was seen in quite a new aspect in the homes and hearts of the English people. In the year 1553 the issue of the tremendous religious struggle in our island was doubtful. Before the year 1558 had run its course, the cause of the Reformation was virtually won in England.

Looking closer into the circumstances under which this strange change in public opinion in England was brought about, we see three distinct acts of disastrous policy,

deliberately planned and carried out by queen Mary herself. In the first, the Spanish marriage, she was largely influenced by the advice and persuasions of her maternal kinsman, the emperor Charles V., to whom she was especially attached. Gratitude and real affection, perhaps even more than the glitter of the grandest match in the world, determined Mary to choose the great Emperor's heir as her husband. But the marriage was in every respect hateful to the English people. Foreign influences—we see it again and again in our island story — were ever peculiarly mistrusted by England; and the very splendour and power of Philip, which evidently dazzled and attracted the queen, contributed to the intense dislike with which the great Spanish alliance was viewed. From the day of the Spanish marriage, Mary's popularity among her subjects began to wane. Every act of her government was viewed as an act of Spanish and foreign policy, and in consequence was misliked and mistrusted.

The second of the great acts of policy which distinguished her reign was the reconciliation with Rome. This likewise was opposed to English feeling. Nothing in the Reformation work of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. had so commended itself to the popular mind, as the severance from Rome. Long before the Reformation, the bonds of Rome had been felt peculiarly galling and humiliating. The nobler and more patriotic even among Mary's ministers and advisers felt this deeply, notably Gardiner of Winchester, the chancellor. His conversion to his royal mistress's views in this matter was tardy, and even reluctant. She was only backed up in her purpose by her new Spanish connections; who, however, though they eventually co-operated with her in the reconciliation work, saw, and from the first dreaded the consequences of the act.

The third of the great acts of Marian policy was the attitude of her government, after the reconciliation with Rome, towards the more earnest spirits of the Reformed party. During the last three or four years of her life and reign this attitude was one of bitter, relentless, cruel persecution—a persecution which showed of what stuff the real Reformers were composed. The burnings of the so-called heretics in Oxford and at Smithfield, under the shadow of cathedrals such as Canterbury and Norwich, became a great "object lesson" to the English people, and showed the Reformers in a new light. The sordid and covetous aspect which hitherto had dominated and coloured so much of the great Reformation movement, was forgotten in the splendid heroism of the martyrs, who chose voluntarily to die the most painful of deaths rather than give up what they felt to be the truth.

The story of the utter failure of the mediæval reaction under queen Mary, will be best told by painting a word-picture of each of these three acts of Marian policy. (1) The Spanish marriage. (2) The reconciliation with Rome. (3) The persecution of the Reformers.

CHAPTER LII.

THE SPANISH MARRIAGE, AND THE RECONCILIATION WITH ROME.

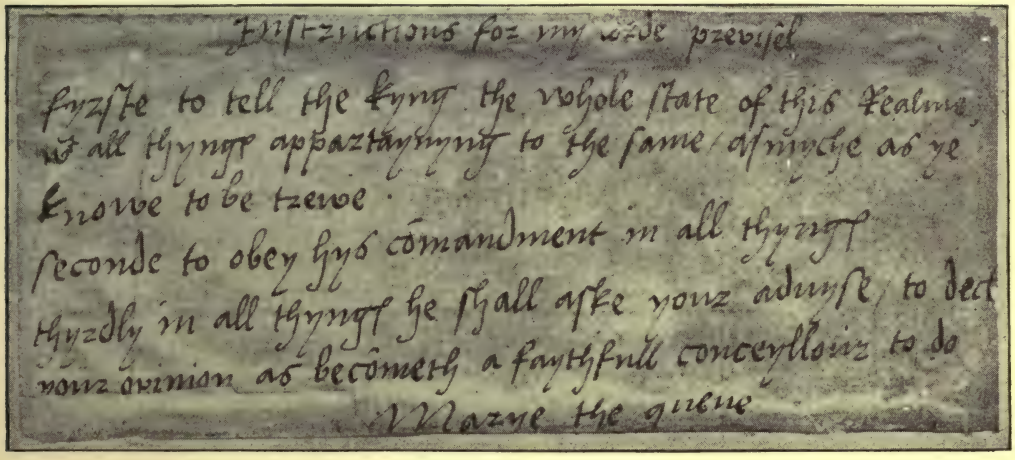
Reasons for Mary's Marriage with Philip of Spain—Its Unpopularity—Fatal Influence on her Religious Policy—Its Disastrous Results—Gardiner's Efforts against Spanish Influence—Cardinal Pole—Delays in his Reception—Dispensation for the Confiscated Monastic Property—Pole's Arrival in England—Meeting with the Parliament—The Parliamentary Petition—The Reconciliation and Absolution—The Reaction in England—Pole's Influence on Mary—Superseded as Legate—His Last Days and Death—Character of Pole.

THE queen's selection of the heir to the enormous dominions of Charles V. as her husband, was the beginning of her troubles. It was an ill-fated connection; it cost her at once, as we have seen, her short-lived popularity; it brought her only unhappiness and bitter disappointment. The chagrin and misery resulting from the loveless union, which very quickly followed, no doubt weakened her health, and left her an almost unresisting victim to the malady to which she succumbed after her sad five years of queenship.

Mary was thirty-seven years old when she became queen. The question whom she should choose as her husband was almost the first important state problem she was called upon to solve. The choice lay still with her; but only three possible candidates were presented to her. The Englishman suggested was her kinsman, lord Courtenay. With him she would have nothing to do. The second candidate, again, was scarcely seriously thought of. He, too, was a kinsman of the royal house of England, the famous cardinal Pole, who, although a cardinal, was not yet a priest of the church. But the deep affection which Mary conceived for Pole ever partook rather of the nature of respect and reverence; she never really viewed him in the light of a possible husband. From the first her eyes were turned towards her relative, the Spanish prince Philip. The long kindness and steady support and affection which Philip's father, the emperor Charles V., had ever shown to her when she was viewed with dislike and repulsion by her father and brother, had won her heart. The magnificent position in the world of the heir to the vast possessions of Charles V. satisfied her ambition, and seemed to offer her, as the wife of the most powerful prince in Christendom, limitless power to carry out her design of restoring what she believed from her heart the only true religion, to the land over which she was called to rule. Her dearest wishes were also fostered by the desire of Charles V. himself for this alliance; and every possible inducement to decide Mary to accept the hand of Philip was pressed upon her by the astute and able Spanish ambassador, Renard, whom from the first hours of her reign she had admitted to her confidence.

The connection from the first was intensely disliked by every patriotic Englishman. The imminent danger was foreseen instinctively, of England becoming little

more than an appanage of Spain, if the queen became the wife of the future sovereign of the great Continental empire. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, Mary's chancellor, the most eminent statesman of her reign, was bitterly hostile to the alliance; and although, when he found that the queen was determined to choose Philip as her husband, he yielded with a fairly good grace, the queen never forgave him



QUEEN MARY'S "INSTRUCTIONS FOR MY LORDE PREVISEL" (LORD RUSSELL, LORD PRIVY SEAL), CONCERNING PHILIP'S RECEPTION AT SOUTHAMPTON. (*British Museum.*)

his patriotic opposition; as Philip never forgot—probably never pardoned—Gardiner's wise precautions against Spanish influence. It was Gardiner's influence which largely contributed, if not to nullify, at least largely to diminish, the political advantage to Spain which Charles V. hoped would at once be the result of the marriage of Mary and his son.

Historians seem never weary of repeating that the policy of Mary, and the terrible scenes of persecution which have left so awful a cloud upon her memory, were not the result of Spanish influence. They remind us how repeatedly Renard, the imperial ambassador, acting as the mouthpiece of the emperor Charles V., advised moderation, only counselling severity in the case of those Englishmen who offended in matters connected with the state—such as the lady Jane Grey, her father the duke of Suffolk, and others who seemed dangerous to Mary's government. But it is impossible not to perceive how the unhappy policy of the queen was from the first largely dictated by the crowd of Spanish nobles and ecclesiastics who during so large a portion of her reign formed such a prominent feature in her court. These Spaniards were irreconcilably hostile to the Reformers; and when Philip first came to England, he was accompanied by a crowd of the most brilliant courtiers in Europe—such as the duke of Alva, the duke de Medina Celi, the count de Feria, and many others whose names were subsequently famous in the blood-stained records of his own reign; some of them acquiring

European fame as instruments or victims in the terrible Netherlands revolt against Spain, others illustrious in the recital of the "Armada," that story so loved of Englishmen. On the occasion of the magnificent ceremonial which celebrated the reconciliation of England with the papal see, we read of king Philip attending mass in Westminster abbey with Alva and six hundred of these Spanish nobles!

The famous "Letter" written in 1555, urging the bishops of England to use greater diligence in searching out and handing over the heretics to punishment, ran in the joint names of Philip and Mary. This injunction we know Bonner, bishop of London, at all events laid to heart, and with ghastly faithfulness carried out in his diocese of London. The Inquisition, with all its fearful cruelties, was sanctioned by Charles V., and subsequently by Philip, in the Low Countries and in Spain. What there was in the mind of the Spaniards who surrounded queen Mary is only too clear; and if their policy counselled moderation in exacting cruel punishment for heresy in England, it was only fear of stirring up rebellion, not any intention of sanctioning toleration, which dictated their counsels of moderation. At all events, the hatred of Spain and Spanish influence grew in intensity throughout the country as the sad reign of Mary advanced.

The portrait of the Spanish prince who so soon became king of Spain, and who will be ever memorable in history as having lost for Spain the splendid heritage of the Low Countries, is well known; as well from the pictures in the famous Spanish galleries, as in the contemporary word-painting which has come down to us. We know the grey eyes, the yellow hair and pointed yellow beard, the upright, stiff bearing, the short but well-proportioned form. He was a restless, indefatigable worker in his cabinet; after his lights, a most devout man. His first act, for instance, after his long wet ride to Winchester, which followed upon his landing on the shores of the Southampton Water, before he greeted his bride, was a visit to the ancient cathedral. Philip II. was, it is well known, an intensely religious man, and it was his invariable custom to commit his way to the guidance of the Most High. In small matters, as well as in important state affairs, he loved to think he was acting under the direct influence of his God. Alas! like many other gloomy fanatics, his warped and bigoted mind too often mistook his own headstrong, obstinate conviction for a divine inspiration: and thus he really persuaded himself again and again that the terrible cruelties which disfigured his reign were committed for the advancement of the kingdom of God upon earth.

From the day of his landing, the citizens of London, Winchester, and other cities honoured by the presence of Mary and her foreign husband, were continually gratified or dismayed by the frequent sight of gorgeous processions of Spanish priests and friars, of long trains of Spanish knights and nobles, escorted by Spanish soldiers. Services conducted with all the pomp and circumstance of the ancient church; the long-forbidden mass; the long-disused ceremonies, celebrated with the elaborate care of the Spanish cathedrals of Seville or Toledo, were heard and seen in many of the great English churches, in place of the

simple and somewhat bald services prescribed by the Edwardian ritual. Well might dismay and terror reign through the length and breadth of England, when these startling changes, these strange sights, became familiar.

Very quickly the love of England for Mary was exchanged for hatred and fear. With this marriage in prospect, a few short months sufficed to exhaust the glowing feeling of popularity, in the midst of which she had ascended the throne. Indeed, so detested was the prospect of the Spanish marriage, and all that it was feared a close and intimate alliance with Spain would entail, that, when it was understood that the union of Mary and Philip was fully settled, a formidable rising of the disaffected was planned in different parts of the kingdom. Fortunately for Mary, the plans were ill-conceived. In the west the outbreak was speedily crushed. A more formidable rising in Kent and in London for a brief space threatened the queen's throne. It was, however, soon overmastered, and the captured rebels treated with extreme harshness, a very large number being ordered to execution; the influence of Spain, already paramount with the queen, being exerted to urge Mary in this case to severity.

Among the more illustrious victims were lady Jane Grey, her father the duke of Suffolk, and her husband lord Guildford Dudley, whose lives at first had been spared by Mary. The circumstances of the death of lady Jane Grey are well known. The quiet courage of the young girl—for she was nothing more—in presence of the terrible public death, and her constancy in her profession of the Reformed opinions in which she had been so faithfully trained, had a marked effect on the public mind, and contributed to the fast-growing unpopularity of Mary. The lady Jane by her noble death for ever effaced the evil impression which her ill-advised assumption of the crown, to which she had no right, had made upon the people; and her name has gone down to posterity rather as that of a martyr of the Reformation, than of a dangerous usurper and disturber of the public peace.

While mentioning this ill-omened marriage—the first fatal mistake of Mary—we may, according to our custom, for convenience anticipate a little, and briefly trace some of its unhappy results. Throughout it was a bitter disappointment to all concerned. The hopes so long entertained, that an heir to the throne would be born, all came to nothing. The disappointment of Mary preyed upon her health, never robust, and at times even threatened her reason. The year (1555) following her marriage was a terrible season for the sick queen, aware of the hatred with which she was regarded by her people; conscious of the cold neglect, passing into positive aversion, of her husband, whom she passionately loved; recognising with bitter sorrow that it was only political reasons which had induced him to marry her. As we shall see later on, much of the terrible work which so dishonours her reign was owing to the hopeless disappointment and sad disillusionment which too quickly followed her marriage with Philip.

As for Philip himself, he was equally

disappointed. Hoping, perhaps expecting, a welcome among the English people, he found himself and his followers at once the objects of popular dislike, jealousy, and fear. The Spanish calculation that England would tamely acquiesce in a foreign supremacy, was found strangely mistaken. The short-lived hopes of an heir quickly dissipated, the Spanish prince soon resolved to leave England and his bride. The determination of his father, Charles V., to abdicate and to seek the quiet of a Spanish cloister, in which to spend the few remaining days of his restless and well-nigh exhausted life, provided him with a well-grounded excuse. So in the August of 1555 he bade farewell to his wife, and left England; and save for a flying visit of a few brief weeks in 1557, Philip and Mary met no more on earth.

But the mischief wrought by the Spanish connection was never undone, and the shadow of the great mistake and its lamentable consequences brooded over England, not only during the remainder of Mary's short life, but far into the reign of her nobler and happier successor, her sister Elizabeth.

The reconciliation with Rome is the next great landmark in Mary's reign. It was in the July of 1553 that she ascended the throne. From the first days of her reign Spanish influences were at work. Renard, the imperial ambassador, was her most trusted counsellor, and he was simply the mouthpiece of Charles V. The marriage with Philip was quickly decided upon, and accomplished in the July following (1554). The Spanish power was virtually supreme in England for about a year longer, until the following August, 1555, when Philip left England. During these years Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, was chancellor. That he disliked from the first the influence of Spain is evident; but he found that, to preserve his place and position, he must submit to the imperious Tudor will. He was able in certain particulars, especially in outward forms, to limit the foreign influences, but that was all. He died shortly after Philip left England, in the November of that same year, 1555. From the date of the Spanish prince's departure, although foreign policy continued to have much weight in English affairs, Spain was no longer all-powerful with the queen. A new counsellor had arisen, and his voice was henceforth supreme with Mary.

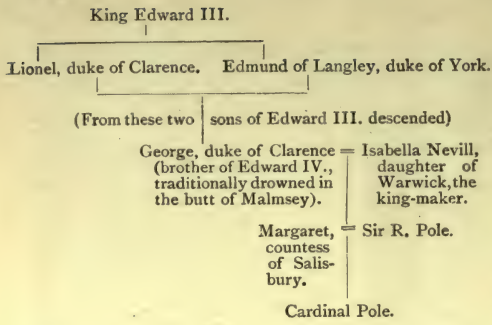
This was her kinsman, known in England as cardinal Pole. During the remainder of 1555, all through 1556, 1557, and until the November of 1558—a period of a little more than three years—Pole was the all-influential friend and adviser of the queen. He only survived her a few hours, both dying just before the close of 1558. He succeeded the martyr Cranmer as archbishop of Canterbury early in the year 1556; but in Pole's case the assumption of the primacy of all England added but little to the power and influence at the court which he already possessed. He had been the royal adviser, especially in things ecclesiastical, for several months.

The early career of Pole has been already sketched.* His near relationship to the royal house of England will be seen at a glance from the following little table:—

* See page 117.

QUEEN MARY.

(From the portrait by Lucas d'Heere in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries.)


King Edward III.
Lionel, duke of Clarence.
Edmund of Langley, duke of York.
(From these two sons of Edward III. descended)
George, duke of Clarence (brother of Edward IV., traditionally drowned in the butt of Malmsey).
Isabella Nevill, daughter of Warwick, the king-maker.
Margaret, countess of Salisbury.
Sir R. Pole.
Cardinal Pole.

When the news of Edward VI.'s death reached Rome, followed by the joyful and somewhat unexpected tidings of Mary's accession amid the plaudits of the English people, at once the papal cabinet began to arrange measures which should bring about a reconciliation with the powerful and wealthy island, which for so many centuries had been the most faithful and devoted adherent of the see of Rome, and which had annually poured in such vast sums into her exchequer. Among the tremendous blows suffered in the sixteenth century by the Roman power, none, perhaps, had been more deeply felt than the English defection. Whereas during the long series of the Middle Ages England had been the most subservient of nations to the Roman obedience, since the revolt of Henry VIII. no nation had been so vehement in its expressions of determination to throw off the ancient yoke it had borne so long, so patiently, so devotedly. Again and again its legislature had passed the most stringent anti-papal acts, while its most famous and learned divines perpetually put in the foreground of the reform they pressed upon the church, the paramount necessity of breaking off all connection with the great Italian see, with its tremendous claims of universal and all-embracing supremacy.

Never was so sudden, so complete a change of views and policy. And now, in the strange revolution of the wheel of fortune, the happy moment had arrived when the entire anti-papal policy of England might be expected to be reversed. The young heir of Henry VIII., who in Reformation matters had gone to lengths undreamed of even by his father, Rome's bitterest foe, was dead, had passed away in the flower of his brilliant, promising youth; and his sister Mary, trained from her earliest days to loathe the Reformers and all their works, was on his throne. And the people, contrary to common expectation, had welcomed her advent with an almost tumultuous enthusiasm. The chiefs of the Reformed party were in prison or in exile. A new queen, a new government, with entirely new hopes and outlooks, devoted heart and soul to the old state of things which had existed when Henry VIII. entered upon his reforming crusade, were in supreme power. Well might Rome look with confidence to a formal reconciliation with the great rebel island people, whose estrangement and fierce enmity had been felt so bitterly, and mourned with so unfeigned a mourning.

In this important juncture all eyes at Rome were turned at once to one man, an English exile of the highest rank, and who occupied in the Romish Church the exalted and coveted position of a cardinal. For somewhat less than a quarter of a century Reginald Pole, the royal-descended and once-favoured kinsman of Henry VIII., had been a wanderer and a fugitive from

his native land. Religious and earnest, a scholar and writer of no mean pretensions, of a character absolutely stainless (no paltry title to honour in that dissolute age), Pole from the days of comparative youth had thrown in his lot with the party most vehemently opposed to Reformation doctrines and principles, and was especially hostile to any revolt from the Romish obedience. With him this choice was absolutely pure and free from any motives of ambition or self-interest; indeed, its adoption cost him home and friends, rank and power. Men said that he might even have had the arch-see of York when Wolsey died, had he only consented to follow his king and imperious patron in the tortuous policy of the divorce.

With all his many noble and even lovable qualities, Pole had in exile become a bigot and somewhat wild enthusiast. Not once or twice only in his stormy and adventurous career, he utterly mistook the feelings of his countrymen, and was strangely blind to the existence of the genuine longing among them for a purer church, a truer doctrine, and a freedom from the galling yoke of Rome. Hence he allowed himself to become the centre of ill-advised and rashly-conceived plots and English intrigues. Entangled in the meshes of these mainly through his fault, first his brother Montagu and later his own royal and noble mother, the countess of Salisbury, perished in England as traitors, while he himself was long proscribed and attainted as a dangerous rebel. It was for these services and sufferings, endured as an unwearied opponent of the Reformation cause, that the Pope created him a cardinal. And now, when the long-waited auspicious moment had at length arrived, when, as it was thought, England might be again reconciled with Rome, Pole was named as legate to bring about the earnestly desired submission and reunion.

But the time for this was not yet come. England for the moment was dissatisfied with the Reformation, with the reformers' government, and with many of the reformers' acts, and was fairly content to accept a partial revival of the old mediæval ways and customs in religious practices and doctrine; but any idea of a return to the "Roman obedience" was positively hateful not only to the nation at large, but even to reactionary leaders such as Gardiner, the chancellor. Even Spain and the empire, ever cautious and usually far-seeing, counselled delay in any attempt of Pole to enter England arrayed in legatine powers. In vain the cardinal wrote to Mary from his home on the Lake of Garda, in urgent if in somewhat hysterical terms of gratulation, urging her to receive him as legate of the vicar of Christ. The queen replied in terms which plainly showed that though her mind was fully made up on the question of reconciliation with Rome, she hesitated as to the opportuneness of the time for the momentous decision. She hoped that the coming session of Parliament would see the reversal of all the statutes which had brought calamity upon her kingdom, and that then from the chief Pontiff (*Pontifex summus*, she styled the Pope) she might obtain pardon for her sins. But the matter for the present dragged on, and Pole received no authorisation to present himself as legate in the revolted island. He was bitterly disappointed at the delay; but Gardiner as representing

English feeling, and Renard on the part of Charles V., put off the day for the formal acknowledgment of the Roman supremacy.

All through the year 1553, and indeed through the greater part of 1554, the mediæval reaction in religion went on increasing in force through queen Mary's realm. The Spanish marriage was concluded, and Philip and Mary were jointly reigning, Philip receiving the title of king, their names appearing together in all official documents, and their heads on the coins; but as yet no formal overtures to Rome were made. The first series of the famous Oxford trials of the reform leaders, Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley—of which more anon—were concluded, and the illustrious prisoners were even condemned, without any reference to the Pope; a strong assertion of Anglican independence in the midst of the great reaction, which was gravely disapproved by the Roman cabinet, and subsequently formally annulled and disavowed at Rome, the Pope insisting that the great trials should be all repeated and conducted afresh under the shadow of his jurisdiction.

Very urgently, after the protracted hesitation, we find Pole writing to Philip with such expressions as the following:—"For a whole year have I been knocking at the door of the kingdom (of England), and no one asks, 'Who is there?' It is one who has endured twenty years of exile that she who shares your throne should not be excluded from her rights. I come in the name of the vicar of the King of kings, the shepherd of mankind (such was the appellation Pole ventured to give his master, the bishop of Rome). Peter knocks at your door, Peter himself. Why does not that nation (of the English) make haste now to do Peter reverence? Strange, too, that this is the house of Mary. Can it be Mary that is so slow to open? True, indeed, it is that when Mary's damsel heard the voice, she opened not the door for joy; she ran and told Mary (thus playing on the well-known passage in the 'Acts,' where Peter is released from prison by the angel). And though at first she doubted, yet when Peter continued knocking, she opened the door, she took him in, she regarded not the danger, although Herod was yet alive and was king. Is it joy which now withholds Mary, or is it fear? She rejoices, that I know, but she also fears. Yet why should Mary fear now, when Herod is dead?"

With such curious theology, and still more curious exposition of Scripture, did the cardinal legate of the Roman see urge upon Philip, and through Philip upon queen Mary, a prompt obedience to the Pope. He went on with his strange, pleading letter, powerful enough from Pole's and the Roman standpoint: "Do you, therefore, sire, teach her (Mary) how to cast her fears away. It is not I only who stand here—it is not only Peter—Christ is here; Christ waits with me till you will open and take Him in. You, who are king of England, while you have ambassadors of all other princes at your court, you will not have Christ's ambassador; you have rejected your Christ!" Then from urgent, piteous, loving entreaty, Pole went on to stern menaces. "Go your way; build on the foundation of worldly policy, and in Christ's own words I tell you—that the rain will fall, the floods will rise, the winds will blow, and beat

upon your house, and it will fall, and great will be the fall thereof."

At last the hour came when Philip and Mary thought it safe to undertake the great work of formal reconciliation with Rome. Mary had longed for it, we have seen, from the first days of her reign; only from motives of state policy the day of reconciliation was deferred until things were ripe for the State to return to the old Roman obedience. A year and a half had passed. Sweeping changes in religious matters had passed over England, virtually unchallenged by the voice of the nation.

REGINALD, CARDINAL POLE.
(*From the Picture attributed to Raphael.*)

The old government and its leaders had been swept away. The reforming bishops had been deposed, and were all in prison or in exile. Spasmodic efforts of armed resistance to the mediæval reaction, it is true, had been made, but they had been

effectually stamped out in blood. The sullen acquiescence of the English nation in the great change, for this is what it was after the first hour of delirious joy which welcomed her accession, was mistaken by Mary and her ministers, by Pole and the Roman cabinet, even by the more astute Renard and Spain, for approval; and in the November of 1554 a state embassage was sent to Pole, formally inviting him to England, there to arrange the reconciliation with the so-called apostolic see.

The only stipulation that apparently was made, was that the Pope, on being again acknowledged as supreme in matters ecclesiastical in England, should, through the voice of his legate, grant a dispensation to the possessors of monastic lands and property to hold these lands still. This condition was consented to, and, with little delay, Pole set out with solemn pomp on his journey to restore England to the Roman communion and obedience. He was to come, however, as ambassador, not as legate. But, as we shall see, very soon after his arrival the civil authority and title was rapidly merged in the spiritual office and dignity of *legate à latere*, with all its awful and tremendous assumptions.

He was received at Canterbury with every demonstration of respect and affectionate regard, and amidst the greetings of a vast and apparently a sympathising crowd, passed to his temporary resting-place in the storied city of the metropolitans of England, under the shadow of the proud cathedral of Lanfranc and Anselm. The palace of the imprisoned Cranmer, soon to be his own, was destroyed, a fire having some time before reduced it to ruins.

At this time Pole, who for the next few years was destined to be the evil genius of Mary and England, though he was only fifty-four years old, presented the appearance of a worn-out, prematurely aged man, feeble and sickly. We read how on his long journey he had been even lifted into the litter which bore him through his stately progress. His restless and exciting life, coloured now with feverish hopes, now with disappointment and failure, had well-nigh worn him out. Only the excitement and joy at the realisation of his long-deferred hopes buoyed him up, and gave him strength and power to carry out his cherished plans. It has been remarked that in cardinal Pole's portrait at this period of his life, there is much to remind the historical student of his strong likeness to his royal Plantagenet ancestors, from whom he claimed direct descent. The beautiful but somewhat weak Plantagenet face is reproduced in the features of the well-meaning but often hard and cruel bigot, who, as Mary's intimate friend and most trusted adviser in spiritual matters, during the latter part of her unhappy reign, worked such untold mischief to the cause he had laid so deeply to heart. Those curious in such matters may repeat the once popular Gloucester pilgrimage to the shrine of the murdered Edward II., hard by the high altar of the stately cathedral, and in the still perfect alabaster effigy which rests on the scarred tomb, trace the traditional beautiful Plantagenet features here referred to; the king's face being evidently modelled upon a mask taken after death.

Nicholas Harpsfield, the archdeacon of Canterbury—a prominent Marian divine,

a rhetorician rather than a theologian, whom we often come across in the records of this sad period, notably in the Oxford trials—received Pole, as the principal resident dignitary. His curious turgid eloquence on this occasion is a fair specimen of the hysterical, blind complacency with which the leading divines whom Mary delighted to honour viewed the changed aspect of things in the Anglican Church. The oration, according to an Italian account of the ceremony of welcome, was so beautiful and so affecting that all the hearers were moved to tears. The legate himself, however, seems to have been pained by the unmeasured flattery, and gravely rebuked the orator for his fulsome address of welcome.* The progress Londonwards commenced. At Rochester, in deference to royal command, the cardinal assumed the ancient pomp and insignia of a Papal legate, the cross and the once well-known silver pillars being borne before him. The act reversing his attainder was presented him; and he was received by Philip and Mary and their court with every demonstration of respect and affection.

Things indeed were changed in England; for in the Parliament which met this winter of 1554, at the opening service the mass was celebrated, and the Pope was prayed for by name. Then the great business of the reconciliation was hurried forward. The two Houses were at once summoned to attend the court at Whitehall, to hear the declaration of Pole, the now acknowledged cardinal legate.

The date of this striking scene was November 28, 1554. Philip and queen Mary, who was splendidly dressed, sat on a raised daïs, and Pole on their right hand, just outside the edge of the royal canopy; his silver cross and pillars had been borne before him. Bishop Gardiner, the chancellor, introduced Pole to the great assembly in the following terms: "Here is present the right reverend father in God the lord cardinal Pole, come from the apostolic see of Rome as ambassador, upon one of the weightiest causes that ever happened in this realm." Then Pole rose, and spoke in a low, weak voice. He told them that the see apostolic had a special respect to the realm of England above all others; and then slightly sketched its history in the matters of the Christian faith, dwelling, of course, on the mission of Augustine, but ignoring the whole work of the Celtic church. He touched upon the two royal Saxon pilgrims to Rome, but had little to say touching submission to Rome in Anglo-Saxon times; dwelling generally on the favours showered upon England by the Popes, and on the prosperity of the land down to the time of the late "schism"; from that unhappy day the English had been overwhelmed with calamities. Then he called attention to the woes which had been the lot of other lands who had forsaken the apostolic see. "Let the empire of Greece" (he meant the Eastern empire) "be a spectacle to the world, which by

* The words deserve to be quoted. "Thou art Pole," said Harpsfield, "the one who lights us to the Kingdom of Heaven. The sky, the rivers, the earth, these very walls" (alluding to the scarred walls stripped of colour and sculpture) "long for thee. When thou wert absent from us all things were sad. At thy coming everything becomes glad and peaceful." The Latin pun on his name can scarcely be given in any English rendering—"Tu es Polus, qui aperis nobis Polum regni cœlorum"

departing from the unity of the Church of Rome has been brought into subjection by the Turk. Let Germany, wretchedly torn with diversity of sects and factions, be a spectacle."

In his extravagant laudation of Philip and Mary, he adduced a strange and ingenious comparison which to our ears sounds somewhat profane. "The emperor Charles V., of all princes in Europe, had travailed most in the cause of religion, but he had failed in establishing peace." (Pole was, of course, alluding to the great Lutheran schism in Germany.) "He could not build the temple of Jerusalem, for like David he was stained with blood and wars; he left the finishing of it to Solomon—the *Rex Pacificus*—in the person of Philip, Mary's husband." He concluded by stating that he held from the Pope full powers of reconciliation, pressing home the assertion that his mission was to reconcile, not to condemn, especially not to call anything in question already done. Then referring especially to the monastic spoils, which were to be left in the hands of those who held them, "*All matters that were past, they should be as things cast into the sea of forgetfulness.*" But all laws by which England had dissevered herself from the unity of Christ's church must, urged the legate, be abrogated. The grace of the apostolic see thus offered was dependent upon this absolute revocation by Parliament of all the anti-papal acts.

There was no delay. The "Houses" were as subservient to the will of the Tudor queen, as not many years before they had been to the will of the imperious Tudor king her father. Their very unanimity showed how little they represented the heart of the nation, rent asunder as it was by the claims of the Reformers on the one hand, and of the lovers of the old mediæval forms and doctrines on the other. But feeble and impotent as were the two Houses, their will when expressed was the law of the land. One day sufficed for the settlement of the momentous question. It was seen at once that the formal repeal of the many obnoxious acts would take considerable time, and the impatient Pole brooked no delay. He would content himself with requiring a joint petition from the two Houses to their majesties, in which, promising without delay to repeal all the anti-papal laws, they should pray the king and queen to intercede for the removal of the interdict.

This act of complete submission was all settled in a few hours. The question whether England should return to obedience to Rome was decided in the affirmative by the peers unanimously; by the commons—360 in number—with only two dissentient voices. The petition was drawn up by a joint committee of the lords and commons, and was positively ready for presentation on the day but one following the speech of Pole to the king and queen and the assembled Houses in the royal chamber at Whitehall.

The eventful day of the reconciliation—a date memorable in the story of the Church of England—was St. Andrew's day, November 30, 1554. The early hours of the morning were occupied by the Court in attending a solemn mass sung at Westminster. It was the festival of the institution of the illustrious order of the Golden Fleece, and king Philip was accompanied by 600 noblemen and gentle-

CARDINAL POLE RECONCILING THE REALM OF ENGLAND TO THE ROMAN COMMUNION.

men of Spain, and by the knights of the English order of the Garter. Dinner was served at 2 o'clock in the afternoon; and then in the gloaming of that winter day once more Parliament assembled at White hall in the presence of Mary and her Spanish husband.

As on the first meeting two days before, Gardiner, the chancellor, acted as spokesman, and asked the august assembly if they continued still in the same mind. A unanimous assent followed. The chancellor continued, Should he proceed in their names to pray for absolution? Again the assembled Parliament signified their assent. He then, after presenting the document to the queen, read aloud the petition which had been drawn up by the joint committee of the two Houses. It was humbly worded, and ran in the names of the lords spiritual and temporal and the commons of the present Parliament, representing the whole body of the realm of England. They declared themselves "very sorry and repentant for the schism and disobedience committed in the realm against the see apostolic, by making laws against the supremacy of the sacred see"; and they besought their Majesties (Philip and Mary), "as persons undefiled in the offence toward the holy see, to obtain from the see apostolic absolution from all danger or such censures and sentences as by the laws of the church they were gotten into; and they prayed that as children repentant they might be received into the unity of Christ's church, in order that the noble realm (of England), in unity and perfect obedience to the see apostolic and the Pope for the time being, might serve God and their majesties to the furtherance of His honour and glory."

Cardinal Pole replied, without at first rising from his seat, "Much indeed has the English nation to thank the Almighty for recalling them to his fold. Once again has God given a token of his special favour to this realm; for as this nation in the time of the primitive church was the first to be called out of the darkness of heathenism,* so now they were the first to whom God had given grace to repent of their schism.† How would the angels, who rejoiced when one sinner was converted, triumph when a whole noble nation were brought home."

The legate then rose to pronounce the solemn words which removed the interdict from England. The queen and Philip knelt, and the whole assembly with them, to receive the absolution, which Pole proceeded to pronounce. The voice was low, but in the deep hush every word of the strange forgiveness was audible.

"Our Lord Jesus Christ," so ran the great Papal pronouncement, "by His mercy absolves you, and we, by apostolic authority given unto us by the most holy lord Pope Julius the Third, His vicegerent on earth, do absolve and deliver you with this whole realm from all heresy and schism, and from all judgment, censure, and pain, for that cause incurred; and we restore you again into the unity of our Mother the Holy Church—in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." ‡

* Pole was evidently referring here to the dim tradition of king Lucius' conversion.

† This was an allusion to the Continental Teutonic nations, who remained steadfast to the principles of the Reformation and to separation from Rome.

‡ *Cf.* Froude: Hist., chap xxxii.

The news of the submission of the English nation was received at Rome with extraordinary joy. Pope Julius, it is said, embraced the bearer of the glad tidings, and then fell on his knees in prayer. In the Eternal City the most extravagant joy was manifested at the repentance of England, and no suspicion or doubt seems to have crossed the mind of the Pope and his cardinals, of the sincerity of the solemn act of submission and reconciliation. The king and queen and Parliament had ratified the great submission, the expression of a national sorrow for the past. It was surely the voice of repentant England.

The real truth was different. It was *not* the voice of the nation. The Spanish marriage, the presence of Philip and his Spanish followers, had already struck the first deadly blow to the progress of the mediæval reaction under Mary, which followed the hated government of Northumberland, and the sacrilegious excesses of the extreme party of the reformers. The restoration of the Papal power inflicted a still more fatal wound. The unpopularity of the Reformation, which, from various causes already detailed, threatened to undo the true work of the earnest and devoted scholars of the new learning among the people, was fast giving way to a bitter regret on the part of thousands of serious Englishmen, when, as they became conscious of the growing influence of Spain and the reactionaries, they saw the English Bible taken away, and the English services proscribed, and ceremonies and rites they had come to recognise as superstitious and idolatrous, restored. And these feelings were enormously intensified when they found the yoke of Rome, so long and bitterly hated by the vast majority of Englishmen, once more firmly riveted on the national church. The words of Pole on that November day in 1554, when in the Pope's name he removed the interdict from the country, gave an undreamed-of impulse to the Reformation cause in England. But Mary and Philip, even Gardiner, much more the rejoicing Julius III. in distant Rome, were all blind to this. They had no suspicion of the tremendous force with which their policy and acts were working for the cause they hated with so intense a hate.

There was a third and mighty impulse still to be given to the apparently dying Reformation in England, and which we have yet to treat of at greater length, which followed immediately after this memorable reconciliation with Rome; but it may be interesting first very briefly to relate the remaining personal incidents in the life-story of that interesting adventurer who worked unconsciously so cruel a mischief to his native land. We use the word "unconsciously" advisedly, for even those who most intensely disapprove his policy and his disastrous influence over Mary, can find no flaw in his own spotless character, and are compelled reluctantly to acknowledge the generally unselfish nobility of his aims and purposes.

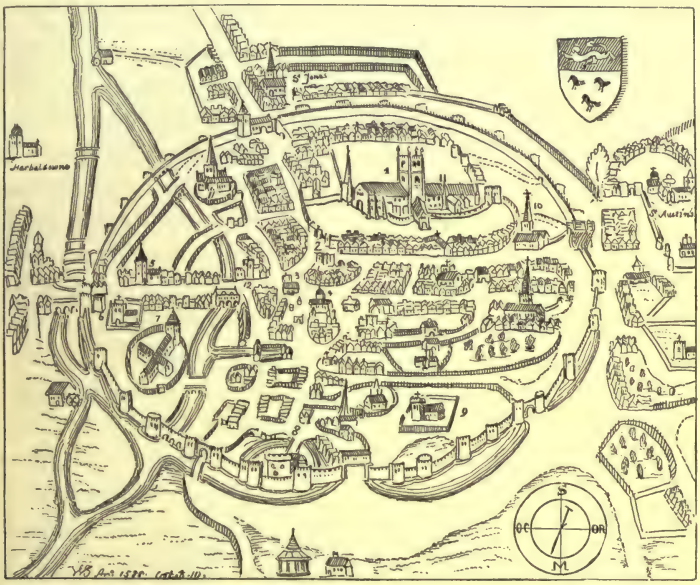
To Reginald Pole, from the very first days of his public life, the Reformation and all that the Reformation included was an unholy thing. Probably the iniquity of the divorce of Katharine of Arragon, so unhappily interwoven with the early stages of the great religious movement in

England, had first roused the indignation of the chivalrous descendant of the Plantagenets, and this indignation coloured in Pole's imagination every succeeding scene in the great drama. He would have nothing to do with what he felt was an unclean thing, and shaking off the dust of his native land, he became a voluntary exile, nobly renouncing all the advantages and high promotion which lay before him. An industrious scholar and an unwearied worker, his narrow and confined intellect failed to see the urgent necessity of a thorough reform in church doctrine, government, and practice, so patent to men like Erasmus and Colet, and even to the high-souled, conservative More. In Pole's mind the idea of the unity of the church was ever paramount, and this unity could only be obtained by an unswerving obedience to that great bishop of Rome, who to Pole and to men who thought with him was Christ's vicegerent on earth. He ignored completely the deep-seated, ineradicable English feeling of repugnance to this foreign supremacy in the church; was utterly blind to the teachings of the history of the past and the lessons of the present, so far as regarded his native country. In estimating his character, however, it must never be forgotten that his life's work was never to advance or to benefit himself, but solely to promote what he deemed the cause of true religion; and in working for this end he believed he was working for the weal of England.

His chance came in the evening of his life, when prematurely worn-out, being only fifty-four years of age when he came as legate. He was received in England, as we have seen, with all imaginable honours, and, though in weak and failing health, successfully carried out what he had long so passionately desired—the reconciliation of his country with Rome. It was his lot to pronounce the formal absolution, and to remove the interdict from England. This was done in the November of 1554. In the early months of the following year (1555) the Marian persecution began. This was simultaneous with Pole's obtaining almost supreme power at court; and the terrible burning of so-called heretics, with rare intervals, continued until the end of 1558, when Pole and his royal mistress passed away. In the August of 1555 Philip left England, only to return again for a brief visit. In the November of the same year the statesmanlike chancellor, Gardiner of Winchester, died; and from that date Pole's solitary influence was supreme with Mary.

Upon the sickly and hysterical queen, during the last three years of her sad life, disappointments and disillusionments, one after the other, pressed very sorely. She found the love of her subjects turned into hate. Philip, whom she adored with an almost idolatrous love, had deserted her. Gardiner, the wise minister, for whom she never cared, though almost invariably trusting him, was dead. The hope of a child, heir to all her greatness and far-reaching plans, at last had vanished. Only Pole remained to her, her faithful friend of past years, who had brought the message of forgiveness from the Pope, whom she regarded with no feigned belief as God's vicegerent on earth; who once had been gravely suggested to her as a possible husband, and who thought as she thought on every matter connected with

religion, now her chief and almost her only care. Seldom have an adviser and a sovereign been brought into such intimate relations of friendship and common interests as were Pole and Mary during those last three or four years of their life. They were scarcely ever apart, the ecclesiastic and the queen. As Mary moved restlessly from



PANORAMIC VIEW OF CANTERBURY IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

one palace to the other, now residing at St. James's, now at Greenwich or at Richmond, the archbishop—for this he became when Cranmer passed to his rest in the spring of 1556, in the flames of Oxford—usually accompanied his royal friend and mistress. Rarely were they separated; and it was their custom to spend two or three hours together daily.

One who has given us some interesting pictures of the time thus writes of him: "On the shoulders of this man now rests the whole weight of the government of this realm, both with regard to secular and spiritual affairs. He is a man of great learning and goodness of heart. His opinion is of such authority with the queen, that by a mere sign with his hand he could remove any person from the situation he holds or bring him to punishment. Therefore he is envied and hated by the principal ministers. With all this, he uses his power with great discretion and humility." * All contemporary evidence, indeed, proves that certainly, from the date of Philip's departure from England to the end of the reign, cardinal Pole was the solitary friend and adviser upon whose counsels Mary relied.

Of the cruelties which were exercised during those years of persecution, which have made Mary's reign a byword in

* Micheles, quoted by Dean Hook: "Lives of the Archbishops," vol. viii., chap. iv.

English history, and have associated the dread and too well-deserved epithet of "bloody" with her name, Pole must therefore be considered, with the queen, the joint author. With absolute truth Froude writes on this point: "Is it to be supposed that in the horrible crusade which henceforth was the business of Mary's life, the Papal legate, the sovereign director of the ecclesiastical administration of the realm, was not consulted, or if consulted, that he refused his sanction? But it is not a question of conjecture or probability. From the legate came the first edict for the episcopal inquisition; under the legate every bishop held his judicial commission; while, if Smithfield (where bishop Bonner was supreme) is excepted, the most frightful scenes in the entire frightful period were witnessed under the shadow of his own metropolitan cathedral." His apologists can only urge that Pole was not cruel, nor loved to see others suffering; but notwithstanding the 300 burnings were ordered to be carried out, and were carried out by the cardinal and the queen, "in the delirious belief that they were chosen instruments of Providence."

A strange nemesis befel the archbishop in the course of the year 1557. Cardinal Caraffa, a personal enemy of the English cardinal, had been elected to the papacy, a dignity to which, when Caraffa was chosen, Pole was deemed to have just claims. Between Caraffa, known as Pope Paul IV., and Philip, Mary's husband, a fierce enmity arose, with the details of which here we are not concerned. Pole was in a strange dilemma; bound by every tie of affection and interest to Philip and Mary, and at the same time linked by the most awful spiritual bonds to their bitterest enemy, whom he himself acknowledged as his absolute chief on earth, and whose commission as legate he bore. He naturally attached himself to his own sovereign, and vainly tried to mediate between Philip and the Pope. The haughty pontiff, who of old disliked Pole, summarily revoked the legatine commission of the English archbishop, and named as his legate an old Observant friar of Greenwich, one William Peto, who in the far-back days of Henry VIII. had distinguished himself by his bold opposition to the king. Never was so strange, so unlooked-for an insult offered to a faithful servant of Rome. The strongest remonstrances were made from England. Letters from Pole himself, from the Anglican bishops, from the nobility of the realm (the last probably emanating from the council), were sent to Rome, deprecating the insult offered to the most faithful servant of Rome and the church represented by Rome, probably living on earth; but to no avail. A joint letter even from Philip and Mary deigned to entreat Paul IV. not to take away the legatine dignity from the one man who was fitted to guide the confused and unsettled fortunes of the Church of England, in the hour of perplexity and danger through which the church was then passing. But remonstrances availed nought. An old and ill-grounded charge of heresy against Pole was even hinted at; and the Pope wrote to the king and queen, in reply to their letter of strong and bitter remonstrance, that his appointment of the aged and comparatively unknown Peto as legate in the room of Pole was the result of a divine inspiration!

Pole was never reinstated in the legatine office. Very deeply the iron of the cruel and undeserved insult entered into his soul, as is manifest from his words in a communication addressed by him to Paul IV. early in 1558. In this he strangely likens himself to Isaac in the proposed sacrifice in the Genesis story, when Abraham's hand was stayed by the angel, Abraham being represented in the curious simile by the Pope. "I see not an angel sent to stay your hand, as in the case of Isaac, but I see a host of angels—Philip and Mary, Catholic kings, defenders of the faith; I see a legion of pious men [referring to the signatories of the English protest] coming to snatch that sword, the process of accusation [alluding probably to the old and easily disproved charge of heresy], out of your hand."

But the Pope, shrouding himself in silence, deigned no further reply. The cold neglect of Rome; the suspicion that he, who had devoted his life to further the papal cause, was charged with heresy; the deprivation of the legatine office, which Pole prized far above his dignity as archbishop; no doubt weighed sorely on the trusted and all-powerful adviser of Mary, and contributed largely to undermine his weak and failing health. He had no strength left to fight against the fever and ague, which in the summer of 1558 had begun to ravage England—a veritable pestilence, to which the queen herself succumbed. Everything seemed against him. In the beginning of the year 1558 the arms of England suffered a terrible reverse on the Continent, and Calais and the last remnant of her possessions in France were torn from her. This unlooked-for misfortune, which affected rather the pride than the prosperity of England, was an additional blow to the already hateful government of Mary, and was quickly followed by a long-continued and fatal epidemic of the nature of fever and ague (not improbably a serious outbreak of the disease known in our own times as influenza or *la grippe*). The queen sickened with this widespread malady in the September of 1558, breathing her last on the 16th November. When the queen died, Pole too was lying between life and death at Lambeth, and at first his attendants kept the news of the passing away of his dearest friend and mistress from him; but the intelligence was inadvertently conveyed to him, and from that moment the dying cardinal never rallied.

His confidant and devoted friend, Priuli, in his letters has left us some interesting details of his last hours. He tells us how he spoke such words as moved the bystanders to tears, as he dwelt on that Divine Providence which throughout his chequered life had, even in all his afflictions, calmed and consoled him. He drew a vivid parallel between his life and the queen's, relating how he had sympathised with her in the sorrows of her early life, and then had shared in all her troubles and anxieties since she had become queen. They were not to be separated, he added, by death. Later, when his pains grew easier, he caused himself to be lifted in front of the altar, and, bowing to the ground with tears and sobs, said the *Confiteor* and received the Holy Communion. Later in the day he listened to vespers and then to compline. At last he said the end was come, and asked for the commendatory

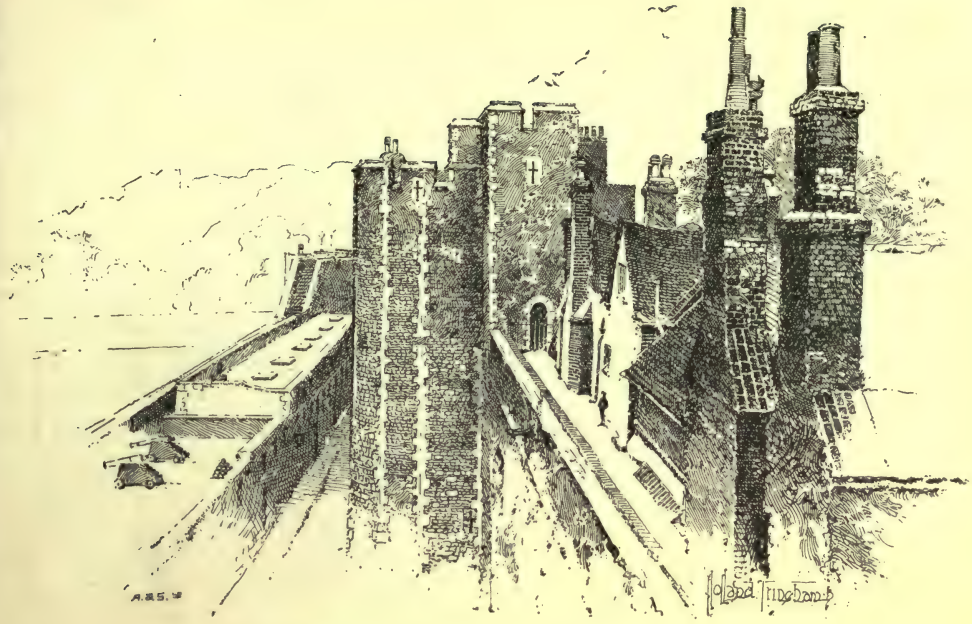
prayers, and so calmly fell asleep, only twenty-two hours after Mary had breathed her last.

Thus Pole passed away to his great account, in all the odour of sanctity, without, so far as we know, ever having breathed one sigh of regret for the unspeakable woe and misery he had brought, during his three or four years of supreme power, on his native land; unconscious, apparently, of the execrations which from thousands of outraged hearths and homes were being uttered against the remorseless Roman cardinal. His successor in the arch-see, Parker, has deliberately called him "the executioner and scourge of the Church of England" (*Carnifex et flagellum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*). And yet "his character was irreproachable; in all the virtues of the [Roman] Catholic Church he walked without spot or stain; and the system to which he had surrendered himself had left to him of the common weaknesses of mankind his enormous vanity alone. But that system had extinguished in him the human instincts, the genial emotions by which theological theories stand especially in need to be corrected. He belonged to a class of persons, at all times numerous, in whom enthusiasm takes the place of understanding, who are men of an idea. . . . Happily for the welfare of mankind, persons so constituted rarely arrive at power: should power come to them, they use it, as Pole used it, to defeat the ends which are nearest to their hearts."*

He lay in state at Lambeth for forty days, while masses were being said for the repose of his soul. The body with much ceremony was then taken to Canterbury, and once more all that was mortal of Pole was received by a great crowd of curious, perhaps of admiring and respectful citizens and clergy. A sermon in his praise in Latin and in English was delivered when his remains were laid, as he had wished, in St. Thomas's chapel of the historic cathedral. The simple words, *Depositum Cardinalis Poli*, mark the place of the interment of the last cardinal-archbishop who presided over the Church of England.

* Froude: "History," chap. xxxv.

CARDINAL POLE'S TOMB IN CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.



PRISONERS' WALK, TOWER OF LONDON.

CHAPTER LIII.

THE MARIAN PERSECUTION. RIDLEY AND LATIMER.

Revival of the Laws relating to Heresy—The First Martyrs, Rogers and Hooper—Imprisonment of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer—Cranmer's Condemnation for Treason—His Respite and its Reasons—Trial for Heresy of the Three Bishops at Oxford—The Three Propositions concerning the Sacrament—Reply of the Bishops—Their Condemnation—Its Illegality—Interference of Rome—New Roman Trial—Cranmer Tried Separately—His Defence—Condemned by the Pope Himself—Trial of Ridley and Latimer—Ridley's Exposition of the Sacrament—Latimer's Identical—The Condemnation—Ridley's Formal Degradation—His Last Night—The Two Martyrs at the Stake—Their End—Ridley's Public Epistle of Testimony.

THE persecution of the reformers, which we have termed the third of the important pieces of Marian policy, was the direct outcome of the first two already spoken of—viz. the Spanish marriage and the reconciliation with Rome. The first completely alienated the queen from her subjects ; the second, carried out with the full consent and approval of her Spanish consort, was the especial work of the man whom Mary from the hour of his landing in England chose as her trusted adviser and confidant, Cardinal Pole. It had been the one object he had aimed at for years.

A glance at the dates of the great reactionary measures, will show how little time was lost in pressing forward the ghastly scenes we are about to speak of. On the 25th July, 1554, Philip and Mary were married. On the 24th of the November following the king and queen received

the cardinal-legate with all state at Whitehall. On the 30th November the "reconciliation" was formally ratified, and the interdict removed. In the few remaining days of this same year the obsequious Parliament not only fulfilled its undertaking to the legate, when he removed the interdict, by enacting a comprehensive statute repealing all the anti-papal acts, but passed a terrible statute reviving the old heresy laws, ordering that this statute should come into force in a few weeks' time—viz. on the 20th of the January following.

The cardinal-legate was now at the queen's right hand, and on the 4th of February in the year 1555, the first of that long roll of martyrs, whose story will never be forgotten in England, perished in the flames at Smithfield in the presence of a vast crowd of appalled and dismayed spectators. This was Rogers, the well-known prebendary of St. Paul's. On the 9th of the same month bishop Hooper suffered at Gloucester, while on the 8th and 9th of the same month similar death-scenes were witnessed at Coventry, in the Midlands, and at Suffolk, in the eastern counties. Other burnings rapidly followed, of which brief details will be given presently. In our picture of this unhappy reign, some account of the terrible sufferings to which those singled out as victims among the Reformed party were subjected, will of course be necessary. Many words and details will not be needed, but we shall describe at some length the proceedings taken against the three most prominent among the sufferers in the Marian persecutions; and from the accusations brought against Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, and their replies, we shall gather a fair idea of the charges under which the less distinguished in the party of reform suffered the same awful penalty which was exacted from the chiefs.

Within three months of Mary's accession, the three famous Reformer bishops had found their way to the palace-prison of the Tower of London. At first, as regarded Cranmer and Ridley, considerable leniency seems to have been exercised; but the treatment of Latimer was more severe, the excessive freedom of speech of the great preacher having probably excited more enmity than the more reserved and thoughtful utterances of the archbishop and bishop of London. Latimer, for instance, complained of the cold he suffered. The three were, however, freely permitted at all events to communicate with each other, and the conferences (apparently written) between Ridley and Latimer are preserved, and are of the highest interest, as showing some of the points in dispute insisted on by these great teachers.

"I cannot consent," wrote *Ridley*, "to the mass in a strange tongue, without communion, made a private table, and where there be many priests that will communicate, every one of them having their altars, masses, and tables: the cup denied to the laity." The following among the Tower utterances of the "Three" are remarkable. *Latimer:* "Speaking like aliens or madmen! making that private which Christ made common. The Lord's death is not shown in the Supper, unless there be a partaking not of the bread only, but of the cup." *Ridley:* "They servilely serve the sign, instead of the thing signi-

Photo : Gillman & Co., Oxford.

OXFORD.

fied, adoring and worshipping the bread." *Latimer:* "Deny such a corporal presence and transubstantiation, and their fantastical adoration will vanish away." *

Cranmer in the first six months of Mary's reign had been tried with lady Jane Grey and the Dudleys for treason in the matter of the succession, and condemned. His arch-see for all purposes of administration was deemed void by his attainder, but no further proceedings were for the present taken against him, and he was left in prison. Indeed, the whole question of the treatment of the heretics, as the Reformers were termed, was at first left undetermined; only in Cranmer's case there was never any intention of sparing him. "The archbishop will be executed," wrote Renard, the Spanish ambassador. His great spiritual office and the sacred pall he had received from Rome preserved his life for a time, until an ecclesiastical tribunal should confirm the sentence of death passed by a court Rome deemed an irregular tribunal. The important share which the archbishop had taken in the matter of the divorce of Mary's mother, Katharine of Arragon, had virtually excluded him in the queen's eyes from any possibility of pardon. To this, without doubt, Cranmer owed his final condemnation in 1556, in spite of his unhappy recantation, which by every principle of justice and honour ought to have at least saved his life; but Mary's sullen revenge gave him that splendid chance of atoning for his momentary weakness—a chance of which he availed himself in the last awful scene at Oxford which closed his eventful life.

* Quoted by Canon Dixon: Hist., chap. xxiii.

In the April of 1554, some nine or ten months after Mary became queen, the three bishops were transferred from the Tower to Oxford, and the old university city became the scene of their famous trial and subsequent sufferings. It must be remembered that *two* distinct and prolonged trials of these three illustrious men were held; the first in the April of 1554, immediately after the removal of the prisoners from the Tower. The proceedings of the first trial and condemnation were quashed by Rome as illegal, not being conducted under her auspices. The second was deferred for eighteen months, and was also held at Oxford, under a special commission issuing from the Pope. The sentences passed by this second or Roman trial were carried out in all their dreadful severity.

The first Oxford trial took the form of a theological discussion on the following propositions. They are of great importance, as the acceptance or denial of the substance of them was virtually made the text of heresy or orthodoxy in most of the prosecutions of the following years. They were three in number:—

(1) In the sacrament of the altar, by virtue of the divine word uttered by the priests, the natural body of Christ, conceived by the Virgin Mary, is really present under the species of bread and wine, and also His natural blood.

(2) After consecration the substance of bread and wine no longer remaineth, neither any other substance, save only the substance of Christ, God and Man.

(3) In the mass there is a life-giving propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the dead as well as the living.

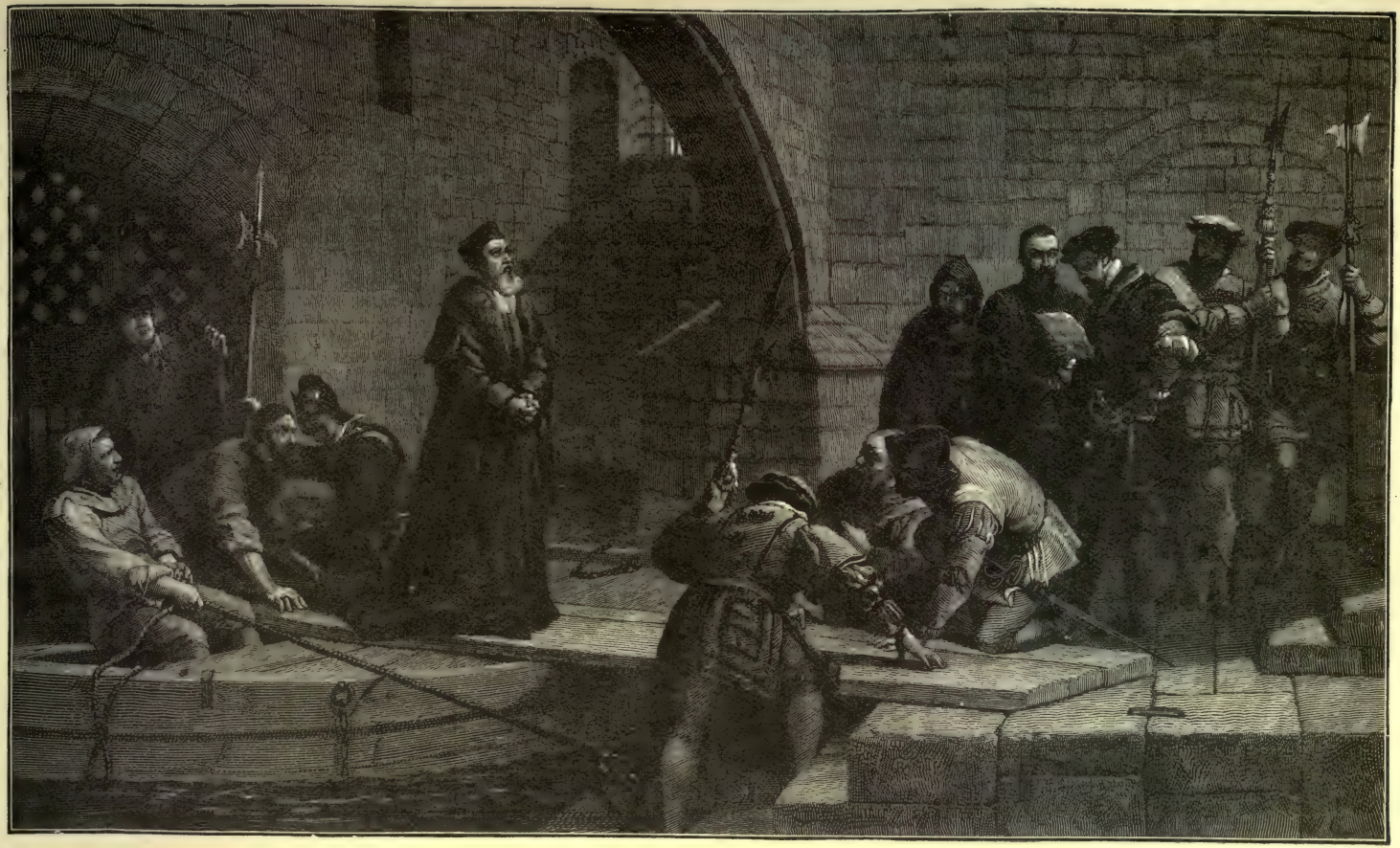
The commissioners, or rather the judges, in the first Oxford trial of 1554, thirty-three in number, were made up of some of the more famous of the Marian divines, partly consisting of a deputation delegated by Convocation under Dr. Weston, the prolocutor; to these were joined from the university of Oxford the vice-chancellor, rector of Lincoln College, afterwards dean of Westminster and then of Windsor, the masters of Pembroke and Queen's Colleges, and others; from Cambridge among notable theologians came the vice-chancellor, the provost of King's, the master of St. John's, Gardiner's chaplain, and the master of Queen's. The scene of the trial was the university church of St. Mary's, and there the commissioners took their seats in front of the altar, the doctors appearing in their scarlet robes.

Cranmer was summoned first, and standing leaning on his staff listened to an opening address of Weston, in which he was charged with having cut himself off from the unity of the church, as a setter-forth of new doctrines, every year putting out a new faith. A copy of the above rehearsed articles was given him, and after a short questioning the archbishop was sent back to his prison to write a formal answer, books such as he should require for his reply being promised him.

Ridley was then brought before the commissioners. His answers to them on this occasion, Foxe tells us, were "sharp, wittie, and very learned." He, too, received the materials out of which he might compose a formal answer.

Latimer was next summoned. The great preacher was then an old and somewhat infirm man. He is described on this occasion as coming in "with a kerchief and two or three cappes on his head, his spectacles hanging by a string at his breast, and a staffe in his hand." The contrast of Ridley and Latimer's appearance at each of these painful scenes is dwelt on by their biographer; Ridley being ever carefuily, ever handsomely apparelled, and Latimer roughly and poorly, as though he cared nothing for those things connected with his person. The great crowd which pressed upon Latimer is several times alluded to. To the crowd he was apparently the best known and probably the most popular of the three great Reformers.

They had scarcely two days for writing their replies, one of these days being Sunday. The disputation, or rather the interrogation of Cranmer which followed after the two days, was long and somewhat confused, with many interruptions on the part of the "judges." "The learned, moderate, and noble exposition which Cranmer had so quickly penned, remained unread." A few of Cranmer's words must be quoted, as showing what was his undoubted view of the great doctrine which formed the real subject in dispute between the Reformers and the Marian theologians. "The true body of Christ," said the accused archbishop, "is present to those that truly receive Him—but spiritually: it is taken after a spiritual sort; Christ is present by the grace and efficacy of His passion. I deny that He is present in bread, or that under the bread is His organised body—that is, having parts or members." And again, "We receive with the mouth the sacrament, but the thing and matter of the sacrament we receive



CRANMER AT TRAITORS' GATE.

(By permission, from the picture by F. Goodall, R.A.)

by faith. Inwardly we eat Christ's body, outwardly we eat the sacrament."* Towards the end of the disputation Cranmer was charged with corrupting some of the old fathers and the schoolmen in his books on the Eucharist, notably Justin Martyr, Duns Scotus, and St. Thomas of Aquinas.

When Ridley was examined, he read much of his written answers, which were learned and carefully prepared. He was, however, frequently interrupted, and was sharply questioned by his many adversaries. In the course of his written answers, he even went so far as to write of the doctrine of the carnal presence, which he opposed, as amounting to "anthropophagy," and was then accused by one of the judges of uttering blasphemies. "I little thought," said Ridley then, "to have such contumely from one who was once my friend." The decree of the Council of Lateran, which affirmed transubstantiation, was quoted against him. Ridley demurred as to the authority of this council. "What," cried out Dr. Tresham, one of the canons of Christ Church, "you reject the Council of Lateran! Write it down; write it down!" "Write it a dozen times," said Ridley.

In the end the assembly was broken up by the prolocutor with the words, "Ye see the stubborn, the crafty, the inconstant mind of the man; ye see the unshaken strength of the truth. Shout after me the song of victory—*Vicit veritas, vicit veritas!*"

Ridley's doctrine of the sacrament was absolutely identical with that of Cranmer. In the course of this long and important trial, the great theologian uttered the following memorable words, which subsequently were virtually embodied in one of the Thirty-nine Articles of queen Elizabeth: "Evil men do eat the very true and natural Body of Christ sacramentally, and no further; but good men do eat the very true Body, both sacramentally and spiritually by grace."

Latimer was brought before the commission a day or two after, also by himself. He, too, had written his answers; they were rougher, less profound, than the careful treatise-like replies of his two friends who preceded him, who were deep theologians; but his replies were characterised, like his sermons, with brilliant, playful expressions, and were written partly in English, partly in Latin. The doctrine, however, was the same as that of his friends. He expressed himself as fearful lest he should be thought to make the Sacrament nothing else but a bare sign; so he repeated that therein he acknowledged a spiritual Presence which was sufficient for a Christian man, and that this might be called a real Presence. He pleaded as an excuse for his brevity his great age, his weakness, even faintness; but his readiness of wit and old brilliancy never seem to have failed him. "*Ecclesia papistica*," he said in his quaint Latin, "*erravit et errat*," adding in English, "I think for the space of six or seven hundred years there was no mention of any eating but spiritually, for before these years the church did ever confess a spiritual manducation, but *ecclesia Romana peperit errorem transubstantiationis* ('the Roman Church produced the error of transubstantiation'). My lord

* Compare Canon Dixon: History, chap. xxiii.

of Canterbury's book handleth that very well, and by him I could answer you if I had him." And later he again referred to Cranmer's celebrated treatise in the words, "I refer me to my lord of Canterbury's book wholly therein."

Weston, the prolocutor, with some force from his standpoint, toward the close of the examination said: "Well, Master Latimer, we wish you well, and exhort you to come to yourself. Remember that out of Noah's Ark is no salvation. Remember who were the beginners of your doctrine—a few flying apostates, running out of Germany for fear of the faggot. Remember what they were who have set forth your doctrine in this realm—flingbrains and lightheads, never constant in one thing, as might be seen in the turning of the table, one day west, another day east, one that way, another this way, when like a sort of apes they could not tell which way to turn their tails. They say they will be like the apostles, and have no churches . . . your stubbornness is all vain glory, and that will do you little good when a faggot is in your beard . . . the queen is merciful, if you will turn." "You shall have no hope in me to turn," replied the steadfast old man, "for the queen I pray daily that she may turn from this religion." Weston then rose, saying, "You see the weakness of heresy against the truth; he denieth all truth and all the fathers."

The sentence was a foregone conclusion. Cranmer was once more brought before the commissioners; and in the same week the three bishops, this time together, appeared before the court, and were formally condemned as heretics. After they had heard the sentence, they replied in beautiful and touching terms as follows. We follow the report of Foxe:—

The archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer): "From this your judgement and sentence, I appeale to the just judgement of God Almightie, trusting to be present with Him in heaven, for whose presence in the altar I am thus condemned."

Dr. Ridley: "Although I be not of your companie, yet doubt not I that my name is written in another place, whither this sentence will send us sooner than we should by the course of Nature have come."

Mr. Latimer: "I thanke God most heartily that he hath prolonged my life to this end, that I may in this case glorifie God by that kinde of death."

To these words the prolocutor Weston replied: "If you go to heaven in this faith, then I will never come thither, as I am thus persuaded." The three then returned to their separate places of confinement; and on the day following there was "a masse with a general procession and great solemnitie," the condemned reformers beholding it—the archbishop and Ridley from their prison, and "Latymer, also being brought to see it, thought he should have gone to burning," and refused to look at the sight. "Dr. Weston carried the Sacrament, and foure doctors carried the canopie over him." Eighteen months, however, passed before the last act of the famous tragedy was played out in the old university city.

This first notable trial, on which the eyes of all England were fixed—which was watched, too, in many countries separated from England by the silver streak of sea—took place in the April of 1554. The

solemn sentence pronounced by that court, at least august in the numbers, rank, and dignity of those who composed it, affirmed that the three "were no members of the church, and therefore they, their fantasy, and patrones were condemned as heretics." The dignified and touching words of the prisoners thus condemned, clearly showed that they looked for death as the outcome of the sentence, although they repeated, that as things then stood "there was no law to condemn us." Touching this lawlessness on the part of the tribunal, Hooper wrote in a letter to Ferrar and others, bearing date the May following in the same year, quoting in the same letter some words used by Weston, the prolocutor of Convocation, when this unlaw was alleged: "It forceth not," quoth Weston, "for a law; we have a commission to proceed with them; when they be despatched, let their friends sue the law."

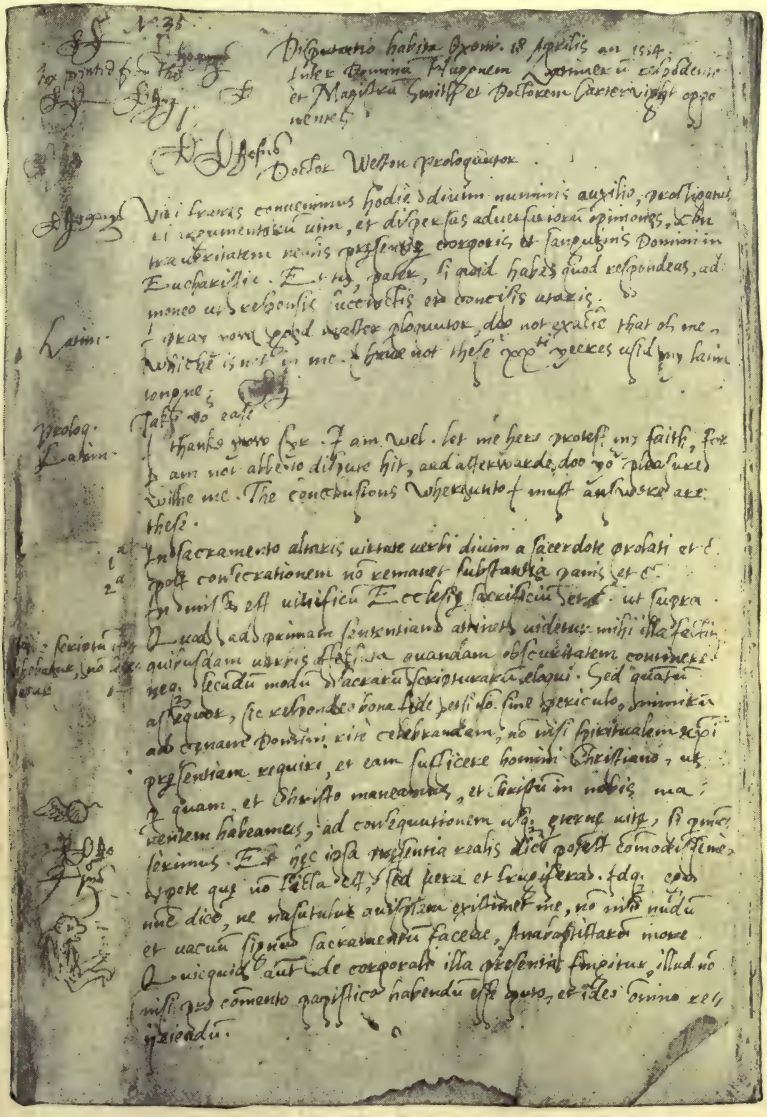
The Heresy Acts under which these so-called heretics might be legally condemned (especially the acts against the Lollards [2 Henry IV.], which enacted that the obstinate who refused to abjure . . . . were to be delivered to the secular authorities and burnt in a high place before the people) were only re-enacted in the *December* of that year, 1554, and came into force the 20th January, 1555. It is probable that this difficulty saved the three for the time, from the martyrdom they evidently looked for as their speedy guerdon.

In the meantime, the cold disapproval of Rome when these famous proceedings at Oxford became generally known, prevented any further action being taken for the present. The archbishop, Ridley, and Latimer, were simply detained in confinement, some eighteen months. From the April of 1554 until the close of September, 1555, they languished in their Oxford prisons, waiting for death. Then Rome—now reconciled with England—with its old imperious disregard of all important ecclesiastical measures which were not based upon direct sanction from the Papal chamber, formally issued a commission on the petition of Philip and Mary, completely ignoring the official condemnation pronounced at the close of the lengthy proceedings at Oxford in the April of 1554, and only recognising those proceedings as an open disputation held in Oxford.

The new trial, which took place at the close of September, 1555, this time under the direct auspices of Rome, was differently ordered in the case of Cranmer. The archbishop had received originally, in the days of Henry VIII., the pall from the Roman pontiff. The Pope alone—so it was determined by the Roman cabinet—could judge and condemn so exalted a dignitary. Cranmer for form's sake was summoned to Rome; but the charge of the case was entrusted, with a view to a trial at home, to cardinal del Puteo. The cardinal appointed as his delegates in England Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, the dean of St. Paul's, and the well-known Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury; only the first of these, Brooks of Gloucester, officiated at the archbishop's trial.

In the cases of Ridley and Latimer a less exalted authority was deemed sufficient to give directions for their trial, as Rome denied their episcopal rank altogether; so, as Foxe tells us, a commission

was issued, about a fortnight after Cranmer's trial, from "Cardinale Pole, legate



ACCOUNT OF A DISPUTATION HELD AT OXFORD APRIL 18, 1554, BETWEEN LATIMER AND MASTER SMITH, AND DR. CARTERIGHT BEFORE DR. WESTON. IN ENGLISH AND LATIN. FOXE PRINTED FROM THIS MS., AS APPEARS FROM A NOTE AT THE LEFT HAND TOP CORNER. (*British Museum.*)

à latere, to John White, bishop of Lincoln, to doctour Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, and to doctour Holiman, bishop of Bristowe (Bristol), that they should have full power to examine . . . . and to judge Latimer and Ridley, pretensed bishops of

Worcester and London, for sundry erroneous opinions which they did hold and maintain in open disputation had in Oxford as also long before in the time of perdition." It was thus Pole characterised the reign of Edward VI. and a large portion of the reign of Henry VIII.

Much had happened in England during the seventeen to eighteen months which had passed since the condemnation of the three leading Reformers at the Oxford trial. In quick succession followed the doings of Parliament — the sweeping away into the dust-heaps of the past the many and various acts of Parliament which at first had limited, and then destroyed the mighty and far-reaching power of the bishop of Rome in England. Then followed the re-enactment of the bloody acts, forged in another age as a weapon to be used against the comparatively weak and puny school of the now-forgotten Lollard teachers; scarcely ever put in force, but now to be turned under queen Mary into a tremendous engine of war against a far more numerous and powerful "heretical" school. Closely, anxiously were the important Oxford captives watched; their words spoken at the famous trial remembered, quoted, repeated in a hundred centres of harassed England. The acts against heretics came into force in January, and the stern persecution at once began to rage in certain parts of England, all through the spring and summer months of 1555. Many witnessed a good confession, and passed away; but the doom of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer still tarried. At length the machinery of Rome was completed, and a new and stately death-scene arranged, in which the great three were to play the leading parts.

The Roman trial of Cranmer came first by a few days. It was a strange and impressive scene in the well-known church of St. Mary at Oxford, that September day of the year 1555. When the papal delegate, bishop Brooks of Gloucester, representing the Pope's person (as Foxe hath it) sat in his "pontificalibus" on "a solemn scaffold ten feet high under the sacrament of the altar, at the east end of the church, to judge an archbishop of Canterbury, the like had never been seen before in England, not even in the days of the enormous mediæval power of the bishops of Rome! On the right hand of the Pope's delegate, but *beneath* him, sat the king and queen's commissioners, doctors Martin and Story; and underneath them were other doctors, scribes, and Pharisees, also with the Pope's collectors and a rabblement of such other like, as Foxe delights to call them.

Cranmer was sent for to come before them. He was clothed in a fair black gown, with his scarlet doctor's hood, and was still addressed by the court as "Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury." To the royal proctors representing the queen of England, Martin and Story, he made a humble obeisance, bowing his knee to the ground and pulling off his cap. Dr. Martin was chancellor of Winchester under Gardiner. Dr. Story was chancellor of Lincoln. But he looked steadily at the bishop of Gloucester, the Pope's delegate; and putting on his cap again, made no sign of obedience at all, justifying this startling act of disrespect, and saying he had done it advisedly, having once taken a solemn oath never to consent to the

admitting the bishop of Rome's authority into the realm of England again. "This not once bowing or making any reverence to him who represented the Pope's person was wonderously marked of the people that was there present and saw it."

The bishop of Gloucester, whose conduct throughout the trial—the result, of course, being pre-arranged—was quiet and dignified, and marked with considerable respect and consideration for the distinguished prisoner, in his opening address dwelt upon the fact much insisted upon by the Marian divines, the strangeness of the departure of Cranmer from what he (Brooks) termed the universal and Catholic church, from the received faith of all Christendom. He reminded the prisoner how from a low degree he had been raised to the proud position of metropolitan of England—the "legatus natus" of the holy see; adding the somewhat startling suggestion that if he would repent, even then (to give his very words), "it were ten to one that where you were archbishop of Canterbury and metropolitan of England, that ye shall be as well still, yea, and rather better."

Dr. Martin, the royal proctor, followed, briefly setting forth the articles of accusation, including charges of perjury to the Pope, adultery in the matter of his marriage, and the books of heresy partly written by him, partly set forth by his authority. Then Cranmer obtained leave to reply.

His defence was somewhat elaborate and very able, and mainly dealt first with his view of papal interference in England, then with the doctrines he had enunciated in respect to the Holy Eucharist. Subsequently the questions concerning the supreme headship of the church and the marriage of Cranmer occupied the court. The accused archbishop prefaced his words by kneeling down, and, with his face towards the west, said the Lord's Prayer and recited the articles of the creed. The westward position he adopted to avoid any suspicion of kneeling before and paying any adoration to the consecrated wafer which was displayed in the pyx on the altar above the papal delegate's throne.

He expressed himself in very strong terms as utterly opposed to the acknowledgment of any Roman supremacy in England; "the state of England," as he said, "being so repugnant to it." The religion, too, he added, which the see of Rome had published in late years was contrary to what the ancient fathers, the apostles, and Christ had taught. The expressions he used in speaking of the Pope were very strong, and even violent. He plainly alluded to him as the enemy of God, as contrary to God and injurious to His plain laws, even as anti-Christ, dwelling especially on one conspicuous instance. "Whereas God would have the people come to church and hear His Word expounded to them, and, that they might the better understand it, to hear it in their mother tongue which they know, the Pope willed the service to be had in the Latin tongue, which they do not understand"; thus sharply reproving the reactionary measures passed under Roman influences, which swept away one of the most beneficent works of the Reformation—viz. the adoption of public prayer in English, and replaced the English formularies again by the Latin breviary and missal.

As touching the Eucharistic doctrine,

Cranmer's words on this occasion were memorable. "As concerning the Sacrament," he said, "I have taught no false doctrine of the Sacrament of the Aultar. For if it canne be proved by any doctor above a thousand years after Christ that Christe's bodie is there reallie, I will give over. My book was made seaven years agoe, and no man hath brought anye

JOHN FOXE.
(*From the portrait in his "Acts and Monuments." Ed.* 1641.)

authors against it. I believe that who so eateth and drinketh that Sacrament, Christ is within them—whole Christ, His nativitie, passion, resurrection, and ascension, but not that corporaltie that sitteth in heaven." Cranmer's doctrine of the most holy Sacrament was clear and definite. To the above important declaration it will be well, so as to make his meaning perfectly clear, to quote the archbishop's words spoken at the first Oxford disputation or trial of 1554. "His true bodie is truly present to them that truly receive him, but spiritually; and so it is taken after a spiritual sort. . . . . As oft as you shall do this it shall put you in remembrance of the breaking of my bodie and the shedding of my blood; that as truly as you receive this Sacrament, so truly shall you receive the benefits promised, by receiving the same worthily." And even more forcibly in a writing which the archbishop put in or exhibited at the same interrogatory: "Thus, therefore, true bread and true wine remain still in the Eucharist until they be consumed of the faithful." And again, "Moreover, He abideth also in them which worthily receive the Sacrament." *

The book referred to by Cranmer was either his "Defence of the true and Catholic doctrine of the Sacrament," written in Latin, or even more probably the exhaustive treatise on the same subject written in reply to Gardiner. Of one or other of these profound works Ridley thus nobly and generously spoke in the course of his disputation, when a prisoner in the Tower, with Feckenham and others: "Quoth I, that book was made of a great learned man, and of him which is able to do the like again; as for me, I ensure you (be not deceived in me), I was never able to do or write anie such like thing. He (Cranmer) passeth mee (Ridley) no lesse than the learned master his young scholler."

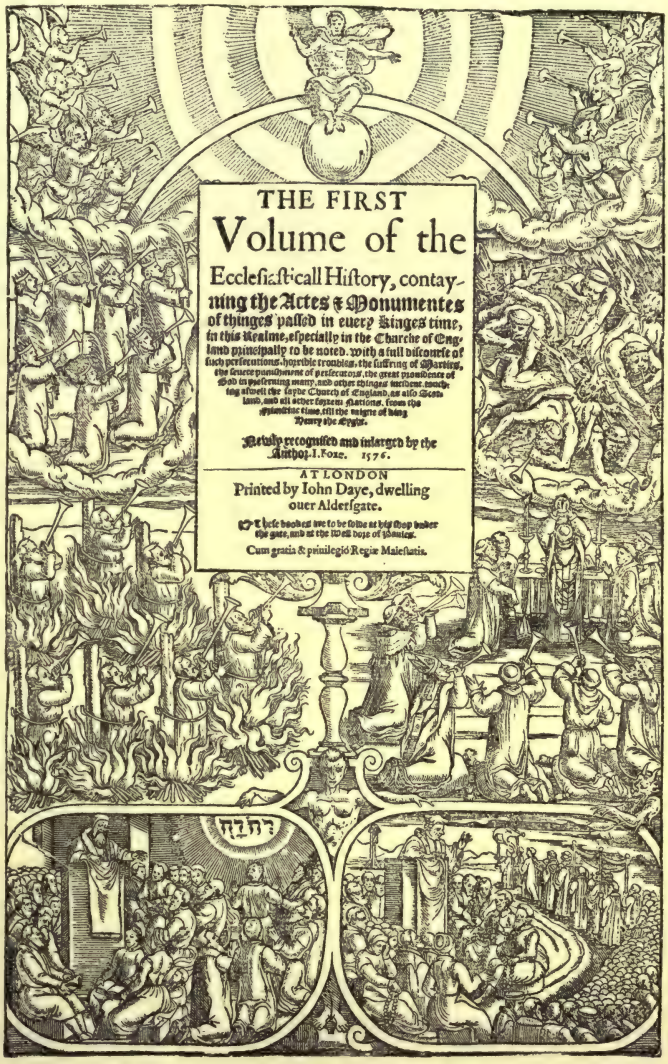
On being somewhat roughly and coarsely charged with having been twice married, the archbishop freely admitted

* See Foxe, quoted here at length in the "Lives, of Bishop Latimer, Ridley, and Archbishop Cranmer." Dr. Wordsworth: "Ecc. Biography," vol. ii. Compare also Dean Hook: "Archbishops" (Cranmer), vol. vii., p. 363, where the doctrine of the great reformer is clearly summarised.

it, boldly repeating that he saw no shame in it.

The whole process against Cranmer, when concluded, was drawn up in Latin, and sent to Rome. A consistory was held, and cardinal Puteo, the delegate appointed by the holy see to conduct the matter, reported that the charges—"wicked and execrable"—were held to be proved. On the 4th December the same year, archbishop Cranmer was pronounced by Pope Paul IV. to be excommunicated, anathematised, and deprived; and was ordered to be handed over to the secular authorities as a notorious heresiarch. The terrible condemnation of Rome arrived in England in due course, with the consequences hereafter to be related; but in the meantime the simpler matters of the other two Reformer chiefs, Ridley and Latimer, had been disposed of. We must tell their tragic story.

John Foxe—1517–1587—the famous historian and martyrologist, whose great work, "Foxe's Book of Martyrs," we have so frequently referred to, and whose vivid and picturesque description of the Marian martyrs is so helpful to all historians of this period, was born in the year 1517. He received his education at Oxford, and became a fellow of Magdalen College, and was reported to be a careful and elegant scholar. He subsequently applied himself to the study of divinity, and became well


THE FIRST
Volume of the
Ecclesiasticall History, contayning the Actes & Monumentes of thinges passed in every Kinges time, in this Realme, especially in the Churche of England principally to be noted. With a full discourse of such persecutions, horrible troubles, the suffring of Martirs, the severe punishment of persecutors, the great providence of God in preserving enemy, and other thinges sundrie, touching aswell the state Church of England, as also Scotland, and all other forreyn Nations, from the Primitive time, till the reigne of king Henry the Eight.
Newly recognised and inlarged by the Author. I. Foxe. 1576.
AT LONDON
Printed by Iohn Daye, dwelling ouer Aldersgate.
Cum gratia & priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis.

TITLE-PAGE TO FOXE'S BOOK OF MARTYRS.
(*Ed.* 1576. *British Museum.*)

versed in the Greek and Latin fathers and the schoolmen, and was also a fair Hebrew scholar. Becoming attached to the principles of the Reformers in 1545, he was ejected from his fellowship, and for a lengthened period lived in straitened circumstances. We hear of him as a private tutor in more than one powerful family. Through the influence of one of these—that of the duke of Norfolk—he regained his lost Oxford position; but in the reign of Mary he became once more a wanderer and an exile. At this period of his life parts of his great work were written. At the accession of Elizabeth he returned to England, and was made a prebendary of Salisbury, and eventually vicar of St. Giles, Cripplegate, dying in 1587. His famous "Book of Martyrs," it is said, occupied the patient, tireless scholar some eleven years. He had the rare advantage of some personal knowledge of most of his heroes, of whom he was the contemporary. In some of his details Foxe is not always accurate; against his so-called "Puritan" prejudices the fair historian has constantly to be on his guard; but on the whole, the estimate "that John Foxe is one of the most faithful and authentic of historians" is scarcely an exaggerated one. The importance of Foxe's monumental writings, and their simplicity and charm of style, is by all serious students of the English Reformation now acknowledged.

It was a fortnight after Cranmer's trial, on the 30th September, 1555, that bishops Ridley and Latimer were brought before the commissioners of cardinal Pole, legate *a latere*, in the Oxford divinity school. The cardinal's representatives were men of the highest rank in the church—Dr. Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, Dr. White, bishop of Lincoln, and Dr. Holyman, bishop of Bristol. This court practically ignored the condemnation passed some eighteen months before. The Reformers were accused of holding divers erroneous opinions, which they maintained "in open disputations, held in Oxford in the previous year, 1554, and elsewhere in the time of perdition," thus characterising the days of Edward VI.'s reign. If they were prepared to recant these opinions, "giving and yielding themselves to the determination of the universall and Catholicke churche planted by Peter in the blessed see of Rome," then the judges deputed by the cardinal-legate were empowered "to minister unto them the reconciliation of the holy father the Pope;" but if the accused were stubborn, and chose to defend and maintain their erroneous opinions, the judges were to proceed according to the law of heretics, to degrade them from their dignity, to cut them off from the church, and yield them to the secular power to receive punishment due to such heresy and schism.

Ridley appeared before the court of the legate's commissioners first. Like Cranmer, he refused any acknowledgment of the Pope, declining to raise his cap or bow the knee to the legate's representatives. The first part of the trial mainly turned upon the question of the papal supremacy, the bishop of Lincoln requiring Ridley to receive the true doctrine of the church, which he boldly affirmed "was first founded by Peter at Rome immediately after the death of Christ, and from him by lineal succession hath been brought to this our time." Ridley replied at some length, and

with force and eloquence, to the startling but not unknown claim for Rome made by the legate Pole's episcopal commissioner, who did not hesitate to affirm that there were two powers—"The Sword and the Keys." The sword was given to kings; the keys were delivered by Christ to Peter, and by him left to all the successors (in the see of Rome). Ridley declared in the midst of his learned argument that he perceived the greater part of Christendom was infected "with the poyson of the see of Rome. I repaire," he went on to say, "to the usage of the primitive church, which I find cleane contrary to the Pope's decrees." Then he gave an instance, "As in that the priest receiveth alone, that it is made unlawful to the laitee to receive in both kinds and such like. Wherefore it requireth that I prefer the antiquity of the primitive church before the novelty of the Romish church."

It was not without pathos, however, that the bishop of Lincoln urged upon bishop Ridley the memory of old times: "Remember, Master Ridley, it is no strange country whither I exhort you to return. You were once one of us. . . . It is not so long ago sith you separated yourself from us."

But the more important part by far of the famous trial of this the greatest of our reformer theologians, was his reply to the "Articles." They were the same as had been proposed to the three bishops on the occasion of the first series of disputations a year and a half before; and it will be remembered that they briefly but clearly set out the teaching of the later mediæval church on the Eucharistic doctrine, the first two Articles dealing with the question of transubstantiation, the third affirming the doctrine that in the mass was a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead. As Ridley was so largely concerned in the framing of the formularies now possessed by the Church of England, it is of the highest moment for us to be able to refer to his very words when questioned, at this supreme juncture of his life, on these difficult and disputed points of doctrine.

To the first Article, which affirmed that "the true and natural bodie of Christ after the consecration of the priest is present in the Sacrament of the Altar," Ridley in the course of his reply said: "My lord, . . . We confesse all, one thing to be in the Sacrament, and dissent in the manner of being there. I, being fully by God's Word thereunto persuaded, confesse Christ's naturale bodie to be in the Sacrament indeede by spirit and grace, because that whosoever receiveth worthilie that bread and wine receiveth effectually Christ's body and drinketh his blood—that is, he is made effectually partaker of his passion; and you make a grosser kinde of being, enclosing a naturall, a lively, and a mooving bodie under the shape or forme of bread and wine."

To the second Article, that "in the Sacrament of the Altar after consecration there remaineth not the substance of bread and wine, nor any other substance save the substance of Christ, God and Man," Ridley answered thus: "In the Sacrament is a certain chaunge, in that that bread which was before common bread is now made a lively representation of Christ's body; and not only a figure, but effectuously representeth his bodie, that even as the mortall bodie was nourished by that visible bread,

so is the internall soule fed with the heavenly foode of Christ's bodie which the eye of faith seeth, as the bodilie eye seeth only bread. Such a sacramental mutation I grant to bee in the bread and wine, which truly is no small chaunge, but such a chaunge as no mortal man can make, but onelie that omnipotency of Christ's word."

Upon the bishop of Lincoln desiring of him a more direct answer, Ridley continued: "That notwithstanding this sacramentall mutation of which he spake, and all the doctors confessed, the true substance and nature of bread and wine remaineth, with the which the bodie is in like sort nourished, as the soule by grace and spirite with the bodie of Christ. Even so in baptisme the bodie is washed with the visible water, and the soule is cleansed from all filth by the invisible Holy Ghost, and yet the water ceaseth not to be water, but keepeth the nature of water still. In like sort in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper the bread ceaseth not to bee bread."

The bishop of Lincoln, however, declined to accept this analogy between the two sacraments, because that Christ said not by the water, "This is the Holie Ghost," as He did by the bread, "*This is my body.*"

Respecting the third article, which affirmed that in the mass was a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead, Ridley replied: "Christ, as St. Paule writeth, made one perfect sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, neither can any man reiterate that sacrifice of His; and yet is the Communion an acceptable sacrifice to God, of praise and thanksgiving; but to say that thereby sinnes are taken awaie (which wholie and perfectlie was done by Christ's passion, of the which the communion is onlie a memorie), that is a great derogation of the merits of Christ's passion, for the sacrament was instituted that we receiving it, and thereby recognising and remembering His passion, should be partakers of the merits of the same. For otherwise dooth this sacrament take upon it the office of Christ's passion, whereby it might follow that Christ died in vaine."

It was in the course of the second day's examination that bishop Brooks of Gloucester, in the course of his address to Ridley, made the sarcastic comparison which is so often quoted: "Latimer leaneth to Cranmer, Cranmer to Ridley, and Ridley to the singularitie of his own witte; so that if you overthrow the singularitie of Ridley's witte, then must needs the religion of Cranmer and Latimer fall also." To this, later in the day, Ridley, with that generous courtesy which was ever a characteristic of the great reformer, replied: "And whereas here the bishop of Gloucester says Cranmer leaned to him, that was most untrue, in that he was but a young scholler in comparison of Cranmer; for at what time he was a young scholler, then was Cranmer a doctor; so that he confessed Cranmer might have been his schoolmaster these manie yeeres."

Latimer was introduced into the court, which was to condemn him, alone. He stood before his judges an old man, then eighty years of age, dressed as seemed to have been his wont, shabbily, even meanly. His well-worn New Testament and his spectacles were as usual slung round him. "The greatest man, perhaps, then living in the world," Froude styles him—a strange estimate it seems on first thoughts, when we remember his two fellow prisoners,

whose weighty writings have had for so long a mighty influence on our great English Church. But the influence of Latimer, too, had been wide, all through the drama of the English Reformation; with his wonderful oratory, his intense burning convictions, he had perhaps done more to sway men's hearts than any other of the leading Reformers. The work of Ridley and Cranmer largely lay in the future. Their writings swayed the thoughts of men of another generation and reign, when the hands that penned the deep, profound thoughts had become ashes, and the great souls of the two had already passed to their eternal rest. But Latimer had been ever the popular teacher, whom men loved and hated with a strangely intense love and hate; so, in some respects, the brilliant historian's estimate was a true one. Latimer was especially the people's hero.

On that sad morning he had been kept long waiting in a cold and draughty ante-room. Before his examination he reproached his judges thus: "My lords, if I appear again, I pray you not to send for me untill you be readie, for I am an old man, and it is great hurt to mine old age to tarrie so long gazing upon the cold walles." The bishop of Lincoln expressed his sorrow for this seeming discourtesy, and

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the trial went on, much after the fashion of Ridley's. The answers, too, were not very different, for the two had long been dear friends, and they thought alike on all the burning questions of the day; only Latimer's replies, although to the same effect as Ridley's, wanted naturally the clear-cut precision of the great theologian's statements.

Latimer's answer to the second Article was remarkable, and shows what the teachings of the great preacher must have been in his many soul-stirring sermons: "There is, my lord, a change in the bread and wine, and such a change as no power but the omnipotence of God can make, in that that which before was bread, should now have that dignitie to exhibite Christ's body; and yet the bread is still bread, and the wine still wine: for the change is not in the nature but in the dignitie, because now that which was common bread hath dignitie to exhibit Christ's body; for whereas it was common bread, it is now no more common bread, neither ought it to bee so taken, but as holie bread sanctified by God's word."

To the third Article he replied: "Christ made one perfect sacrifice for the whole world, neither can any man offer Him againe, neither can the priest offer up Christ againe for the sinnes of man, which He took away *by offering Himself* once *for all* (as St. Paul saith) upon the crosse, neither is there any propitiation for our sinnes, saving His cross only.'

On the following day, after further examination, Ridley was formally condemned, and committed to the secular powers for punishment; in addition he was excommunicated by the great excommunication. Latimer was then sent for, and after a somewhat lengthy examination received, like Ridley, his formal sentence of condemnation. The press of the people crowding to see the illustrious prisoners is especially mentioned. Only one ceremony more—that of public degradation—remained before the dread sentence was carried out.

For about a fortnight the two prisoners waited for death. During these last days they were both visited by the well-known Peter de Soto, a Dominican friar, once the confessor of the emperor Charles V., an eminent theologian of Salamanca, who came to England in the train of Philip of Spain, Mary's husband, and was subsequently appointed a public professor or lecturer at Oxford, in order, we read, to undo the mischief worked by Peter Martyr. Latimer, however, refused to hold any converse with him. It was a curious destiny for this learned friar, who was so active at Oxford at the time of the burning of the three martyrs, that in the end he himself fell under the ban of the Inquisition.

On the 15th October, 1555, the day before the two friends were burned, the bishop of Gloucester, the vice-chancellor, and other leading men of the university, came to the mayor's house, where Ridley was incarcerated, to perform the office which formally degraded the condemned heretic. Foxe gives us many details of the painful ceremony. Once more the Reformer was asked to recant, and the queen's mercy was offered him as a guerdon; but Ridley stoutly refused, and said he was prepared to seal the doctrine which he had taught with his blood. Then bishop Brooks

prepared to degrade him from the priesthood only, for he said, "Wee take you for no bishop." In putting on the various priestly vestments, which were to be stripped from him, some force had to be used, for Ridley refused to assist in the ceremony.* When the words of the papal ceremony were read, taking from him the office of preaching the Gospel, Ridley sighed, and looking up to heaven said, "Lord God, forgive them their wickedness." After "the degradation was ended, very sollemlie the prisoner said to bishop Brooks, 'My lord, I wish that you would read over a little book of Bertram's doings concerning the sacrament. I promise you that you shall find much good learning therein.'" This was the celebrated treatise of Bertram, or Ratramn, "De corpore et sanguine Domini," written at the request of king Charles le Chauve (the bald) in the middle of the ninth century, from which work, it will be remembered years before, Ridley, when staying in Cranmer's house in the reign of Henry VIII., had first learned the true principles of the doctrine of the Eucharist. He thus commended this book almost with his last breath to the man who had judged and condemned him.

Latimer was similarly degraded, but no particulars of the ceremony in his case have been preserved.

The same evening (October 15) a strange scene took place in the house of the mayor, to whose custody Ridley had been entrusted. Irish, the mayor, seems to have treated his distinguished prisoner with consideration and courtesy. His wife was a bigoted Romanist. Before the supper Ridley carefully washed himself. His care for his personal appearance and dress throughout all his troubles was a characteristic feature of our famous theologian. While sitting at the table, with pathetic humour he bade his hostess to his marriage. "'For,' saith hee, 'to-morrow I must be married,' and so shewed himself to be as merrie as ever he was at any time before."* Death had no terrors for Ridley. The Romanist wife of the mayor upon this began to weep. "Oh, Mistress Irish," went on Ridley, "you love me not now, I see well enough. For in that you weep, it doth appear that you will not be at my marriage . . . but quiet your selfe; though my breakfast shall be somewhat sharp and painful, yet I am sure my supper shall be more pleasant and sweet."

His brother-in-law was allowed to be with him that last evening. When they rose from table he offered to watch all night with the condemned man. But Ridley said: "No, no, that you shall not; for I minde (God willing) to go to bed and to sleepe as quietlie to-night as ever I did in my life." So his brother-in-law left him, bidding him to be of good cheer.

The morning of the 16th October was bright and sunny. Lord Williams of Thame with a strong guard was in attendance, in the event of any tumult arising. The prisoner walked to the place appointed for his execution—in the ditch over against Bailey college, on the north side of Oxford. For the last time Ridley carefully apparelled himself. He was dressed "in a faire blacke gown, furred, such as he used to wear when

* This will be detailed at greater length when we come to speak of the degradation of archbishop Cranmer.

* Foxe's vivid and picturesque narrative is closely followed here.

a bishop, a tippet of velvet and fur about his neck, a velvet nightcap upon his head, and a corner cap upon the same." He walked calmly to the stake between the mayor of Oxford and an alderman. After him came Latimer, carelessly and poorly dressed as usual, in a Bristol frieze frock, all worn, a long new shroud hanging over his hose to the feet, "all ready to the fire." Many of the bystanders grieved sorely as they watched the two great men pass, when they remembered who they were, and thought of "the honour they sometime had, and the calamitie whereunto they were fallen."

As Ridley passed under the well-known Bocardo prison, where Cranmer was confined, he looked up, "hoping belike to have seene him at the glasse window," and to have exchanged some farewell words with his old dear friend and colleague; but the archbishop was busied in controversy with the Dominican Soto and others, and so heard not the tramp of the death procession as it passed. Then Ridley, looking back, espied Latimer coming after, "unto whome he said, 'Oh, be ye there?' 'Yea,' said Latimer, 'have after as fast as I can follow.'"

The two arrived at the stake. Ridley held up his hand and earnestly gazed up to the bright blue heavens, then, with a cheerful face, turned to his companion and kissed him, saying: "Be of good heart, brother, for God will either assuage the furie of the flame or else strengthen us to abide it." Then he knelt down by the stake, kissed it, and engaged a while in silent prayer, Latimer kneeling hard by. Then the two arose and talked for a time together. What they said in that little solemn conversation no one heard. The sun was shining all the while so brightly, that those who were superintending the death-scene moved out of the glare.

It was the custom in those days, at such an execution, for a divine appointed specially for the purpose to preach a short discourse. A doctor Smith, who seems at one time to have been a reformer, but who had changed his views, and at that time held high office in the university, was the preacher. He took what from his point of view was an appropriate text enough: "Though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing" (2 Cor. xiii.). It was an abusive piece of oratory. Occasionally as he launched out into peculiarly bitter invective, the prisoners raised their eyes and hands heavenward, as it were calling God to bear witness to the truth. He only spoke for about a quarter of an hour.

The doomed bishops were not permitted to reply to the cruel words, but were bidden to prepare themselves for the stake. Ridley took off his furred gown and tippet, and handed them to his brother-in-law, who stood near. The bystanders, some of them his friends, and persons who wished him kindly, asked for some mementoes of him; not a few of them were pitifully weeping all the while. To one he gave a new groat, to others napkins or nutmegs, bits of ginger, his dial, and other things as he had about him. "Some plucked the pointes of his hose. Happie was he that might get any ragge of him." Latimer had nought to give, but he undressed quietly and stood up erect in his shroud, strong and upright. Men said when he was thus made ready

for the fire, he no longer looked the withered, bent, aged man of the trial scene, shivering with cold, but a hale and

RIDLEY'S LAST BEQUESTS.

hearty old man. Ridley still preserved some of his clothes, but, quoth his brother, "It will put you to more pain, and the trusse you are wearing will do a poore man good." "Be it in the name of God," replied the bishop, and he undressed himself then to his shirt. Then standing all ready on the stone by the stake, he said: "Heavenly Father, I give Thee most heartie thanks for that Thou hast called me to be a professour of Thee even unto death." The smith, then taking a chain of iron, fastened the martyrs to the stake.

His brother-in-law brought Ridley a little bag of gunpowder, and proceeded to fasten it round the neck. "Yes," said the sufferer, "I take it to be sent of God; I will receive it as sent of Him. And have you any for my brother?" On hearing there was some reserved for Latimer, he added: "Then give to him betime, lest ye come too late." "Then," goes on the pitiful, true story, "they brought a faggotte kindled with fire, and laid the same downe at Ridley's feet, to whom Latimer spoke in this manner: 'Bee of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man; wee shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England, as I trust shall never bee put out.'"

As the flames mounted, Ridley was heard to say with a loud voice: "In manus tuas Domine commendo spiritum meum; Domine recipe spiritum meum," and constantly all through his agony repeated again and again the last words in English, "Lord, receive my spirit." Latimer's prayer, which rose from the other side of the stake, was: "Oh, Father of Heaven, receive my soul." Latimer received the first burst of flame as it mounted upwards as though he were embracing it. Then he was seen stroking his face with his hands; but he soon expired, as it appeared, "with little paine or none." Probably the powder exploded soon, and the brave martyr became senseless. Fuller, in his "Holy State," thus touchingly comments upon the old man's speedy release: "Though Latimer came after Ridley to the stake, he got before him to heaven. His body, made tinder by old age, was no sooner touched by the fire but instantly this old Simeon had his *nunc dimittis*, and brought the news to heaven that his brother was following after."

The end of Ridley was a more terrible one. In his case "the wooden fagots were laid about the fosse . . . the fire burned first beneath, being kept down by the wood, which, when he felt, he desired them for Christ's sake to let the fire come to him. His brother-in-law, who was standing near, with mistaken kindness threw on yet more wood, and the flames burned yet slower beneath. His feet and legs were all burnt, and yet no vital part was touched. The agony was extreme; he was noticed to writhe and struggle; and men heard him say: 'I cannot burn.' His body remained long untouched by the cruel flames. 'Lord, have mercy on me,' he cried again and again; 'let the fire come to me: I cannot burn.' At length one of the bystanders with his bill tore away the faggots, and at once the fire shot up. With a dying effort he struggled towards the flame, and at last the gunpowder exploded and he moved no more. Soon the poor charred body fell, as it were, at the feet of the dead Latimer." "It moved hundreds to tears," goes on the vivid recital of Foxe, "in beholding the horrible sight. Signs there were of sorrow on everie side—some took it grievouslie to see their deathes, whose lives they held full deare; some pitied their persons that thought their soules had no need thereof. . . . Who considered their preferments in time past, the places of honour that they sometime occupied in the commonwealth, the favour they were in with their princes, and the opinion of learning they had, could not choose but sorrow with teares to see so great dignitie, honour, and

estimation . . . so many godly virtues, the study of so manie yeres, such excellent learning, to be put into the fire and consumed in one moment. Well, dead they are, and the reward of this world they have alreadie. What reward remaineth for them in heaven, the day of the Lord's glorie, when Hee cometh with His saints, shall shortly, I trust, declare." *

Thus died two out of the three foremost men of the English Reformation; and dying, they "lit up," in Latimer's well-known parting words to Ridley, "such a candle in England as by God's grace shall never be put out." They were the most prominent, the best loved, of that noble army of martyrs who "made the Reformation in England possible." One of our purest and most English poets, who has well voiced the judgment of two generations of his countrymen, chose "the two" as the heroes of his striking verses, in which he paints them as men who—

". . . Constrained to wield the sword
Of disputation, shrunk not, though assailed
With hostile din, and combating in sight
Of hostile umpires partial and unjust;
And did thereafter bathe their hands in fire,
So to declare the conscience satisfied:
Nor for their bodies would accept release;
But blessing God, and praising Him, bequeathed
With their last breath, from out the smouldering flame,
The faith which they by diligence had earned,
And through illuminating grace received
For their dear countrymen, and all mankind.
O high example, constancy divine!" †

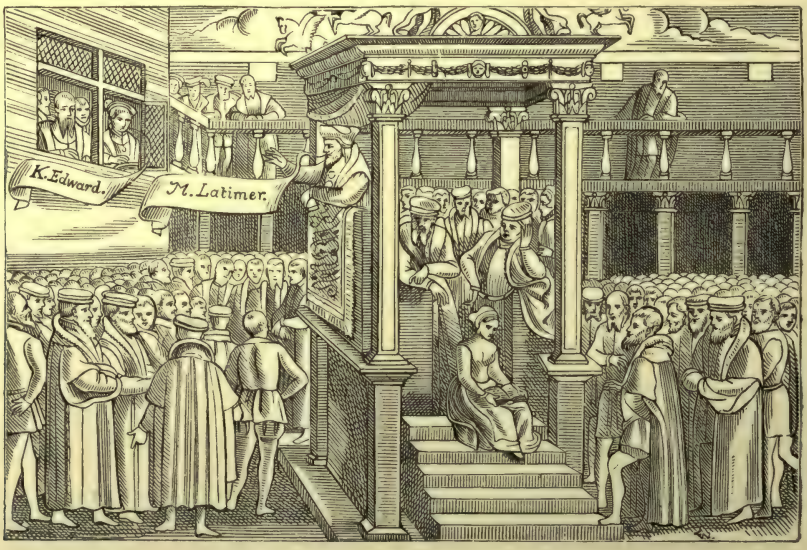
During that long and weary year and a half of his imprisonment at Oxford, between his first condemnation and the final trial by the commissioners of the cardinal-legate Pole, Ridley wrote from his prison various letters of exhortation and farewell to Bradford and other fellow-sufferers, some of which have been preserved. The most remarkable of these is an eloquent and touching paper, or letter, addressed to all his true and faithful friends. The farewell to his friends passes into a still more striking farewell to the sees over which he had presided; and it closes with a strong admonition to the temporal lords who, under the influence of the court and government of the day, had abandoned the Reformation cause.

This remarkable treatise or letter began in the name of Jesus; and then as a man minding to take a far journey, contains some simple and earnest farewell messages to his kinsfolk, addressing them severally by name. Then he passes into a more general valediction addressed to his countrymen. He pictured what the Reformation in England had done for religion, dwelling especially on the truer form of the Lord's Supper it had introduced, and upon the use of the vulgar tongue in the services of the church. Then he painted the change back to the mediæval customs; the re-introduction of the mass, the doing away with the English tongue and substitution of the Latin language in the prayers and rites. He bade next a solemn farewell to his university of Cambridge, especially to his well-loved college of Pembroke Hall. In a touching passage he dwelt on the orchards and gardens of Pembroke, where he had used to pace up and down committing to memory, as he said, almost all Paul's epistles, thus laying the foundation of his vast theological knowledge. Then he turned to Canterbury, of which cathedral in old days he had been an honoured

* Foxe. † Wordsworth: "Excursion," book vi.

member, and mourned over the sad changes which brooded over the metropolitan see. To Rochester, where he had been bishop for a season, he spoke a few words. But to London, over which he had presided for three years when Edward VI. was king, he had much to say: "O London! London! to whom now may I speak in thee; to whom shall I bid farewell? Of all them, alas! that loved God's word, and were the true setters-forth thereof, some have been burnt and slain, others have been exiled, others are still languishing in prison." He alluded, though not by name, to his successor Bonner's cruel rule and work, apostrophising it thus: "O thou most wicked and bloody see, why dost thou set up again many altars of idolatry? Why hast thou overthrown the Lord's table? How darest thou deny to the people of Christ His holy cup? Why babblest thou to the people the common prayer in a strange tongue? . . . . Thou wicked limb of Antichrist; thou bloody wolf. Why slayest thou and makest havoc of the prophets of God? Why murderest thou so cruelly Christ's poor sheep?" (The persecutions under Bonner in London were fiercer than in any other city and diocese in England.) He also appealed to one or two who had filled the office of lord mayor, addressing them by name and reminding them of the part they had once played. The striking paper ended with a fervent address to the temporal lords, whose attitude of sullen indifference and careless acquiescence, to men who shared Ridley's views, was inexplicable.

The death of Ridley and Latimer in Mary's fires at Oxford, did for the Reformation cause they loved so well, what the pen of the one and the voice of the other never would have accomplished. These true great ones did not die in vain.



LATIMER PREACHING BEFORE EDWARD VI.
(*From a woodcut in Foxe's Book of Martyrs. Ed.* 1563.)

CHAPTER LIV.

THE BURNING OF CRANMER. THE MARIAN MARTYRS.

Pre-eminence of Cranmer and his Work—Sees the Martyrdom of his Friends—Letter to the Queen—Pole's Reply—Rome's Unceasing Efforts to Work upon the Prisoner—His Formal Degradation—Continued Artifices of the Roman Divines—Cranmer's Recantations—Execution Resolved upon notwithstanding—Its Infamy—Scene in St. Mary's Church—The Recantation Publicly Withdrawn—Anger and Dismay of the Romanists—Noble Death of the Archbishop—Summary of Cranmer's Life and Character—Brief Sketch of the Marian Terror—Ferocity of the Persecution maintained to the Last.

THERE was a third Reformation leader in some respects more distinguished than the two, the story of whose brave confession we have been telling. In dignity he was their superior. Latimer was somewhiles bishop of Worcester; Ridley at the accession of Mary was bishop of the important see of London; but Cranmer for long years had sat in the seat of Augustine at Canterbury, as primate of all England. As an ecclesiastic, his position was confessedly the most dignified and influential, after that of the bishop of Rome, in western Christendom. In addition he had been the trusted adviser of Henry VIII., and the friend and confidant of his son, the boy-king Edward VI. In popular gifts, however, he was Latimer's inferior. The famous archbishop never found that key to the hearts of the people of England, which Latimer had found and used in a hundred ways.

As a theologian some prefer to underrate Cranmer; yet no serious scholar can turn over the pages of his works without the conviction stealing upon him of his vast erudition and conspicuous ability, though as a theologian Ridley was confessedly greater. He was really Cranmer's teacher, though in his graceful courtesy he would never allow it; an affecting rivalry existed between the two fathers of Anglican theology—not for the higher, but for the lower seat. The sunny, generous nature of Ridley would never allow that Cranmer was his inferior; very lovingly he would declare before men and angels that in Cranmer he had found his master. As a statesman—as the calm pilot who guided the ship of the church in the hour of her greatest peril, as it rocked to and fro in the wild Reformation tempest—the archbishop ranked far before his two friends. In those profound formularies, still the cherished treasure of the Anglican Church—formularies composed amidst the stress and storm of Edward's reign—if the thoughts were often Ridley's, the words well-nigh always were the words of Cranmer; while the far-seeing wisdom, the well-balanced mind of the great archbishop, never permitted him to disfigure the Reformation cause with such regrettable acts as the desecration of the old mediæval altars, so deep a blot on Ridley's work.

In the course of that awful death-march to the stake through the streets of Oxford just pictured, we caught sight of Ridley looking up as he passed under the grim Bocardo prison, hoping for a last sight of,

a last greeting from, his dearest friend of so many eventful years. But Cranmer was too busily engaged in listening to the specious arguments of the Dominican Soto to think of Ridley or of Latimer, doomed that day to die; so the friends saw each other face to face no more on earth. It is said that though Ridley was disappointed at not beholding the well-known face at the window, the archbishop was told by someone in Bocardo that his friends were passing by on their way to the stake. Cranmer rushed to the window; alas! it was too late, the mournful procession had passed by. So he hurried up to the roof, whence he could gaze on the last scene from a distance. It was, as we have said, a singularly bright sunny morning, and he could see in the distance the figures of his two friends, talking together and embracing for the last time. He could mark the seemingly long pause occupied by the delivery of the death-sermon of Smith. Then he could dimly catch sight of Ridley distributing his little gifts to the bystanders, and noted the erect figure of the old man Latimer in his long shroud. He could see them lifting up their hands in prayer as the guards chained the brave martyrs to the stake; then as he gazed he could perceive the flames creeping up and forming a glory nimbus about the bodies of the saints. And when he had seen these things, Cranmer could look no longer!* He was now alone; the souls of the men whose constancy had helped him in his own long agony were safe in the Paradise of the blest—they had joined the company of just men made perfect. For Cranmer there was an awful solitude. The loneliness of Cranmer accounts for much in his sad history. From that day, it seems, now that his friends of so many years had left him, having witnessed their witness, his heart apparently began to fail him.

The archbishop after his trial, while waiting for the condemnation to be confirmed by Rome, wrote to queen Mary a remarkable letter, possibly in the hope that she would let him accompany his friends to the stake without waiting for the final Roman decision in his case. In this writing there was no plea for mercy. He calmly repeated the opinions for which he had been condemned at the Oxford trial, dwelling especially on what he termed the new doctrine of transubstantiation, and the sin of withholding the cup from the laity in the Sacrament of the Holy Communion. The most remarkable sentences in his letter, however, were those in which he enlarged upon the indignity done to the constitution of England, when the king and queen, as if they had been subjects in their own realm, complained and required justice from a stranger (the Pope) against one of their own subjects, being already condemned by the law of the land. "Death could not grieve him much more than to have his most dread and gracious sovereigns, to whom under God he owed all obedience, to be his accusers in judgment before a strange and outward power"*—that of Rome.

This letter cardinal Pole was deputed to answer. Pole's letter in reply seems to have been somewhat delayed, but Cranmer received it some time in that period of doubt and despair which elapsed between

* Hook: "Lives of the Archbishops": Cranmer.

* Froude: "History," chap. xxxiii.

his condemnation and the last scene in St. Mary's. It was a terrible letter. It charged the fallen archbishop with having corrupted Scripture, and broken through the communion of saints; with having pretended to use reason to lead men astray, after the manner of the serpent in Paradise. "With the same instrument," wrote Pole, "have you destroyed your king, the realm, and the church; and you have brought to perdition thousands of human souls. . . . Never had the Church of Christ a worse enemy than you have been. . . . Say not in your defence that you have done no violence, that you have been kind and gentle in your daily life. Thus I know men speak of you, but cheat not your conscience with so vain a plea. The devil, when called to answer for the souls that he hath slain, may plead likewise that he did not desire their destruction; he thought only to make them happy. . . . So did you with your king, for you gave him the woman that he lusted after [Anne Boleyn]; you gave him the honour which was not his due [the title of supreme head of the church on earth]; and last and worst, you gave him poison in covering his iniquities with a cloak of righteousness . . . you tempted him into the place where there is no repentance, no hope of salvation . . . for your own profit you denied the presence of your Lord, and you rebelled against His servant, the Pope. Now, even now, by my mouth, Christ offers you mercy, and with the passionate hope which I am bound to feel for your salvation, I wait your answer to your Master's call." *

* *Cf.* Froude: "History," chap. xxxiii., whose précis of Pole's letter has been followed.

In these dreary weeks of waiting, eminent controversialists constantly visited the archbishop; among these were Soto the Dominican, of whom we have spoken before as visiting Ridley and Latimer, and John de Villa Garcina, another learned Dominican of Valladolid, very learned in Plato and Aristotle, one of the new lecturers in Oxford, and one friar Rescius or Richard. These eminent theologians were unwearied in their attendance in Cranmer's prison. At times, it seems that he was taken from his dreary confinement and entertained with kindness and consideration at the deanery. Nothing was omitted which might work upon the disturbed and harassed, friendless and doomed man.

In recounting the circumstances which attended the famous and lamentable recantations of archbishop Cranmer, the dates are interesting and important. In the middle of September, 1555, he was condemned at Oxford, as the result of what we have termed the second or legatine trial. The condemnation was sent to Rome for confirmation, and the archbishop was formally cited to appear at the Italian tribunal. This last form was simply a mockery, for Cranmer was kept a close prisoner at Oxford. On the 4th December the same year, sentence was pronounced by the Sacred College at Rome, and Cranmer was pronounced by Pope Paul IV. to be excommunicated and deprived, and was ordered to be handed over to the secular power as a notorious heresiarch, a follower of heresiarchs like Wyclif of damned memory, and Martin Luther.

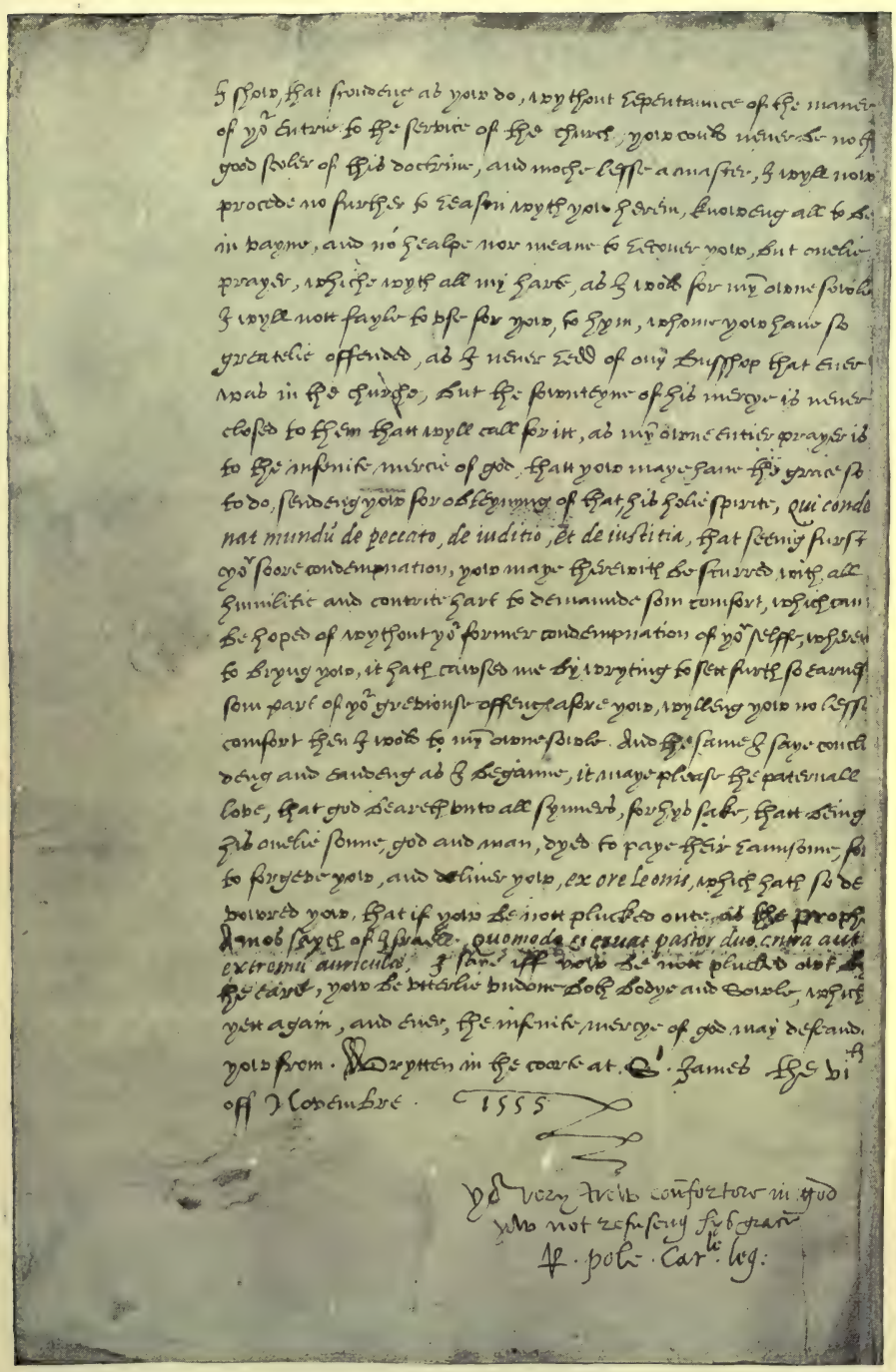
Some two months elapsed, however,

before the bull for the degradation of the archbishop arrived from Rome. Bonner, bishop of London, and Thirlby, bishop of Ely—the latter once an intimate friend of Cranmer—were entrusted with carrying out the painful ceremony on February 14th, 1556. It was in the course of these two months that Cranmer wrote or signed the documents known as the first two recantations or submissions. They were brief, and simply admitted the authority of the Pope as far as the laws of God and England allowed; he was moved, he wrote, to this act considering that the king, queen, and parliament had recognised the Pope as the chief head of the Church of England.

The formal ceremony of degradation was performed by Bonner and Thirlby on February 14th "in the quier of Christe's Church" (Oxford). We follow Foxe's description here. "They put on him a surplice and an albe, after that the vestiment of a subdeacon, and every other furniture, as a priest ready to say masse. When they had apparailed him so farre, 'What,' said he, 'I thinke I shall say masse.' 'Yea,' sayde Cousins, one of Boner's chaplaines, 'my lord, I trust to see you say masse for all this.' 'Doe you so?' quoth hee; 'that you shall never see, nor I will never doe it.' Then they invested him in all manner of robes of a bishop and archbishoppe, as he is at his installing, saving that as everie thing then is most rich and costly, so everie thing in this was of canvas and olde cloutes, with a miter and pall of the same suite doone upon him in mockerie, and the crozier staffe was put into his hand."

Bonner's insulting words addressed to the archbishop are curious: "This is the man who hath ever despised the Pope's holiness, and now is to be judged by him. This is the man who hath pulled downe so many churches, and now is come to be judged in a church. This is the man that contemned the blessed sacrament of the altar, and now is come to be condemned before that blessed sacrament hanging over the altar." Against this unmannerly rudeness, Thirlby of Ely gently protested. In the course of the ceremony Cranmer presented an appeal from the Pope to the next general council. The bishop of Ely received it reluctantly, as he said their commission expressly excluded all right of appeal.

The sad ceremony went on. When they proceeded to take off the pall—the special archiepiscopal insignia bestowed on Cranmer by the Pope in the days of Henry VIII., before the king broke with Rome—the archbishop said: "Which of you hath a pall to take off my pall?" Thirlby and Bonner replied, it was true that as bishops they were his inferiors, but they were acting on this occasion as the Pope's delegates. Foxe goes on to relate the rest as follows: "Then a barber clipped his haire round about, and the bishops scraped the tops of his fingers where he had been anointed, wherein bishop Bonner behaved himself as roughly and unmannerly as the other bishop was to him soft and gentle. . . . Lastly, they stripped him out of his gown into his jacket, and put upon him a poore yeoman bedle's gown, full bare and nearly worne, and as evil favouredly made as one might lightly see, and a townes-man's cap on his head, and so delivered him to the



END OF CARDINAL POLE'S LETTER TO CRANMER (*see p.* 295).
(*From the Original in the British Museum.*)

secular power. After this pageant of degradation, and all was finished, then spake lord Bonner, saying to him, 'Now are you no lord any more.' And then with great compassion and pitie of every man, in this evil favoured gown was he carried to prison."

As Cranmer in this pitiful guise returned to his prison, it is said a compassionate stranger procured and threw over him his own gown again.

Canon Dixon adds some curious particulars of the fantastic ceremony, translated from the quaint Latin of the Roman formulary of degradation, not mentioned by Foxe; among these are the words accompanying the removing of the mitre from the head: "Of the mitre ornament of the pontifical dignity, because thou hast defiled it by governing ill, we denude thy head." The Gospel book or Evangelary was taken from him with the words: "Render back the Gospel, for we deprive thee of the office of preaching, by despising which thou hast made thyself unworthy of God's grace." The ring was drawn off the finger with: "The ring, the symbol of fidelity, we justly draw from thee, who hast violated the church, the spouse of God." "The pastoral staff we take from thee, for thou mayest not exercise the office of correction." The cup and wine, the paten and host, were handed to the degraded bishop, and then taken from him, thus: "We take from thee the power of offering sacrifice to God, and celebrating mass for the quick and the dead." The chasuble was stripped from his back with: "As thou hast lost all innocency, we strip thee of the sacerdotal vest denoting charity." And the stole with: "Thou hast cast off the mark of the Lord, signified by this stole, which therefore we remove from thee, and render thee incapable of any priestly function." There is much more, but this is enough to give a fair idea of the strange rite performed by Rome's orders over the fallen archbishop.

Two days after the ceremony of degradation he was visited by Bonner in prison, and to him he delivered two more short documents, known as his third and fourth recantations. These, however, were less "Romish" than his first and second, made before the ceremony of degradation. In the third he simply submitted himself to all the queen's laws, as well those concerning the Pope's supremacy as others. In the fourth he stated he believed the Catholic faith as the Catholic Church had taught it from the beginning.

During the next few days, Foxe tells us, a different treatment was tried with the unhappy prisoner, so anxious were his enemies to extort from him a further recantation. "To the intent that they might win him, they had him to the deane's house of Christe's Church in the said universitie, where he lacked no delicate fare, played at the bowles, had his pleasure for walking, and all other things that might bring him from Christ," while able men plied him with entreaties and fair promises. They showed him how acceptable a complete recantation would be to the king and queen; how gainful it would be to him and to his soul's health. They assured him, moreover, that the council and the nobles bore him only goodwill. They even gave him good hopes, not only that his life would be spared, but that his ancient dignity might be restored

to him; and it was, after all, but a small thing that they required of him. He had but to subscribe a few words with his own hand, and the guerdon he would receive would be that the king and queen would grant him either riches and dignity, or, if he desired it, would allow him to retire into a private life, where he would enjoy quiet rest; while if he refused, he would shortly end his life in torments, in the flames now ready to be kindled, instead of prolonging his life with honour to himself and profit to others.

So the days passed—days of prison with all the solitude and dreariness of a harsh captivity, alternating with days of kindly treatment and entertainment in the Christ Church deanery; now left alone with his gloomy thoughts and hopeless onlooks, with the stake and the cruel burning in front; now brought into contact with clever and persuasive men, who courted and cajoled him in the deanery rooms and pleasant gardens. At last, broken with long and weary imprisonment, by untold humiliations, friendless and utterly desolate, Cranmer yielded, and signed the fatal paper known as his fifth recantation. It was written in Latin, and is the one given by the historian Foxe, and is indeed a sad and melancholy document.

It runs thus in Foxe's words: "I, Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, do renounce, abhor, and detest all manner of heresies and errors of Luther and Zwinglius. . . . I knowledge the bishoppe of Rome to be the supreame head on earth (of the one holy and Catholic Church visible), whom I knowledge to be the highest bishoppe and pope and Christ's vicar, unto whom all Christian people ought to be subject. And as concerning the sacraments, I beleeve and worshippe in the sacrament of the altar, the very body and bloud of Christ, being contained most truly under the formes of bread and wine; the bread through the mighty power of God being turned into the body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and the wine into his bloud." He further briefly expressed his belief in the other six sacraments and in Purgatory. Finally, he accepted generally what the Church of Rome taught, and expressed himself as "sorie that I ever held or thought otherwise."

The question who *wrote* this singular and crushing paper which Cranmer signed, has been much debated. It would at first sight seem most probable that it came from Mary and Pole, but later historians incline to the view that it was the work of the friars and the Oxford theologians. The authenticity of the document has been long and gravely disputed, but its genuineness is now pretty well universally admitted.

One more recantation was extorted from the unhappy man. The fifth paper, above quoted, contained a complete though brief recantation of all the doctrines held by the Reformation teachers. The sixth, on the other hand, spoke of circumstances connected with his own life, especially referring to his acts—years before—in the reign of Henry VIII. In it Cranmer compares himself repeatedly to the dying thief. "In malice," he said, "he had exceeded Saul; would that with Paul he could make amends." He owns himself deserving of no pity or favour, but of punishment, both temporal and eternal. He dwells on his

conduct in the divorce between Henry and Katharine of Arragon, of which he was the cause and author; which divorce was the seedplot of the calamities of the realm. He allowed that he had blasphemed and insulted the Eucharist, having denied Christ's body and blood to be truly and really contained under the species of bread and wine, and that he had set forth books to oppose this. Worse than Saul and the thief, he confessed he was the most wicked mortal that earth had ever borne; he was the slayer of them that had perished for lack of the heavenly food, and he had daily defrauded the dead. He concluded by allowing that he had been injurious to Christ's vicar, and he prayed the high pontiff to forgive him his trespasses against him and the see apostolic.

Only a few days had elapsed between the signing of the two last documents. That most sad confession above quoted was signed by Cranmer on March 18th, and on the 21st of the same month his enemies brought him out to die. Among the many tragic scenes which disfigure or adorn the many-coloured pages of our English history, there is none so dramatic, so full of surprises, as the one we have now to relate, when Thomas Cranmer, somewhile archbishop of Canterbury, died. We will continue the story without interruption, reserving for the present any such comments and conclusions as the reader will naturally look for.

The execution of the doomed man had been from the first determined upon. Nothing that can be ever advanced, can excuse the shameful duplicity which had deluded Cranmer during those last melancholy days with hopes of life and pardon, and perhaps more. After what had happened, his death was simply murder. It is absolutely useless to plead that those eminent men, those learned and polished courtiers, friars, and others, had "exceeded their powers" in making their delusive offers to the archbishop. The recantations and confessions were purchased at the price of a pardon, and something far more, as we have related; and yet in spite of this, Mary and Pole deliberately, in their blind hate, arranged carefully the details of the ghastly execution. It has been supposed—with good reason—that Cranmer's action in the process of her unhappy and unjustly-treated mother, Katharine of Arragon, never was forgiven. It must be remembered, that in the decision arrived at, Mary had been pronounced illegitimate. The queen never pardoned this.

Again lord Williams of Thame, and other gentlemen of mark devoted to the government, were summoned, as in the case of the burning of Ridley and Latimer, to be present with their company of armed attendants to see that the dread work was safely carried out on the fatal 21st March. Different from the bright sunshine and blue skies of the day of the martyrdom of the first two, the 21st March, 1556, was wild and rainy. No one will ever really know what was in Cranmer's mind the last two days of his life. Various accounts exist. That he wrote much is certain. It is also clear that the great controversialists who had seen so much of him during the past two months, visited him in his prison of Bocardo, where he spent his final days, on the morning of the 21st, and to

the last probably assured him that his life was in no danger. The friars left him in Bocardo on the morning of the fatal 21st March, expecting to receive his pardon at the stake, and in this expectation Cranmer composed his melancholy renunciation of his recantation.* It is also

THE MARTYRS' MEMORIAL, OXFORD.

certain that neither these friars nor any other had any conception whatever of what was about to happen in the church of St. Mary.

Had the day been fine, it was intended that the proceedings which had the church for their scene should have been carried out at the place of execution; but the rain induced the authorities to choose St. Mary's as the scene for the sermon, and for Cranmer's last address. The rain descended in torrents as the melancholy procession moved from the prison of Bocardo to the church of St. Mary's. The prisoner walked between the two Dominicans, John de Garcia and friar Richard or Rescius, the mayor and aldermen preceding. Lord Williams of Thame and a large company of armed men and retainers surrounded the little band. The friars and others chaunted psalms as they moved along. When they arrived at St. Mary's, as Cranmer stepped across the threshold of the church, the choir within burst into the joyful strain of the *Nunc dimittis*. It was intended, so the elaborate and cruel drama had been arranged, to

* *Cf.* Hook: "Lives of the Archbishops"—Cranmer.

typify the victim's joy at being allowed to depart in peace, and after his troubled weary life to join the saints in glory at last. The archbishop, without a word—so far as we know—went to the place appointed him by a pillar* opposite the pulpit. "Who," eloquently writes Foxe, "could not pitie his case and bewaile his fortune, and might not feare his own chance, to see such a prelate (who so lately had been archbishop, primate, and metropolitan of England), so grave a counsellour, in his old years (he was 66–7 years old), and of so long continued honour, after so many dignities, to be deprived of his estate, adjudged to die, and in so painefull a death to end his life, and now presentlie from such great ornaments to descend to such vile and ragged apparell?"

Dr. Cole, provost of Eton, was appointed to preach the sermon, which was very long and tedious, lasting about two hours. It was an elaborate and carefully prepared address, giving at length the reasons why, even after the prisoner had recanted his grievous errors, he was still condemned to die. He had been a *traitor*, in that he had dissolved the marriage between the mother of the queen and Henry VIII., besides his work in driving out the Pope's authority. He had been a *heretic*, from whom, as from the only fountain, all the heretical doctrine that had for so many years prevailed in England did first rise and spring. And lastly—strangest death-plea of all—it was meet that he should die, according to the law of equality. The execution of Northumberland balanced, said the preacher, the execution of Sir Thomas More, but the deaths of Ridley, Hooper, and Ferrar were not sufficient to balance the murder of Fisher (bishop and cardinal); to make even, that man's death, Cranmer too must die! Then he drew various lessons for his hearers, generally to the effect that nothing among men is so high that can promise safety on earth: God's vengeance reaches all. The poorest wretch would not now change places with the prisoner standing there, who for long had been the second person in the kingdom. Then turning to the archbishop he comforted him with the Savour's promise to the thief dying on the cross, "To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise." So it would be with Cranmer, to whom he promised the church would say for his soul diriges and masses in all the Oxford churches. Once more turning to the people the preacher said, "Now lest any man should doubt of Cranmer's earnest repentance and conversion, they would hear Cranmer's own voice telling his own story." Then there was a great hush when the archbishop, accepting the challenge, cried, "I will do it, and that with a good will."

Upon this Cranmer drew forth from his bosom a paper, on which was written a striking and earnest prayer to the ever-blessed Trinity, which he had composed, in which he besought the mercy of God. "Cranmer," writes Foxe, quoting here the pathetic description of a contemporary papist (an eye-witness), "in all this meane time, with what griefe of mind he stood hearing this sermon, the outward shewes of his bodie and countenance did better

* The pillar by which Cranmer stood is still marked with the incision made on it that morning to receive the wooden platform; the pulpit opposite is still preserved in part, being built into the wall.

expresse than any man can declare—one while lifting up his hands and eies unto heaven, and then agane for shame letting them downe to the earth. A man might have seen in him lively expressed the very image and shape of perfect sorrow. More than twentie severall times the tears gushed out aboundantly, dropping downe marvellously from his fatherly face. They which were present doe testify that they never sawe in any childe more teares than brast out from him at that time, all the sermon while, but specially when he recited his prayer before the people. It is marvellous what commiseration and pitty moved all men's harts that beheld so heavy a countenance and such aboundance of tears in an old man of so reverent dignity."

The archbishop, after his prayer, and having repeated the Creed, said:* "I believe every article of the Catholic Church, and every word and sentence taught by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, His apostles and prophets in the New and Old Testaments." He exhorted the people to avoid all worldliness, to obey the king and queen, to love one another, and if rich, to abound in alms-deeds. He prefaced his address with very moving and solemn words, to the effect that every man desireth at the time of his death to give some good exhortation that others may remember after his death, for one word spoken of a man at his last end will be more remembered than the sermons made of them that live and remain.* "So I beseech God grant me grace that I may speak something at my departing whereby God may be glorified and you edified." It has been suggested with great probability that Shakespeare, calling to mind this moving scene of the martyrdom, had in his mind this thought —and perhaps the very words of Cranmer— when he put into the mouth of the dying John of Gaunt the magnificent lines—

"O, but they say the tongues of dying men
Enforce attention like deep harmony:
Where words are scarce they are seldom spent in vain,
For they breathe truth, that breathe their words in pain.
He, that no more must say, is listened more
Than they whom youth and ease have taught to gloze;
More are men's ends marked than their lives before:
The setting sun and music at the close,
As the last taste of sweets, is sweetest last,
Writ in remembrance more than things long past." †

* We possess "four sources" which may be considered contemporary for this famous scene in St. Mary's, and for Cranmer's words spoken on March 21, 1556. (1) Cranmer's own memoranda, written previously in Bocardo. (2) A letter of "J. A.," a papist, to his friend, dated two days after the archbishop's death. (3) Another narrative, conjectured to have been written by some of the religious exiles shortly after Cranmer's death. Scory is supposed to have been one of the writers. And (4) Foxe's account, which is more or less derived from these three. They differ slightly, as might be expected, in the words attributed to Cranmer. The differences are, however, unimportant, while the general sense is the same in all. Bishop Bonner in his "Register" places on record the fact that Cranmer, immediately before his burning, publicly revoked his former recantations, and expired persisting in his errors. Thus absolutely the historical truth of the dramatic circumstances attending the death of Cranmer is established.

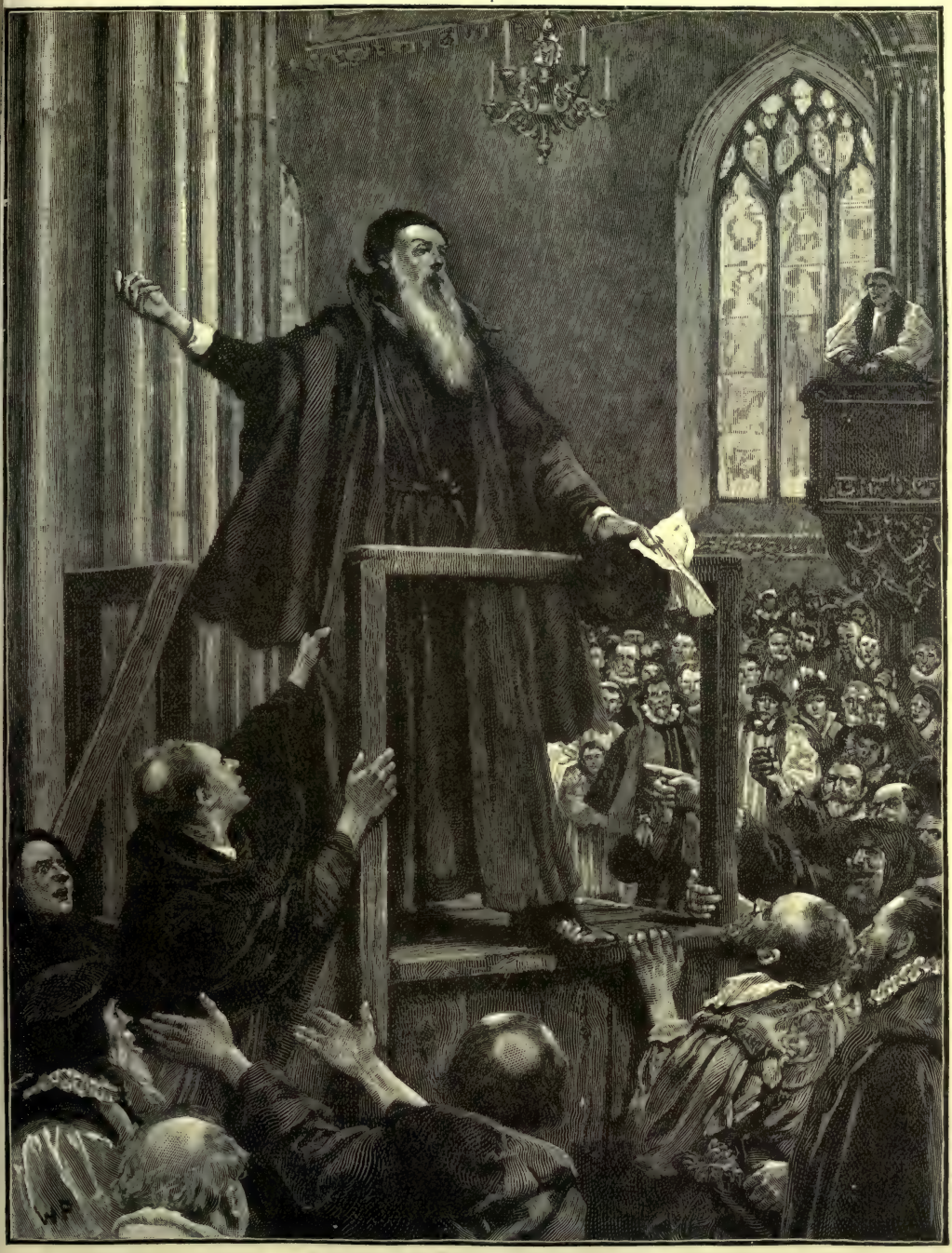
* The exact words here quoted are the words of "No. 3" of the sources above referred to, the account supposed to have been written by Scory and another of the exiles for religion; but the sense is the same in each of the other three contemporary accounts of the never-to-be-forgotten scene.

† *King Richard II.*, act ii., scene i. Entered at Stationers' Hall A.D. 1597, forty-one years after the burning of Cranmer.

Nothing, however, in the first part of Cranmer's address justified the extraordinary solemnity of the opening sentences. It was quiet, devout, and earnest, but commonplace. Of a sudden, we may suppose that a change passed over the venerable bowed form of the broken man: voice, bearing, attitude, were altered; another and a different Cranmer stood on that rough, wooden platform by the pillar opposite Dr. Cole's pulpit, when he spoke the words never forgotten in England since, words with which he utterly discomfited his remorseless and short-sighted enemies, and made a noble atonement for his brief moment of mortal weakness. "And now I come," said he, "to the great thing, that so much troubleth my conscience, more than anything I ever did or sayde in my whole life: and this is the setting abroad of a writing contrary to the trueth, which now here I renounce and refuse as things written with my hand contrary to the trueth which I thought in my hart, written for feare of deathe and to save my life if it might bee; and that is, all such billes and papers which I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended, writing contrary to my hart, my hand shall be first punished therefore, for may I come to the fire it shall be first burned. . . . And as for the Pope, I refuse him, as Christ's enemie and anti-Christ, with all his false doctrine. . . . And as for the Sacrament, I beleeve as I have taught in my book against the bishop of Winchester, the which my book teacheth so true a doctrine of the Sacrament, that it shall stand at the last day before the judgement of God, when the papisticall doctrine contrarie thereto shall be ashamed to shew her face."

Here there was great confusion in the church; murmurs from all sides arose, then subdued cries were heard. Lord Williams of Thame, who superintended generally the day's proceedings, raising his voice, addressed the archbishop, asking him whether he was in his right mind, and bidding him not dissemble. To whom Cranmer replied, "Alas! my lord, I have been ever a man that hated falsehood, and against the truth never did I dissemble until now. I am grieved for my fault. I must now say that I believe concerning the sacrament what I taught in my book against the bishop of Winchester." The cries in the church now grew more menacing, and Dr. Cole from the pulpit bade the bystanders to stop the heretic's mouth and to take him away.

With some violence, as it appeared, the prisoner was pulled from his wooden platform, and was hurried from the church. Some order was at length restored, and the procession moved rapidly towards the spot where the stake had been erected and the fire had been arranged. There was about a quarter of a mile to go. Some sympathising friends grasped him by the hands, more though, railed at him. "His friends," said the papist eye-witness in his letter above referred to picturing the strange scene, "sorrowed for love, his enemies for pity, strangers for a common kind of humanity, whereby we are bound one to another." The Dominicans Garcia and Rescius, calculating truly upon the enormous effect which Cranmer's act re-



CRANMER'S LAST TESTIMONY.

voking so formally his recantations would exercise upon the world generally, pressing close up to him, pressed him with angry questions. "What madness," asked one of them, "hath brought thee again into this error, by which thou wilt draw innumerable souls with thee into hell?" The other kept repeating in Latin *Non fecisti, non fecisti*, probably meaning by these half-incoherent words, "You have not done this, surely?" But Cranmer was now serene and confident; nothing could move him more. In vain the Dominicans now intreated him, now threatened him.

When they arrived at the stake, Cranmer at once kneeled down and for a very short space prayed earnestly; then, rising, shook hands with a few of those standing near, put off his garments to his shirt, which was long and reached shroud-like to his feet, which he left bare. His beard, long and thick, says Foxe, "covered his face with marvellous gravity"; his grave countenance moved the hearts both of his friends and enemies. For the last time the Spanish friars with passionate urging exhorted him; but lord Williams cried, "Make short, make short!" So the iron chain was made fast round his body, binding him to the stake, and the fire around was kindled. As the flames curled upwards, he was noticed by those close by to stretch out his arm and to put his right hand into the flame; he held it there so, steadfast and immovable (saving that once with the same poor charred hand he wiped his face), that men might see his hand burned before his body was touched. "His body," says Foxe, "did so abide the burning of the flames with such constancy and firmness, that standing always in one place, without moving his body, he seemed to move no more than the stake to which he was bound." His eyes were lifted up unto heaven, and oftentimes he repeated his words, "*Thou unworthy right hand*," so long as his voice would suffer him; using often, too, the words of Stephen, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit," till in the greatness of the flame he gave up the ghost. Dixon well paraphrases the several dread accounts: "The flames rushed upon his body, but he in perfect silence looked the agony down, as it were, standing, without stirring, in the greatness of the fire till life departed; he died with extraordinary fortitude." John de Garcia ran to lord Williams, crying out that the archbishop was vexed in mind and had died in great desperation; but lord Williams, fully aware of Cranmer's constancy, smiled only, and by his silence rebuked the Spanish friar's folly.

"And this was the end," concludes Foxe, "of this learned archbishop," still giving him his title, which no Roman degradation could take away. "So good was the Lord both to his church in fortifying the same with the testimony and blood of such a martyr; and so good also to the man with this crosse of tribulation, to purge his offences in this world, not only of his recantation. . . But especially he had to rejoice that, dying in such a cause, he was to be numbered among Christ's martyrs."

The question has been seriously asked, sometimes even scornfully, whether Cranmer really had any claim to the honour of martyrdom; and has been variously answered according to the views of the writers. Rather than answer such a question directly, let us briefly review

certain of the more prominent features in the life of this great and eminent servant of God — for that emphatically was Cranmer, whatever the opinion may be as to his right to wear the highest title which Christian men can give to a brother man.

And first, as the friend and adviser of the despotic Henry VIII., the impartial historian cannot by any means award the great archbishop unstinting praise. His conduct in the matter of the divorce was far from stainless. As a patriot statesman, in view of the anarchy likely to ensue at the king's death, he desired, and with good reason, the dissolution of the marriage which brought no male issue; but as a Christian churchman, grave exception must be taken to his conduct. When all is said that can possibly be urged in favour of Henry's conduct, it remains that the act was an unrighteous act, and Cranmer was Henry's chief adviser all through the unhappy affair. No vulgar desire for place or power can be charged to Cranmer; the archbishopric was in a way forced upon him: yet it cannot be forgotten that the way which he trod to the archbishopric was a dark and tortuous way; nor is it possible to conceive but that his soul must have been stained, like that of the king, as far as this world is concerned, with the stains of the road which he had travelled. His character, no doubt, suffered injury. Who would venture to look for the high serene courage, the unflinching patience, the unwavering faith of a Latimer or a Ridley, in the man who at the bidding of Henry VIII. presumed to sit in judgment in the case of the hapless Katharine of Arragon? Is it too much to see in the sad surrender of Cranmer in 1556, even under circumstances of unprecedented temptation and bodily weakness, a retribution for the old sin?

But when we have said all this, the other circumstances of that great life must be carefully considered and taken into account. Through the tremendous changes which befel the church in the latter years of Henry VIII.'s eventful reign, the archbishop was the wisest of Henry's counsellors, the purest, the most unselfish. Through the dark and cloudy days of the boy-king Edward's rule, the archbishop steered the storm-tossed ship of the church with a calm wisdom and a far-sighted prudence, which cannot be overrated. With few advisers near him worthy of the name, surrounded by a group of generally selfish and greedy ministers of state, Cranmer resisted successfully the attempts incessantly made to supplant by the introduction of a foreign sect the church of Augustine and Aidan.* The Anglican churchman in a large measure owes to Cranmer the unbroken continuity of the Church of England which he loves, and of which he is so justly proud.

As a scholar ever at work; as a tireless, unwearied toiler, must the historian also give unstinted praise to Cranmer. Ungrudging admiration must follow any real study of the archbishop's life. To master the great theologic questions which agitated men's minds in that restless age of change, Cranmer worked long years, as few men on this earth have ever worked; and his vast labours bore fruit in the production of the great formularies of reformed religion —the precious treasure of the Anglican

* Dean Hook.

THE INTERIOR OF ST. MARY'S, OXFORD, SHOWING THE PILLAR (THE SECOND ON THE LEFT) BY WHICH CRANMER STOOD DURING DR. COLE'S SERMON.

communion. Not a few, too, of the noblest features of the English Reformation, either in their inception or in their development, are in great measure Cranmer's work. He was one of the two or three to whom we owe our English liturgy, so pure in doctrine, so close to the very words and thoughts of the fathers of the best and purest age of the Christian Church. With the English Bible his honoured name will also be ever closely joined.

His courage, too, save in that hour of mortal weakness when he signed the fatal papers of recantation, was of the highest order. It was again and again tested in the later years of the tyrant Henry VIII., whose arbitrary will he never shrank from resisting, at the sore peril of his life, when he felt the royal will was contrary to God's will; and Henry was noble and great enough to honour him for his resistance. In the evil day of Somerset's protectorate and Northumberland's selfish and short-sighted tyranny, Cranmer stands out among the chiefs of England almost alone, as stainlessly pure, faultlessly honourable. Alone among the magnates of the council he resisted, till resistance was useless, the warped and petulant will of the young dying king in the matter of the succession.

When Mary became queen—the Mary whom too well he knew was his relentless enemy—he disdained to fly, though he had ample opportunity, had he wished it, to escape. In the great reaction which immediately set in when Mary became queen it was Cranmer's high courage and lofty principle which rallied the fainting spirits of the Reformation, and he willingly and joyfully offered himself as a victim for the cause which he felt was the true and righteous cause. All through those long and painful discussions at Oxford, in the years 1554-1555, his calmness and dignity of demeanour, his gentle, noble bearing, his skill in controversy, his profound learning, touched the more worthy of his antagonists, and extorted from them a real though a grudging admiration: while the grave and unbiassed scholars of later times, with the careful reports of the

momentous disputation and trial before them, with little hesitation recognise the superiority of Cranmer to his antagonists in learning and in ability, as well as in the temper with which he approached such serious questions. It is true that the archbishop was adjudged to be vanquished in the long Oxford disputation, and was led away as a condemned heretic amid the exulting plaudits of his foes and the self-congratulatory shout of Weston, who presided, "*Vicit veritas!*" but posterity has declined to endorse the judgment of the court at Oxford, or to accept the exultant cry of Weston, its president, in the sense originally intended by the triumphant speaker.

Then came the sad end. Bereft of his friends, Ridley and Latimer, whose brave spirit and deep piety had so long given him strength and support; his health sorely enfeebled by a protracted and weary imprisonment; alternately cajoled and threatened, deluded with vain promises, and harassed with every specious plea that trained and polished masters in controversy could suggest; one day surrounded with all the grim and forbidding scenery of a dreary prison-chamber, the next courted and entertained in the luxurious rooms and fair gardens of the Christ Church deanery, scarcely are we surprised to find that the tortured spirit of the worn-out scholar-prelate succumbed in a fatal hour to the temptation, and that the great mind, broken down for a moment, but only for a moment, gave way. Yet, as we have seen, the spirit again quickly reasserted itself; the mind, shaking off its temporary aberration, after a few days recovered its balance; and in a sublime and heroic death we see once again the old brave Cranmer. It is a hard and unfeeling judgment which estimated the life-work of a great and earnest man by his temporary failure under a peculiar and awful trial at the close of a long, and, on the whole, singularly noble and beautiful career, especially when the circumstances of the utter loneliness of the old man Cranmer during those last awful months of temptation and trial are all fairly taken into consideration.

If, then, any doubt rests in the minds of some—as it does not with the writer of these lines—as to Cranmer's claim in the fullest sense to that rare, high name of honour which we are discussing, he possesses other and scarcely less weighty

FRONT OF CRANMER'S PULPIT, ST. MARY'S, OXFORD.
(*Built into the Wall.*)

claims to the affection and the reverence of his England. Men of some schools of thought, whose lives and conversation compel our regard, may speak now and again slightingly of the great archbishop of the Reformation, and—perhaps unconsciously, certainly unjustly—may belittle his works and days; but the real heart of serious England will ever love his memory with a changeless love, with a love that will surely increase as time rolls on. It will love him, strange though it may seem, perhaps even the better for his frailty, for that momentary human weakness so sublimely repented of, when like the truest martyrs, whose blood has been the seed of the Christian church, fearlessly and uncomplainingly, with serene trust in the pitiful Redeemer, conscious that beneath him were the everlasting arms, he passed to his rest.

The Marian persecution lasted from the end of January, 1555, until the November of 1558, when it ceased on the death of the two principal authors of the work, the queen and the cardinal-archbishop; the latter passing away, strangely enough, only a few hours after his royal mistress breathed her last. We shall be able to describe the further features of this terrible episode in the story of our Church in a very few pages. We have dwelt at considerable length on the disputations, the trials and condemnation of the three leading Reformers, for the question upon which the Marian persecution really turned is found in the three short articles presented for acceptance or rejection to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, in the first disputation at Oxford in the April of 1554, and which also when rejected formed the basis of their final condemnation under the direction of Rome in the Oxford trials of September and October of 1555. There is no doubt but that after the statute for the punishment of heretics came into force in the January of 1555, the prime movers in the cruel work of persecution were Mary and her confidential adviser, cardinal Pole. With Mary and Pole the question at issue belonged to another world than this. The heretic was an enemy not of her and her earthly realm, but of God and His Eternal kingdom. The "heresy" was spread over a broad field of debatable subjects, but the central point, as we see in the two Oxford trials of the three great bishops Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer, was the long-disputed question of the Presence in the Eucharist. No belief in a spiritual Presence, although such a belief was shown to rest upon the teaching of an almost immemorial antiquity, upon the teaching of doctors of the church whose orthodoxy was unimpeached, was sufficient to clear the accused. Transubstantiation in its full and complete acceptation must be confessed, or the accused heretic must suffer. It is clear that many of those in authority in that reign of blood, would have been willing to have taken in the case of the accused a broader and a vaguer view, and to have dealt gently with the so-called "heretics"; but Mary and Pole were rigid in their turn—the queen and cardinal believing, with a strange and sad belief, that in this they were the chosen instruments of the Almighty.

Thus, in relating in detail the events of the three great trials, in dwelling upon the answers of Cranmer and his companions, we have given the subject-matter of the

trials of the vast majority of the lesser men. The Marian army of martyrs suffered for the faith so nobly asserted by the great three. In the words of bishop Gardiner on the occasion of the condemnation of Rogers, the prebendary of St. Paul's, we have virtually the cause of the condemnation of them all. Rogers was condemned as a heretic who maintained that "in the sacrament of the altar there was not substantially and really the natural body and blood of Christ."

The "terror" lasted not quite four years. It is computed that about three hundred victims perished at the stake for their religious opinions, being burned by the secular powers under the "Heresy" Acts; about a hundred more must be added to the sad roll, who died during their harsh imprisonment, or from other causes and hardships connected with their so-called heresy. These numbers would probably have been largely increased had the bishops and other state authorities in good earnest carried out the wishes of Mary and her government. As a rule, however, these were happily slack in their dread work; and more than once orders were sent out from the royal cabinet to stimulate their zeal and quicken their inquisitorial efforts! But such directions were evidently only languidly obeyed, for the persecution was but partial and sporadic in its character. In some dioceses we read of no victims at all; in others the roll of martyrs, comparatively speaking, was very small; only in four or five can it be said that the prosecutions were in real earnest. Of these the diocese of London, under the auspices of Bonner, and the arch-diocese of Canterbury, under the immediate rule of cardinal Pole, occupy positions of undesirable notoriety.

Froude in his account of 1556 gives the following ghastly catalogue of the progress of the cruel work during certain months of that year. This may be taken as a fair example of a register of "the terror": "On the 23rd April six men were burnt at Smithfield; on the 28th six more were burnt at Colchester; on the 15th May an old lame man and a blind man were burnt at Stratford-le-Bow. In the same month three women suffered at Smithfield, and a blind boy was burnt at Gloucester. In Guernsey a mother and her two daughters were brought to the stake. On the 27th June thirteen unfortunates—eleven men and two women—were destroyed together at Stratford-le-Bow in the presence of twenty thousand people."* It is remarkable that with the exception of the five bishops and a few notable men, such as Rogers and Bradford, the bulk of the victims was drawn from the lower classes of the population. The same writer in another eloquent passage thus describes these poor victims: "They (the emissaries of Mary and Pole) went out into the highways and hedges, they gathered up the lame, the halt, and the blind; they took the weaver from his loom, the carpenter from his workshop, the husbandman from his plough; they laid hands on maidens and boys who had never heard of any religion other than that which they were called on to abjure; old men tottering into the grave, and children whose lips could but just lisp the articles of their creed; and of these they made their burnt-offerings."

As time went on, the persecuting rage

* Froude: "History," chap. xxxiv.

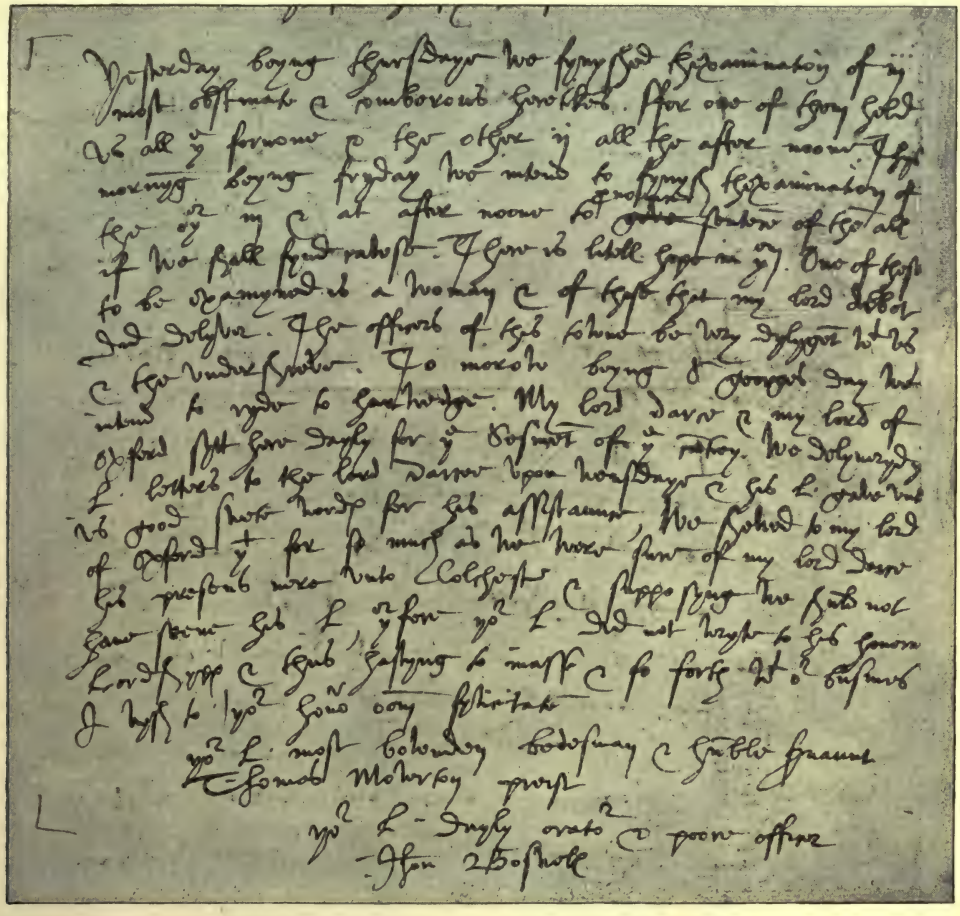
STEEL BAND THAT FASTENED CRANMER TO THE STAKE.
(*Now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.*)

grew even fiercer ; Oxford and Cambridge became the scenes of an unedifying prosecution of the dead. At Cambridge the bodies of the great Reformer-teachers Bucer and Fagius were disinterred, and the churches of St. Mary and St. Michael's, where their honoured remains were resting, were even placed under a temporary interdict, as defiled with the bones of notorious heretics. The dead were summoned to appear before a commission appointed to try their cases. No one, however, presented himself to defend the once loved and sought-after professors, who were in consequence condemned; and surrounded with a curious heap of Bibles and prayer-books, and other forbidden works of the Reformation, the bodies of the great dead, chained to a stake, were publicly burned in the market-place.

At Oxford a somewhat similar outrage was perpetrated. Peter Martyr, whose vast influence in the late reign we have already noticed, had married one Catherine Cathie, who had been a professed nun. Dying at Oxford before Mary came to the throne, Catherine had been interred in the cathedral of Christ Church, near the tomb of St. Frideswide. The body of Peter Martyr's wife was taken up and cast into a cesspool at the back of the deanery. When Elizabeth became queen, she ordered that the dishonoured remains of Catherine should be sought out and replaced in their old sacred resting-place ; and in consequence, Catherine and St. Frideswide still rest together, it is supposed, in close proximity beneath the pavement of Christ Church.

PIECE OF THE STAKE AT WHICH LATIMER AND RIDLEY WERE BURNED AT OXFORD.
(*Now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.*)

With a singular ignorance of the English character, Mary and her advisers supposed that the spectacle of the public tortures endured by the condemned here-



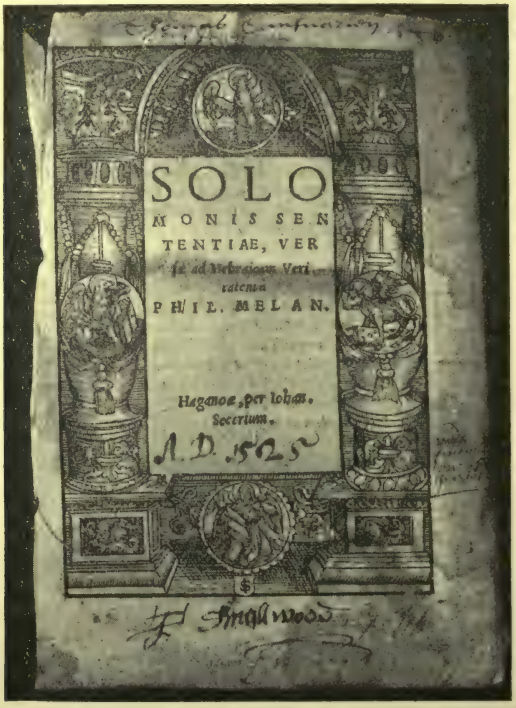
COPY OF A LETTER FROM THOMAS MOWRSON AND JOHN BOSWELL, PRIESTS, TO BISHOP BONNER, CONCERNING THE "EXAMINATION OF iii MOST OBSTINATE AND COMBEROUS HERETICS."

(*From the Foxe MSS. in the British Museum.*)

tics would strike terror into the hearts of the people. The terrible sight had a contrary effect. The brave patience and noble constancy of the martyrs evoked constantly a burst of sympathetic admiration from the bystanders. It was said that some of the witnesses even endeavoured to throw themselves into the fire, and so to perish alongside the brave victims. So great, indeed, was the sympathy shown by the people on some of these occasions, that Mary later in her reign issued a proclamation forbidding her loyal subjects to approach or speak to the condemned. Such an order, as might have been expected, was contemptuously disregarded. On one

occasion, we read of a scene at Smithfield, where seven of these heroic martyrs were being done to death in the flames. The people crowded round the stake "with passionate demonstrations of affection. One Thomas Bentham, when the faggots were lighted, stood out in the presence of the throng, and cried, 'We know that they are the people of God, and therefore we cannot choose but wish well to them, and say, God strengthen them—God Almighty, for Christ's sake strengthen them.' The multitude shouted in reply, 'Amen, Amen.'"

Such expressions of approval, sympathy, and admiration were sternly forbidden by orders from the queen and council; those who ventured to express their feelings of pity and regret, or who endeavoured to strengthen the constancy of the dying martyrs, were ordered to be apprehended. But the passion of the people was too strong to admit of any official repression, and the feeling of disgust and horror grew in intensity as the days of Mary drew to a close. Still there was no cessation in the stern measures; the burnings were continued till the queen had breathed her last; and while Pole was actually dying, five persons perished by fire in his own cathedral city of Canterbury! But these were the last victims of the Marian persecution.



TITLE-PAGE OF A BOOK OF PROVERBS BY PHILIP MELANCTHON, ONCE IN THE POSSESSION OF CRANMER, WHOSE NAME APPEARS AT THE TOP OF THE PAGE.

(Now in the Library of the Leigh Grammar School.)

CHAPTER LV.

MARY'S FAILURE AND DEATH.

Profound Effect of the Martyrdoms upon England—Other Ecclesiastical Measures of Mary's Reign—Celibacy again Enforced upon the Clergy—Deprivation of the Reforming Bishops—Attempts to Restore Monastic Property—Their Failure—Attempts to Restore Monastic Life—Pole's Schemes of Church Reform—His Injunctions—Brief Account of the Marian Romish Divines—Bishop Bonner—Character of the Queen—Disastrous Influences upon it—Absence of English Advisers—Tragic Failure of her Whole Policy—Her Last Illness and Death—The Marian Exiles.

REVIEWING generally the strange episode of the mediæval reaction under queen Mary, the historian of the church feels that when he has related the story of the restoration of the *Papal supremacy* in the church; the bringing back of the *mass*, that strange mediæval development or rather corruption of the simple solemn communion instituted by Jesus Christ; and the curious reinstatement of the *Latin tongue* as the language of the public services of the church, in place of the vernacular English understood by the people, there is little more to be told. The dramatic interest of this sad reign is painfully kept up owing to the stern and cruel measures directed against such subjects of the English crown as refused to accept these religious changes. But of the population of the country comparatively few resisted the royal will; though enough were found who did "resist unto blood" to make the short five years of Mary's reign a byword for ever of tyranny and cruel oppression.

The ease with which these tremendous changes in religion were brought about is to us, who look back on the events of the unhappy period in question, almost inconceivable. The almost slavish subservience of the two Houses of Parliament, and the quiet acquiescence of Convocation, is a testimony to the enormous power and influence of the crown in the Tudor period; the joyful acceptance of the renaissance of mediæval superstition by many among the people, and the sullen consent of the great majority, tell us that from one cause or other Reformation principles had not yet rooted themselves deeply in the hearts of the people. Something more was needed than the mere words and writings of the teachers of the new learning, to open the eyes of the masses to see the beauty and the truth of the Reformation. That something was provided by the stern resistance unto death of the three hundred Marian martyrs, largely made up of the rank and file of the English people, but including in their glorious company five of the more famous bishops of the new learning—men whose names had for years been on all Englishmen's lips, and whose words and writings henceforth would be in every Englishman's heart. Once more, the moving events of the middle years of the sixteenth century had demonstrated the

truth of the oft-quoted saying, that "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church."

Little else remains to be told of interest in the history of the church during this sad reign of Mary, and our task in gathering up these few fragments will soon be done. Very early in the reign, in the queen's letters and articles of 1554, addressed to the bishops as a necessary corollary to the mediæval revival she had determined on, the old and tyrannical direction respecting the necessity of enforcing celibacy among the clergy was renewed. For the last time in the history of the Church of England, queen Mary and her ecclesiastical advisers woke up the old and peremptory demand of the Roman see, so often resisted, that all priests of the church should be unmarried. The bishops, so ran the stern Marian letters and articles of 1554, were to deprive and declare deprived all spiritual persons who, "contrary to the state of their order and the laudable custom of the church, had married wives." The cruel and unnatural edict was carried out with severity, the number of deprivations and of voluntary resignations being very considerable.*

As might have been expected, early in the reign, under various pretexts, most of the "Reformation" bishops were deprived of their sees. A few, by timely submission, retained their dignity; a few who really sympathised with the old state of things, of course remained. As early as the year 1554 we hear of seven of these prelates being deprived; and in the course of the reign, as we have already related, five out of the number of reforming bishops suffered at the stake, and won, as the majority of Englishmen love to think, the crown of martyrdom.

On two important points the earnest desires of queen Mary were completely foiled. From the beginning of her reign she passionately longed that restitution should be made to the church of the lands and possessions which had been taken away from the suppressed monastic orders, and from hospitals and chantries, by her father, Henry VIII., and her brother, Edward VI. As we have before remarked, this confiscation will ever be a dark blot upon the pages which contain the Reformation story; and there is no true and earnest son of the Church of England who will not be tempted to sympathise with Mary here. It was emphatically a noble longing on the part of the unhappy queen. Mary showed her earnestness in this matter of restitution by formally offering to restore all the church and monastic lands remaining in the possession of the crown; preferring, as she said in the language of her resolution, delivered in the presence of the high treasurer, the marquis of Winchester, and other ministers of state, the salvation of her soul to the maintenance of her imperial dignity, if it could only be preserved by the aid of such means.

But the project was found to be impracticable. The church spoils gathered in the two last reigns had been shamefully wasted or widely distributed, and in the case of the majority of the recipients would never have been tamely yielded up. This was felt even by the most devoted adherents of Mary and Rome. Indeed

* Canon Dixon in his "History" (chap. xxiii.) gives some exhaustive details respecting this cruel Marian edict.

cardinal Pole, before he was admitted into England as a legate, brought with him a papal dispensation for all possessors of monastic and collegiate lands to hold them still. And the Pope's bull assuring the possession of abbey lands to the then

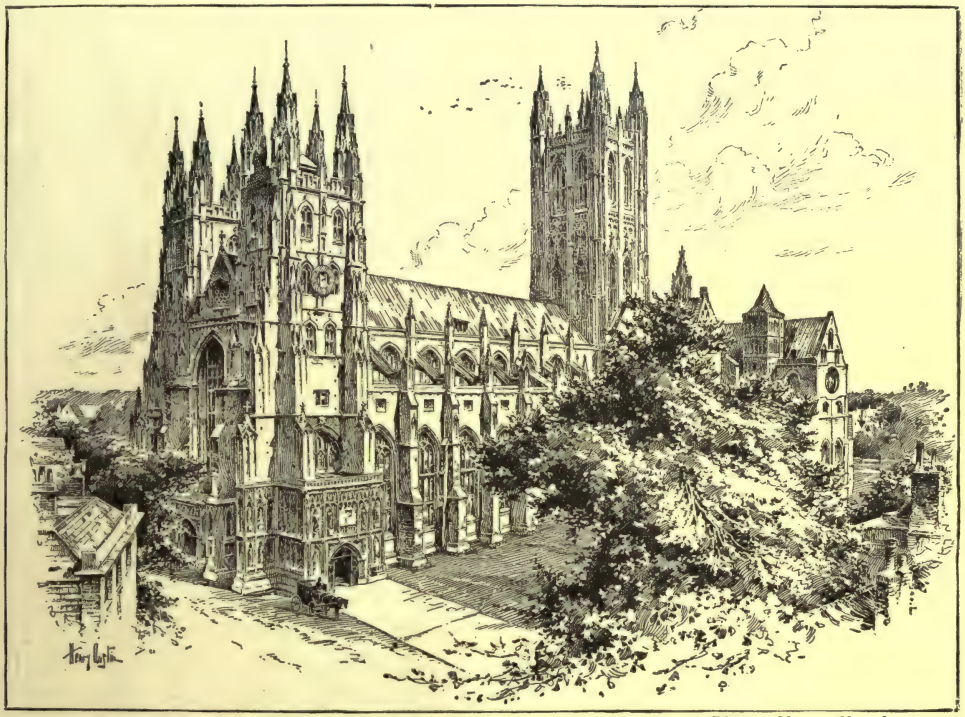


Photo: Chester Vaughan.

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL, FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

holders, was read in Parliament in the year 1555.

Another project dear to Mary's heart was the revival of monastic life in England. With very limited means at her disposal, she succeeded in refounding a few—but only a few—religious houses and collegiate establishments, notably the abbey of Westminster and the nunnery at Sion. The military order of the knights of St. John, the colleges of Manchester and Wolverhampton, and the hospital in the Savoy, were resuscitated under Mary's care. But the attempt, on the whole, was a failure, and only nine or ten of the dissolved foundations were restored.

In the matter of ecclesiastical legislation, cardinal Pole, who even in the lifetime of Cranmer was made administrator of the diocese of Canterbury, held in 1555 a synod, at which he proposed an elaborate scheme of reformation of the English Church. In this the "fearful evil of non-residence" was to be sternly guarded against. Deans and other cathedral or collegiate officers, and archdeacons, were to reside, or to lose the fruits of their preferments. The scheme dwelt upon the

fact of the churches being in solitude, because so few of these dignitaries observed the rule of residence. Bishops were to preach, and vicars and curates likewise, on Sundays and holy days. Luxury in food and apparel was forbidden. Matrimony was prohibited to religious persons of both sexes. Clerical habits were to be worn, and the tonsure was to be enforced. The canonical hours were to be observed. The greatest care was to be taken in conferring holy orders, grave scandals having arisen owing to a rash imposition of hands. Bishops were not to transfer to others the burden of examining candidates. Long vacancies in clerical appointments were to be avoided. Visitations of all churches, beginning with the cathedral churches, were to be made. Libraries were to be visited, to discover whether they contained heretical or prohibited books. But all these and many other proposals of important measures of reform came to nothing, save that a copy of them, carefully revised, was sent to the Pope. The disturbed and unsettled state of affairs in England, and the premature death of Mary and Pole, put an end to all these elaborate schemes of monastic reconstitution and of church reformation on mediæval lines, as laid down by Mary and her adviser.

Another notable piece of work that issued from Pole's cabinet was a set of Injunctions, sent down to Brooks, bishop of Gloucester. Bishop Brooks had been cardinal Pole's delegate in the important Oxford trial of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, which accounts for the fact of the Injunctions being specially sent to him. They were, however, no doubt issued to other diocesans. Their chief interest lies in the nature of the directions which they contain; and they show us that Pole was really earnest in his wishes to promote a zealous God-fearing life among the clergy of the Church of England. Some of the points dwelt on are of real value and importance, and might well have been urged by the most saintly of the occupants of St. Augustine's chair; and even the doctrinal and ritualistic portions of these Injunctions, from Pole's own standpoint, belonged to the life and duties of every true pastor.

They desired the clergyman of the parish to preach, *if he had the gift*, frequently and diligently, not forgetting to declare from time to time the use of the ceremonies of the church. Authoritative homilies were to be published, and in the meantime portions of bishop Bonner's *Necessary Doctrine* were to be read to the people. The Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, were to be taught in English. The Sacraments were to be ministered reverently and uniformly; divine service was to be celebrated distinctly; no priest was to haunt alehouses; and the "celibacy" direction was to be rigidly observed. The sick were to be visited with diligence; the priest was enjoined to give them good counsel for their souls, and was to remind them to make their wills in time and charitably to remember the poor, and other deeds of devotion. Confession was enjoined; and the names of all who confessed not in Lent, and who received not the Holy Sacrament according to the ancient order of the church, were to be sent to the ordinary. Inventories of all lands, jewels, plate, and ornaments belonging to the churches were to be made.

There were, however, in these Injunctions not a few directions which remind us of the great change which had just come over the church; such as the order to provide a decent tabernacle, set in the midst of the high altar, to preserve the most blessed Sacrament under lock and key; a taper or lamp was to be kept burning before the same; a rood five feet in length at the least, not painted in cloth or boards, but cut in stone or wood, was to be provided. Parishioners were urged to resort to their churches, and to hear all divine service. Tithes were to be duly paid; the Holy Sacrament was to be received at Easter, while in Lent confession was to be made; reverent kneeling was enjoined at the time of the elevation of the Host in such places in the church where the blessed Sacrament might be seen and worshipped. The observance of the ceremonies practised in the mediæval church, to which, as superstitious, such grave exception had been taken by the reformers, was carefully insisted upon—such as the use of holy bread, holy water, bearing of candles and of palms, receiving of ashes, creeping to the cross, going in procession. In addition to these things, the Injunctions of Pole directed that public-houses should be closed in time of divine service, and that no booths or merchandise should be permitted in churchyards on Sundays.

The singular dearth of conspicuously able men in the ranks of the mediæval revivalists of Mary's party was remarkable. Not one distinctly great churchman arose among the queen's adherents. Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester, the chancellor, among these emphatically holds the foremost place. But Gardiner cannot be considered to have been either an ecclesiastic or theologian or statesman of the first rank; and singularly enough, he also never seems thoroughly to have enjoyed the queen's confidence. Between him and Pole, although outwardly friends, a mutual jealousy existed; but when Gardiner died, worn out with work and crushing anxieties, in 1555, queen Mary lost her ablest theologian and minister. Of the rest, cardinal Pole, although an earnest and bigoted Romanist, and a loyal and devoted servant of the queen, was a rash and imprudent statesman; and, as a theologian, he certainly occupied no distinguished position. Heath, the archbishop of York, who followed Gardiner as chancellor, was a man of considerable learning and of blameless character, and was largely respected for his integrity of purpose, but as a minister of state was inferior to Gardiner. Tunstall, the bishop of Durham, whose name so often appears in the history of these times, was one of the foremost of the Marian prelates. He, too, was generally respected and looked up to, but he was no leader of men; and as a theologian his powers and attainments can be fairly measured by his refusal to enter into any colloquy with Cranmer on the occasion of the long-drawn-out Oxford trial and disputation, when the great reforming archbishop was publicly interrogated, as we have seen, with a view to his deposition and degradation. Tunstall on this occasion declined to enter into any controversy, strangely alleging that Cranmer would rather shake his faith than be convinced by him.

Another of the more famous Marian divines has obtained in history the un-

enviable distinction of being the principal instrument of the cruel persecution—viz. Bonner, bishop of London. An attempt —not very successful—has been recently made by a confessedly able and scholarly historian* to advance some pleas in extenuation of the acts of this relentless

STEPHEN GARDINER, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.
(*From the Engraving by W. N. Gardiner.*)

persecuting bishop. "Bonner took his horrible burden; he was not actuated by cruelty, but by a sense of duty pressed on him doubly by reason of the importance of his diocese (London). If it was a miserable thing that such a notion of duty was possible to any bishop, that is not to be laid to his charge. He was not a man of great character: he was something of a buffoon; but he was not the monstrous brute that has been painted over his name. Compared with any agent of the holy office (the Inquisition) he was a well of mercy . . . perhaps some regard may be paid at last to the uncouth woe with which he cried at the end of many a desperate case, 'I have sought no man's blood.' . . . He was a man of resolution, who having undertaken what he held to be a duty, neither shrank from executing it like some, nor feigned to execute it like others . . . he showed himself not unkind, but long-suffering, considerate, and generous." In spite of this kindly judgment, the fact remains that the most atrocious cruelties which

* Canon Dixon: "History," chap. xxv.

disfigure the records of the reign were perpetrated under the immediate sanction of this man. The estimate which was formed of him in the following reign—and fully endorsed by posterity—seems on the whole absolutely just.

of Carlisle; Pie, dean of Chichester; White, bishop of Lincoln; Holyman, bishop of Bristol—who were for the most part engaged in the Oxford trials and disputations which preceded the condemnation of the Reformer bishops, were

[The burning of Tho. Tomkins hand by B. Boner, who not long after burnt also his body.

(*From Foxe's Book of Martyrs.*)

The lesser lights of the Marian age—such as John Harpsfield, chaplain of Bonner, archdeacon of London; Nicholas Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, a writer of some note; Weston, dean of Westminster, subsequently dean of Windsor; Brooks, bishop of Gloucester; Thirlby, bishop of Norwich, later of Ely; Tresham, canon of Christ Church; Oglethorpe, president of Magdalen, afterwards bishop

all conspicuously inferior in every way to the eminent men who stood before them as accused. Indeed, none among the group of Marian divines—with, perhaps, the solitary exception of Gardiner—can be reckoned either as a scholar or even a statesman of the first class.

Of Mary herself we must speak at somewhat greater length. The historian

of the Church of England must ever be on his guard, when he speaks of the unhappy queen whose sad life and sadder reign closed in such clouds and thick darkness. It is the fashion to couple her name and her memory with the gloomy epithet by which this name is, alas! best known among the English people—"bloody Mary"—and to associate her character with the stern summary of Hume, who speaks of her "obstinacy, bigotry, violence, cruelty, malignity, revenge, and tyranny." There is a French estimate which is perhaps juster. After condemning her acts and general policy, it sums up thus: "In spite of her reign of tyranny, there was a vein of nobility and generosity in her character which Protestant historians have ignored." We must ever, in speaking of Mary, remember the circumstances of her early life, her mother's cruel wrongs—wrongs which she traced, not without some justice, to the influence of the Reforming party—her sad childhood, her melancholy and deserted girlhood and womanhood, and the attempt to eject her from her rightful inheritance. All these things coloured Mary's character, and sadly influenced her fatal policy to the last.

There was also the fatal influence of her disastrous marriage, which led her ever to lean upon Spanish and foreign counsels, rather than upon English advisers; and Spanish counsels were always given with a solitary view to foreign interests, utterly disregarding what was best and wisest for England. But most of all, the cruel disappointments which resulted appear to have actually affected her mind. We read of her sitting long hours on the floor of her apartment, with her knees drawn up to her face, brooding over her misery, which she interpreted by the light of her dark mediæval superstitions. What, pondered the unhappy queen, had she done to draw upon her head the vengeance—for so she regarded it—of heaven? Surely, she had been too slack in driving out the accursed heresies of the Reformation! With this evil spirit inspiring her, the partly-crazed Mary pressed on these cruel persecutions, which are such a dark blot upon her character and reign.

Then, too, it must be borne in mind that no really great Englishman ever stood by Mary's side as friend and counsellor. The wisest and most patriotic Englishman who ever shared her counsel, without doubt, was Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, a determined enemy to the Reformers and the spirit of the new learning. But even Gardiner's influence was neutralised by the cloud of Spaniards who after the marriage with Philip hovered about the English queen; and Gardiner died all too soon for England. When he passed away, Mary was absolutely without one true Englishman near her. Pole, to whom, when Gardiner was gone, Mary gave her whole confidence, had lived too long in exile to understand the character of the English people. He measured the subjects of Mary with a measure he was accustomed to use in estimating peoples in foreign lands. He utterly mistook the English spirit, and the means he devised for the conversion of England had an effect Pole never dreamed of. They familiarised the masses with the words and thoughts of Cranmer and Latimer, and taught them Ridley's theology,

with a power Ridley, as an Edwardian bishop, was never able to attain. Pole's work surrounded the whole Reformation party, so nobly represented in the persons of its devoted chiefs, with a halo of glory which it had never possessed before.

The entire policy of Mary was thus a tragic failure. Nothing had succeeded that she attempted. Her foreign policy had resulted in the shame and disgrace which culminated in the loss of Calais, and the last remnant of the foreign possessions of the English crown. She was condemned by the public voice, and not unjustly, as unpatriotic, as one who loved and preferred the honour and prosperity of Spain rather than of the England of which she was queen; condemned as opposing the determined will of England in endeavouring to restore the Papal tyranny in church and state. The last months of the year 1558 found Mary unloved, well-nigh deserted by her husband for whom she had sacrificed so much, childless, well-nigh friendless. The cause of the religion she loved with so passionate a fervour had not been advanced one whit by her deadly persecuting measures, but, as she too clearly saw, fatally injured. She saw her country impoverished, fallen in prestige, sorely afflicted with a strange and mysterious sickness. She saw her sister Elizabeth, of whom she was terribly jealous, daily growing in popular estimation and favour.

With everything thus against her, she had no strength, no spirit to combat the fatal disease which in its wide-spread ravages attacked the queen too, and she was sadly conscious for weeks that she was dying. Everything in her world was awry. Pole, her minister and archbishop, was fallen into dire and hopeless disgrace with the Pope, for whom she and he had sacrificed so much. To crown all, the friend of her youth and womanhood, her kinsman Charles V., passed away at this juncture. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that Mary and Pole died almost on the same day of the same malady—a broken heart! And this unhappy queen, with her splendid opportunities, with much, too, in her character noble, religious, strong and magnanimous, only six short years before had been the most beloved personage in the realm.

It was a strange coincidence that both the queen and her faithful friend and minister who had advised her so consistently against her truest interests, passed away within a few hours of each other. Many circumstances in the death scenes of Queen Mary and Cardinal Pole were similar. They were both quiet, serene, full of hope to the last. Both chose to confess repeatedly during the last few days; both chose to receive in their final hours the blessed sacrament. When for the last time the mass was celebrated in the queen's bed-chamber, as the Host was elevated, she looked up to heaven, and shortly after breathed her last, so gently that among those who stood by, only the physician knew that she had passed. A few hours later Pole died at Lambeth.

In the final settlement of church order in England, to be narrated in our succeeding chapters, the influence of various returned Marian exiles will have to be alluded to. There is no doubt that the

weight of their opinion was considerably felt by Parker, the future archbishop, and Cecil, the minister of the queen, and the more moderate of Elizabeth's advisers; and that the accentuation of opinion produced during their banishment for conscience sake, upon so many men of more or less influence, had a very perceptible effect upon the ultimate formularies and order of the Church of England. It is necessary, therefore, before dismissing the events of this unhappy reign, to devote a few brief paragraphs to these exiles and their story.

In the earlier days of the great change brought about by Mary and Gardiner, before the dark cloud of the bitter persecution of Pole had broken over the church, many distinguished divines and laymen, who had in the days of Edward VI. been prominent for their attachment to the new learning and the views of the Reformation, left England, no longer a safe home for men who were mortally opposed to Roman influences and to any return to mediæval rites and doctrines. These exiles included in their numbers the bishops of Winchester (Ponet), Bath (Barlow), Chichester (Scory), Exeter (Coverdale), and Ossory (Bale); also the deans of Christchurch, Exeter, Durham, Wells, and Chichester; the archdeacons of Canterbury, Stow, and Lincoln; as well as many other divines and scholars of reputation, and not a few eminent laymen—in all numbering about eight hundred. Their sufferings in many cases were great. Deprived of their preferments and offices, and often of their possessions, large and small, we hear of the sad straits to which not a few of these exiles were reduced; some, we find, even sought a livelihood in some of the printing establishments of Strasburg and other learned foreign centres. As a rule, they were unwelcome guests in Germany, and in many cities were positively refused hospitality. We know, however, of English congregations being established at Embden in East Friesland, at Wesel, in Frankfort-on-the-Main, in Strasburg, at Geneva, and Zürich and Basle.

At Frankfort-on-the-Main a large number of the English were allowed to settle, and to use for their services a church which had been assigned to a number of French "Protestants." At first a condition was made that they should conform to the confession of faith of the French reformers, and in general to their usages also. The Frankfort exiles were joined by other fellow-refugees from Strasburg and different centres. John Knox, from Geneva, was among these. The influence of this eminent but extreme reformer induced the Frankfort exiles to adopt a service largely impregnated with Calvin's theological opinions. The more thoughtful amongst them, however, among whom was Dr. Cox, the well-known Oxford reformed theologian, perceived how dangerous such concessions to Calvin, if formally accepted, would be to the church should the reformation ever be restored in England. Dr. Cox and his friends were thus intensely opposed to any such concessions being made to Knox and his friend Calvin, by such an important congregation of Englishmen as that gathered together at Frankfort. His influence happily prevailed, and Knox and his more devoted followers in the end left Frankfort, and betook themselves again to the more

congenial atmosphere of Geneva. There is a letter still extant, addressed by Grindal, who in after years became a very prominent personage under Elizabeth, to Ridley, then a prisoner for the faith in England, in which the following words occur: "Here (in Frankfort) is a church, now well settled by the prudency of Master Cox and others which met here for that purpose, who most earnestly and unceasingly do cry unto God for the delivery of His church." The date of this letter was May, 1555.

During their exile some bitter dissensions arose among these banished English clergy. Others were unfortunately influenced by the great foreign reformers, as was bishop Coverdale by Calvin — so gravely, that this distinguished man, from conscientious scruples, was unable afterwards to accept a see under Elizabeth. On the death of Mary, the return of these "embittered children of the Reformation," as they have been termed, and their influence, was one of the many grave difficulties which the wise advisers of Elizabeth had to encounter in their work of "conservative" Reformation.

Photo: A. G. Ryder, Winchester.

BISHOP GARDINER'S CHANTRY, WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

CHAPTER LVI.

ACCESSION OF ELIZABETH. CECIL, PARKER, AND JEWEL.

General Joy at Elizabeth's Accession—Support of Spain—Distracted State of the Realm—Circumstances which Favoured the Queen—Elizabeth's Early Life—Her Great Minister, Sir William Cecil—Elizabeth's Natural Sympathies with Mediævalism—The Pope's Insolence Forces her towards Protestantism—Cecil Appoints a Religious Commission of Inquiry—Convocation Protests against the Contemplated Changes—A Disputation—Adoption and Revision of the Prayer-Book—A General Visitation—Treatment of the Romanist Bishops and Clergy—Archbishop Parker—His Early Life—His Character—Repugnance to Accept the Primacy—Care for the Episcopal Succession—The New Hierarchy—Bishop Jewel—Jewel as an Apologist—And as Bishop and Preacher—Vain Attempts of Rome at Reconciliation.

IN the August of 1553 Mary, the daughter of Katharine of Arragon, the hope of the Romish party in England, had been welcomed in London with enthusiastic joy; the bells of the great city pealing, the cannon of the soldiery thundering forth their salute, the citizens, with few dissentient voices, shouting a welcome. The poor twelfth-day queen, as the French ambassador, Noailles, termed her in his scornful courtesy—Jane, the hope of the reformers' cause, one of the noblest and purest of women—remained in her sad prison-room absolutely unpitied, well-nigh forgotten by the people, who seemingly with one voice acclaimed Mary as queen of England. In five short years and two or three months from the date of her accession the same Mary lay dead, unregretted and unpitied, in St. James's Palace; while her sister Elizabeth, in her turn the hope of the long-persecuted reformers, was received by the same city which had so loudly and almost universally shouted a welcome to Mary, not only with similar plaudits, but with a joy almost as delirious as that which noisily applauded Mary. And in both the reception of Mary in 1553, and the welcome of Elizabeth in 1558, London fairly represented the general feeling of England.

In this instance the proverbial fickleness of the people, which to-day cries "Hosanna!" to some popular idol, and to-morrow is ready and wishful to crucify the object of its once passionate love, was fairly justified. Mary had recklessly thrown away the chances of her party. A bitter and remorseless persecution of all who differed from her in religion, had excited first a profound pity, and later, an ungrudging admiration for her victims; had invested with a halo of respect and love a religious party which had signally failed in the day of its power to win the heart of England. In addition to her grievous mistakes in religious policy, the dead queen had failed to show herself a lover of England. She had ever preferred the interests of her Spanish husband to the interests of her own country; and, more or less, during her reign England was an appanage of Spain. Nor had her unpatriotic foreign policy been crowned with any success. Disgrace and defeat accompanied the English arms on the Continent; and the loss of Calais, the poor remnant of the once magnificent continental dominions

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

(From the painting by Zucchero at Hatfield House.)

of her great ancestors, was the crowning humiliation of her hated reign.

Singularly fortunate, too, was Elizabeth when she ascended the throne, in finding no serious rival for the crown ready to dispute her inheritance. Only one such rival lived; and, strangely enough, at this juncture that rival was politically impossible. Mary Stuart of Scotland, whose royal descent in some eyes was purer than Elizabeth's, was dauphiness of France, and her accession would have been more disastrous to mighty Spain and her empire than even that of the heretic Elizabeth. Better, thought the astute and wily Spaniards, a suspected heretic like Elizabeth on the throne of England, than a princess who belonged by every tie of affection and interest to France, the rival and bitter foe of Spain. Strange as it seemed, therefore, Elizabeth was supported during the first part of her reign by all the power and influence of Spain. Spain also had hopes —not quite groundless—that the heretic princess might, as time went on, throw in her lot with the enemies of the Reformation; hopes, however, signally doomed to disappointment. But for the present, Spanish influence strongly backed up Elizabeth. King Philip at first even hoped to make this sister-in-law of his, his wife. He little knew Elizabeth.

But it was a shattered and divided England, after all, that Elizabeth inherited in the winter of 1558. As it has been well summarised from a contemporary record, "The queen poor, the realm exhausted; the nobility poor and decayed, good captains and soldiers wanting; the people out of order, justice not executed; all things dear; excesses in meat, diet, and apparel; division among ourselves, war with France, the French king bestriding the realm, having one foot in Calais and the other in Scotland; steadfast enemies, but no steadfast friends." * Added to all this, a subtle pestilence hung over the land; while the gravest religious differences among the people seemed to forbid anything like united action. Never had England sunk so low; never had she been so surrounded with dangers, within and without; while the dark shadow of Spain brooded over all, and threatened her very existence as a nation. But the most pressing danger, after all, that the young queen had to confront, was the hopelessly divided state of her people, owing to the grave differences in religion.

Roughly, we may divide the English nation at the close of 1558 into four parties. The first and largest was made up of those who, more or less, were inclined to a moderate reformation; who longed to see the acknowledged abuses in the church corrected, and the discredited mediæval fables and superstitions which disgraced true religion swept away. These moderate reformers, as a rule, detested the Pope and loathed the papal policy; they wished for services they could understand; they earnestly desired a purely English ritual, not a Latin and foreign service which few could follow. The Bible, as translated by the men of the new learning, was inexpressibly dear to them. But these—and they formed the majority of Englishmen at this period—were generally averse to sweeping changes such as had characterised the Reformation movement in Germany

* Froude: "Summary of Domestic MS.," vol. vii., chap. i.

and Switzerland. With these moderate reformers the young queen sympathised, as did the principal advisers who formed her inner council—men like Sir William Cecil, her secretary of state, Nicholas Bacon, her lord keeper, and others.

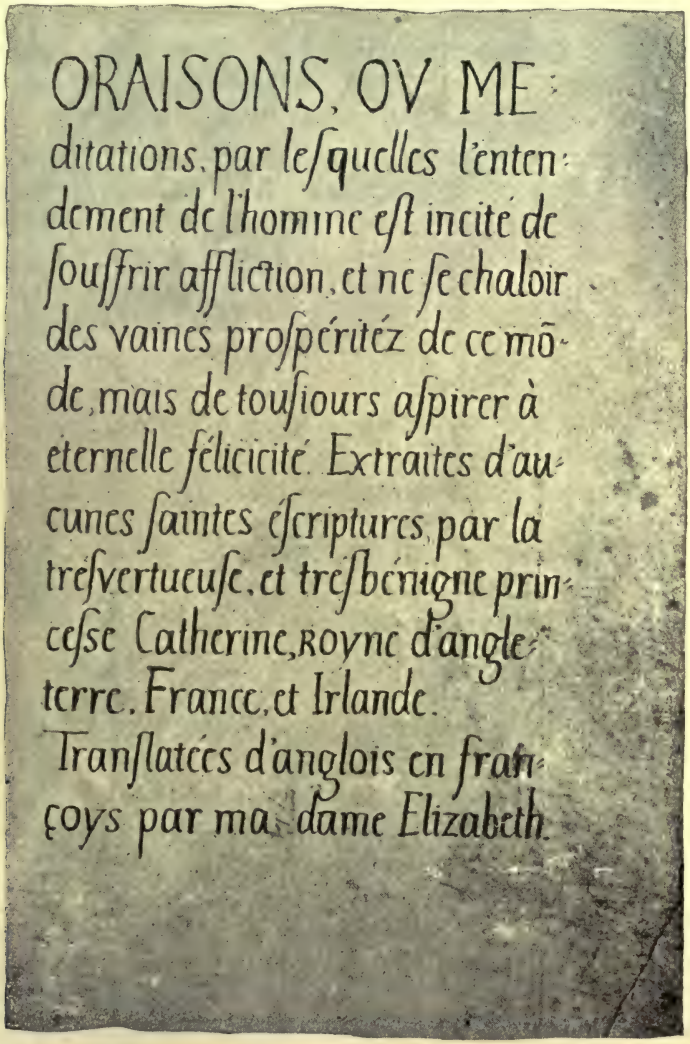
The second party was influenced by the Marian exiles, of whom we have already written; many of whom returned to England on the welcome news of Mary's death and Elizabeth's accession. They were able and devoted men, these exiles, who looked with scorn upon such a half-hearted Reformation as that above sketched out and desired by Elizabeth and Cecil. They were now strongly imbued with the thoughts, the aims, and the hopes of the foreign reformers. Some were attached to the principles of Luther; a few to the far more destructive views of Zwinglius; a still greater number were adherents of the stern and rigid Calvin. But they all desired many and sweeping changes, which would, if carried out, effectually have destroyed, not reformed, the ancient and immemorial Church of England.

A third party were the legitimate descendants of the old Lollards; men of extreme views in religion and politics, very earnest, very determined; but their success would have been fatal alike to throne and altar; revolutionaries they must be considered. They were a grave menace to the established state of things. Socialists we should call them in modern nomenclature. They became later the Anabaptists, a discontented, unruly faction, hateful alike to the statesman and the churchman, and dreaded alike by both as a real danger to the well-being and good order of the realm.

ROOM IN THE TOWER OF LONDON IN WHICH PRINCESS ELIZABETH WAS IMPRISONED.

The fourth party was a smaller one, but it was powerful and influential from the rank and position of its leaders, and of many of

its adherents. It was the party purely and simply devoted to Rome, steadfast in its allegiance to the Pope; desirous to hold fast to the old mediæval forms of religion, with such additions or alterations as the Council of Trent, then in somewhat fitful session, chose to propound or to decide under the supreme sanction of the Pope. The adherents of this Romanist body were bigoted, earnest, uncompromising in matters of religion; and disloyal when the claims of Rome and its bishops jarred and came into


ORAISONS, OV ME
ditations, par lesquelles l'enten
dement de l'homme est incité de
souffrir affliction, et ne se chaloir
des vaines prospéritéz de ce mõ
de, mais de tousiours aspirer à
eternelle félicicité. Extraites d'au
cunes saintes escriptures, par la
tresvertueuse, et tresbénigne prin
cesse Catherine, royne d'angle
terre, France, et Irlande.
Translatées d'anglois en fran
çoys par ma dame Elizabeth.

TITLE-PAGE OF A VOLUME OF PRAYERS OR MEDITATIONS WRITTEN BY QUEEN CATHERINE PARR, TRANSLATED INTO FRENCH BY PRINCESS ELIZABETH, AND WRITTEN WITH HER OWN HAND. (*British Museum.*)

conflict with those of their own country and of their own sovereign. Five years of uninterrupted supremacy and power under Mary had welded them together, and had enabled them to capture the bishoprics and many of the leading positions in the church.

It is, however, a strange mistake to suppose that the great body, or even that a respectable minority, of the clergy sympathised with them. The action of the Marian bishops — men, of course, selected because of their known pronounced views—has misled many in this particular ; but it is a curious error to suppose that, at the accession of Elizabeth, the English clergy as a body were Romanists at heart. When, a few months later, the Elizabethan changes were formulated, as we shall presently see, out of 9,400 clergy only 192 refused the oath of supremacy. To picture this enormous majority of avowed servants of the church as mere time-servers, would be simply ridiculous, and would be contrary to all experience. It is undeniable that the mass of the English clergy were hostile to the pretentious and arrogant claims of Rome, and were generally averse to the elaborate mediæval ceremonies, which they had come to see were superstitious, and alien to the spirit of primitive antiquity. The reintroduction of the Latin tongue in the services, too, they felt would be hurtful to the advancement of true religion among the masses of the people. But when all this was taken into account, the Romanist party in 1558 was still a compact and formidable party, and numbered in their ranks the Marian bishops, some in the higher ranks of the clergy, and a fair number of the older and historic houses of the realm.

Such was the England—impoverished, sorely split up into parties at home, discredited abroad ; weak in fortresses, in ships, and soldiers ; with a hostile Scotland in the north, and a powerful hostile France across the narrow silver streak of sea—over which the young and untried Elizabeth was called on suddenly to rule ; a dangerous and precarious heritage indeed, it seemed. But England in her hour of supreme weakness was saved by the fierce and irreconcilable jealousy that existed between Spain and France ; Spain throwing the shield of her great power over England, to preserve the coveted island and its diminished though still vast wealth from falling into the hands of Mary Stuart and France. As time went on, each year we shall see England growing stronger and more united, while the great Continental powers waxed weaker and more divided. In France, the formidable Huguenot uprisings sorely maimed its influence abroad, and completely occupied it at home. As for Spain, the terrible and determined revolt of the Netherlands, which soon began to assume formidable dimensions, struck a blow at the power and wealth of the mighty kingdom of Philip from which it never really recovered ; and when France, through its internal dissensions, had ceased to be a standing menace to England, the friendship and hostility of Spain, occupied with its awful series of wars and bloody revolts in the Low Countries, were alike disregarded by England and its queen. Then too, as time went on, Elizabeth's most dangerous rival, Mary Stuart—that beautiful and popular princess who was the

hope of the Romanist party—by deliberate and continued indulgence in a woman's passions and weaknesses, became completely discredited, and in the end sadly expiated an unfortunate, perhaps a wicked life in the hall of Fotheringay, little mourned, though perhaps very largely pitied.

What had been the life-story of that young princess who, at the early age of twenty-five, became queen of England—queen with all the boundless power possessed by the Tudor sovereigns of our country—at such a momentous juncture, and who in the providence of God was largely instrumental in consolidating the Church of England, so large an element in the surpassing greatness of the modern British empire?

There was comparatively little known of Elizabeth's great powers before her sister's death. She had been carefully—even elaborately—educated, and for some time shared with her brother Edward the instruction of some of the first scholars of the day, such as Sir John Cheke, the famous Cambridge scholar, and Roger Ascham. She was evidently a brilliant child, for we hear of her at an early age as proficient in French and Italian; she was also trained in the classics; music was not neglected, and a part of each day was devoted to religious instruction. While from her father she inherited her great talents and Tudor love for learning, from her mother came that strange, pitiful love for admiration which will ever be a blot on the character of the great queen. While still a girl, she was almost fatally involved in the meshes of an intrigue with lord Seymour, the husband of Catherine Parr, the queen dowager; and though she escaped the direful consequences which once threatened her, her conduct in the affair seems not to have been above grave suspicion. Lord Seymour, the Protector Somerset's brother, we know perished on the scaffold. Elizabeth was only sixteen, but her character was for a time sorely stained. It was a melancholy experience, and she profited by it, for we hear of no more like imprudences.

For the next year the princess devoted herself to literature, living quietly and simply with her grave tutor, Roger Ascham, under whose instruction she became an accomplished Latin and Greek scholar. Thanks to her retired, studious life, as the girl passed into the woman her early reputation as a shameless coquette was gradually forgotten. At the court of Edward VI., in 1551, we find Elizabeth present, and in sympathy with the Reform views of her brother and his advisers. On one occasion the young king welcomed Elizabeth as "his dear sweet sister Temperance." The astute princess had succeeded in completely living down the scandal of her girlhood. "Her maidenly apparel," we are told, "made the noblemen's wives and daughters ashamed to be dressed and painted like peacocks."

All through the reign of her sister Mary the position of Elizabeth was extremely difficult. She was in full sympathy with the views held by the moderate Reformers during the latter years of her father, Henry VIII., and during the reign of her brother, Edward VI., was generally credited with sharing the king's ideas of religion; but when Mary was queen she temporised,

even asking her sister for "ornaments" for her private chapel. With all her caution, however, she excited Mary's jealous fears, and not without reason; for the enemies of the Romanising queen made no secret of their designs to substitute Elizabeth for Mary on the throne. There is no proof that Elizabeth was ever a party to these plots; but she was nevertheless committed to the Tower as a prisoner, and for a season even her life was in danger. She was subsequently liberated, and after a time allowed to return to her house at Hatfield, where she was strictly watched. All through this trying time king Philip, as a rule, was generally her friend. Her religious views she kept carefully in the background—anxious to give no possible grounds of offence to her bigoted sister and her advisers.

As Mary's health declined, Elizabeth's position and popularity steadily grew. A contemporary thus writes of her: "There was no lord nor knight in the kingdom who would not enter into her service, or send there his son or brother, such is the affection and love which is felt towards her . . . She contrives to win the favour of the Spaniards, and especially of the king (Philip of Spain), with whom she is a great favourite; if it were not for his influence and the fear of an insurrection, the queen (Mary) would undoubtedly find some occasion for punishing her, if not for past at least for present offences, for there is no conspiracy in which, justly or unjustly, her name is not mentioned, and some of her servants involved. But the queen (Mary) is obliged to dissemble her dislike, and constrain herself to receive her in public with kindness and honour."*

Her real sentiments in matters of religion were, however, scarcely veiled; for the count de Feria (the Spanish ambassador) wrote to king Philip shortly before Mary's death in the following terms: "To great subtlety she adds very great vanity. She has heard great talk of her father's (Henry VIII.) mode of action, and means to follow it. I have great fear that she thinks ill in the matter of religion, for I see that she inclines to govern by men who are suspected as heretics."

The personal appearance of the famous queen is thus described by an eye-witness, the above-quoted Venetian ambassador, a little more than two years before her accession: "She is at present of the age of twenty-three, and is esteemed to be no less fair in mind than she is in body. Albeit in face she is pleasing rather than beautiful, but her figure is tall and well proportioned. She has a good complexion, though of a somewhat olive tint, beautiful eyes, and, above all, a beautiful hand, which she likes to show. She is of admirable talent and intelligence, of which she has given proof by her behaviour in the dangers and suspicions to which she has been exposed. She has great knowledge of languages. . . . She is proud and haughty, for, in spite of her mother, she holds herself as high as the queen and equally legitimate."

Such was the young princess who, when her sad sister breathed her last in St. James's Palace, took her seat upon the throne of the Plantagenets and the Tudors

* Giovanni Michele, the Venetian ambassador, quoted by Creighton.

virtually unopposed. It was a weak and divided England whose destinies she was called at the age of twenty-five to rule over; an England, as we have already painted, threatened with the gravest perils within and without. Difficult problems, ambitious coquette, would order herself when face to face with all the thorny questions which then perplexed men's minds, was indeed a grave question. All that could be said in Elizabeth's favour when she became queen, was that she was well

PRINCESS ELIZABETH BEING EXAMINED BY THE ROMISH BISHOPS.
(*From the picture by Frederick Newenham in the Salford Art Gallery.*)

political and religious, were before her; problems which imperatively called for an immediate solution, or at least a partial solution. With the intricate political questions which confronted her we have in this history comparatively little to do; our work lies with the second, the religious difficulty. How this young and untried woman, the daughter of such a queen as Anne Boleyn, the beautiful, frivolous, equipped for her difficult task. Not only had she been carefully, even elaborately, educated under the direction of some of the foremost scholars of the day—an education of which she had amply availed herself—but she had, too, young though she was in years, received a training of personal experience. "She had been in imminent danger, both under Edward and under Mary. She had suffered . . .

she had lived amongst perils, and had been taught the need of prudence. Self-mastery and self-restraint had been forced upon her. Bitter experience had taught her how little she could satisfy her own desires; how little she could confide in the wisdom and discretion of others. She had spent long hours in enforced solitude and reflection as the drama of events passed before her. She had seen the failure of other lives, their disappointments, and their tragic end. And in all this she had been no idle spectator, but one whose fortunes were deeply involved. . . . Her training had been severe; but to that severity was due the character and the qualities which enabled her to face the work which lay before her." *

When Mary died Elizabeth was a singularly lonely woman; she had no relatives whom she cared for or trusted, and indeed no friends. By her side certainly stood Cecil; yet Cecil, though an adviser, and a trusted adviser, was scarcely a friend. But he never forsook her, and, from the hour of Mary's death, for forty years (he died in 1598) he never left her. Cecil was emphatically *the* minister of her reign.

Sir William Cecil, afterwards lord Burleigh, was born in 1520. His political career began early. He held high office under the Protector Somerset, and then under his successor, Northumberland. When Mary became queen he lost his official position, but purchased security by conforming to Romanism. It is not known how he was first introduced to Elizabeth, but in her sister's lifetime he became devoted to her, and attached himself to her fortunes; and on her accession she at once appointed him secretary of state. He acted forthwith as her chief adviser. On entrusting him with his high office, she is reported to have said to him: "This judgment I have of you: that you will be corrupted by no gift, that you will be faithful to the state, and that, without respect of my private will, you will give me that counsel that you think best." During his long term of office—one of the most enduring, perhaps, ever recorded in history—Cecil, better known among men as lord Burleigh, never failed his royal mistress.

His sympathies were wholly with the reforming party, whose interests he faithfully served. "Cecil governs the queen," wrote the Spanish ambassador, De Feria, to Philip. "He is an able man, but an accursed heretic." But he was rather a statesman than an earnest religious man, as was shown by his readiness to conform to Mary's views when she became queen. As a statesman he was incomparable, and his unerring instinct led him in most cases to choose wise and good men for the great church appointments—men conspicuous not merely for their learning and piety, but also for their fairness and moderation; men, to use a modern term well known to us, who were *in touch* with the majority of religious, earnest Englishmen. His calm, calculating wisdom was again and again shown during the long, wise, patriotic reign. Elizabeth trusted him implicitly, though, during his long tenure of power as her chief adviser, she often sharply rebuked him; but in the long run she usually followed his counsel,

* Bishop Creighton: "Queen Elizabeth," chap i.

and when he died—far on in her long reign—she mourned for him as the truest, wisest minister who ever stood by a sovereign's throne.

An unwearied worker, his pleasures and his thoughts were wholly concentrated in those high and responsible duties entrusted to him. They were his life. When still a student, he fell in love with and married the sister of his scholar-friend, Cheke, whose mother was in poor circumstances and kept a little wine-shop at Cambridge. This early marriage seems to have been an unsuitable and rash union; but it only lasted three years, when his wife died. Cecil then married again, his wife on this occasion being Mildred Cooke, whom he most tenderly loved, and who was said to be the most highly-educated and intellectual woman of that age; her sister was the mother of Francis Bacon.

Froude gives the following picture of his ordinary life some time after he had assumed the general direction of affairs under Elizabeth: "Cecil was the presiding spirit; everywhere among the state papers of these years Cecil's pen is ever visible, Cecil's mind predominant. In the records of the daily meetings of the council, Cecil's is the single name that is never missed. In the queen's cabinet or in his own, sketching Acts of Parliament, drawing instructions for ambassadors, or weighing on paper the opposing arguments at every crisis of political action; corresponding with archbishops on liturgies and articles, with secret agents in every corner of Europe, or with foreign ministers in every court, Cecil is to be found ever restlessly busy; and sheets of paper, densely covered with brief memoranda, remain among his manuscripts to show the vastness of his daily labour, and the surface over which he extended his control. . . . Nothing was too large for his intellect to control, nothing too small for his attention to condescend to consider." *

We have thus dwelt upon the character and life of the chief minister of the reign, because his work and patient, thoughtful care had so much indirectly to do with bringing into shape the somewhat perplexed and confused conditions of the Church of England. It was Cecil, lord Burleigh, who helped the queen to select the wise instruments who moulded the reformed formularies of faith into the shape in which we now possess them—the instruments who amended and supplemented the reformed liturgies, where emendations and corrections were imperatively necessary to give expression to primitive Catholic truth. It was this great minister's far-seeing wisdom which guided her to select for this all-important work such men as Matthew Parker, Grindal, Whitgift, and Jewel, and the conspicuously able men who seconded their labours during those anxious years of stress and struggle through which the Church of England passed in the days of Elizabeth.

With extraordinary rapidity the council was quietly reconstructed. The bigoted Romanists who had surrounded Mary and Pole quickly disappeared from the scene of government, and their places were filled with men who sympathised with or directly favoured the new learning, whose preference for the Reformation and all that it meant for the church was well known.

* "History of England," vol. vii., chap. vi.

The most important of these changes was the substitution of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Cecil's brother-in-law, for the gentle but earnest Romanist archbishop of York, Heath, who, though Elizabeth was personally attached to him, at once ceased to be Chancellor, Bacon succeeding him with the title of Lord Keeper.

When Elizabeth ascended the throne she had no very definite religious convictions; she was perhaps nearer Rome than Geneva. Utterly averse to persecution in any form, she would have been contented to see restored the formulas accepted by her father, Henry VIII., with an English ritual and the Communion Service of the First Prayer-book of her brother, Edward VI. But much had happened in England during late years; a different spirit was now abroad, and the queen was constrained to sanction, as we shall see, a far more sweeping reform in the church than Henry VIII. had ever contemplated.

Although the queen from the first, however, was resolved upon certain changes in ritual and practice hereafter to be determined, her attachment to much of the "old use" was manifest. The mass was still continued in all the churches; the obsequies of her sister Mary* were carried out in the chapel of St. James's Palace and in Westminster Abbey with extraordinary splendour, and with most careful observation of all the ancient mediæval rites. In the course of the stately ceremony we read of the mass of requiem, the mass of the Holy Ghost, the mass of Our Lady being said; of the dirge being repeated, and the corpse being censed by various prelates who were officiating. This was the last funeral of an English sovereign at which these mediæval rites were observed. All this was done, be it remembered, at the command of Elizabeth. In the same storied abbey, very shortly after, were celebrated the obsequies of the emperor Charles V. The funeral of cardinal Pole, too, was carried out with all the stately and imposing mediæval rites at Canterbury, under the supervision of the queen; and when Convocation assembled in the January after her accession, it was opened formally with high mass.

The overbearing insolence of the passionate old man, Pope Paul IV., on the occasion of the official announcement to him of Elizabeth's accession by the English ambassador at Rome, perhaps gave the first intimation to the queen and her minister, Cecil, that her safety on the throne depended upon the friendship and alliance of others than the devotees of the old learning. Paul IV. replied to the courteous message of the queen of England, that "the kingdom of England was held in fee of the Apostolic see; that Elizabeth, being illegitimate, could not succeed to the throne; that assuming the government without his sanction was on her part an impertinence." "And yet," added this imperious Roman prelate, "being desirous to show a fatherly affection, if she would renounce her pretensions and refer herself wholly to his

* Mary's titles, given to her in this stately and imposing funeral ceremonial, are singular for an English queen, "Of your charity, pray for the soul of Mary, late queen of England, Spain, France, both the Sicilies, Jerusalem, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, archduchess of Austria, duchess of Burgundy, Milan, and Brabant, countess of Halspinge, Flanders, and Tyrol."

free disposition, he would do whatever might be done without damage to the holy see." This was, however, the last opportunity Elizabeth gave to the occupant of the Roman see—whose dignity and ancient claim she apparently at first wished to respect—to use such overbearing and insolent language. The Pope was henceforth utterly ignored by the queen and her ministers.

Very early in the reign the queen, and Cecil also, found that no changes in ritual and practice were possible unless the party of the more earnest and determined of the reformers were conciliated. The attitude of the Marian bishops, as we shall presently see, effectually showed this. The queen saw almost at once that she must reign with the

LORD BURLEIGH.
(*From the portrait by Mark Gerard.*)

assistance, and work with the hearty co-operation, of the men of the new learning, with those who sympathised with a real and thorough Reformation. She found that no temporising with mediævalism in church matters was possible for her. Hence the sweeping changes in church matters which we have now to record—changes, it is quite clear, not altogether according to Elizabeth's own wish. In her own royal chapel, to which men looked as the model of other places of worship, at first the ancient ceremonies were continued. On the decorated altar a crucifix stood; tapers were lighted, and incense was burned. The only sign of the influence of the new learning in the queen's mind was the introduction of the *English* litany, arranged by Cranmer from ancient sources in the days of her father in the year 1544, which concluded with the beautiful prayer of St. Chrysostom we know so well.

But the policy of Cecil was quickly shown by the almost immediate preparation of a paper of questions and advices, suggesting the mode in which the reformed religion could be most safely re-established. The names of the learned divines to whom this important commission was entrusted, indicate the spirit in which this re-establishment was to be carried out. The commission contained names soon to be famous in the history of the Church of England—Dr. Parker, Dr. Cox, Dr. Grindal, Dr. May, and others. In the meantime, pending a complete settlement, a royal proclamation was issued forbidding preaching, but allowing the gospel and epistles and the ten commandments, the Lord's prayer, and creed to be read in English, but without any exposition. The proclamation, however, forbade any other manner of public prayer, rite, or ceremony in the church but that which was already by law received, save the English litany as used in the royal chapel. Thus the way was prepared for the subsequent changes, and the reforming party were at once conciliated; especially as the queen on her first Christmas Day commanded Oglethorpe, bishop of Carlisle, when standing ready to say mass before her, not to elevate the consecrated Host, *because she liked not the ceremony.*

On the 15th January, 1559, the queen was crowned in Westminster Abbey according to the ceremonies of the Roman pontifical. The officiating prelate was Dr. Oglethorpe, bishop of Carlisle, in the presence of other bishops.* Dr. Heath, archbishop of York, on whom in the vacancy of Canterbury the office devolved, declined to officiate, most probably on account of the queen refusing to permit the elevation of the Host.

Events now moved quickly. Elizabeth's first Parliament met on the 30th January; we have only to concern ourselves with the ecclesiastical business of that Parliament. With little opposition, save an indignant protest on the part of the bishops in the Upper House, the Firstfruits Bill passed the two Houses. This piece of legislation annexed the firstfruits of ecclesiastical benefices to the crown.

Convocation, which was then sitting, protested solemnly in five articles against the oncoming changes. They, with the Marian bishops at their head, pronounced

* Soames remarks that *all the bishops* were present.

their adherence to Roman doctrines, to the belief in transubstantiation, etc. That this was not the mind of the clergy generally appears from the general acquiescence in the Act of Uniformity, so soon to become the law of the land.

A conference was ordered between the Marian bishops and a certain number of leading reforming divines. Among the divines of this school at the conference the names of Scory, Cox, Grindal, and Jewel appear, who afterwards played so distinguished a part in the religious history of the reign. The subjects for disputation were laid down. They were: (1) The use of prayer in an unknown tongue. (2) The right of national churches to ordain their own rites and ceremonies. (3) The sacrifice of the mass. It was directed that the bishops should argue first, and that the reformers should then reply. The disputation was scarcely regarded as a serious affair; and the bishops, after two days, dissatisfied with the mode of procedure, withdrew. Their action was regarded by the Government as contempt. Two of their number were committed to the Tower; the rest were left at liberty, under bail to appear when summoned. They were very gently dealt with, as we shall presently see.

The "Act for restoring to the Crown the ancient Jurisdiction over the State, ecclesiastical and spiritual," was now passed by the willing Parliament. In it the queen, refusing the title of "supreme head of the Church," assumed the title of "supreme governor, as well in spiritual and ecclesiastical causes as in temporal." She explained her action to the Spanish ambassador thus: She did not intend to be called "head of the Church," but she could not let her subjects' money be carried out of the realm by the Pope any more.

A yet more important change must now be related with some detail. It was at first evidently in the mind of the queen and Cecil to restore the First Prayer Book of Edward VI., with perhaps some few alterations. But the influence of the Marian exiles, who had now in great numbers returned, determined Dr. Parker and his brother-theologians to advise the adoption of the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. as the basis of the liturgical reforms. The determined opposition of the Marian bishops and the Roman party in convocation to any reforms at all, no doubt largely contributed to this later determination. It seemed as though concessions would conciliate one party, while no terms whatever would be accepted by the other. The views of the reformers were accepted, and the Second Prayer Book, with a few important alterations, was embodied in the Bill of Uniformity, which became the law of the land before the end of April, 1559.

The following were the important alterations:—In the Litany, in order to conciliate the men who were inclined towards, or who thought gently of, Rome, the intolerant expression was expunged: "From the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities." A rubric of considerable interest was omitted in which it was declared that no adoration was intended by the posture of kneeling to the Holy Sacrament. It was left to the direction of the Ordinary to permit the prayers to be offered in the body of the

church instead of in the chancel. Special lessons for Sunday were now appointed; and prayers for the queen, the clergy, and the people were introduced, modelled upon ancient offices of the church. A rubric of great importance was introduced, generally known as the "Ornaments Rubric," which ordered "that such Ornaments of the Church and of the Ministers thereof, at all Times of their Ministration, shall be retained, and be in use, as were in this Church of England, by the Authority of the Parliament in the Second Year of the Reign of King Edward the Sixth" (*i.e.* in 1549). This rubric corrected the bareness of ornament which had marked Edward VI.'s Second Book, and which was strangely dear to some minds among the more extreme reformers. To this extreme and rigid simplicity Elizabeth was ever opposed.

But by far the most important alteration introduced into the Second Prayer Book, and which was in strict accordance with primitive antiquity, was in the administration of the elements in the Communion Service. It combined the clause used in the First Prayer Book with the balder clause adopted in the Second Prayer Book. The form of words used in delivering the elements has met with many changes. The earliest form that we can trace was simply: "The holy body," "The precious blood of the Lord our God and Saviour"; or, "The body of Christ," "The blood of Christ." In the time of Gregory the Great it appears that the form used in the Roman Church was "Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi conservet animam tuam." The York and Hereford missals seem to have furnished the original of our English form of the book of 1549, introduced into the Prayer Book of Elizabeth: "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life," "The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life." To this most ancient form the Elizabethan divines added the words of the extreme reformers: "Take and eat this, in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving," "Drink this, in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful." Our present form thus contains the most simple, ancient, and reverent words of delivery, with the addition of the prayer used in the time of Pope Gregory the Great, and continued in the missals, and also the favourite words of the extreme reformers, "implying that each individual is to take and eat and drink, with an application of the merits of Christ's death to his own soul." *

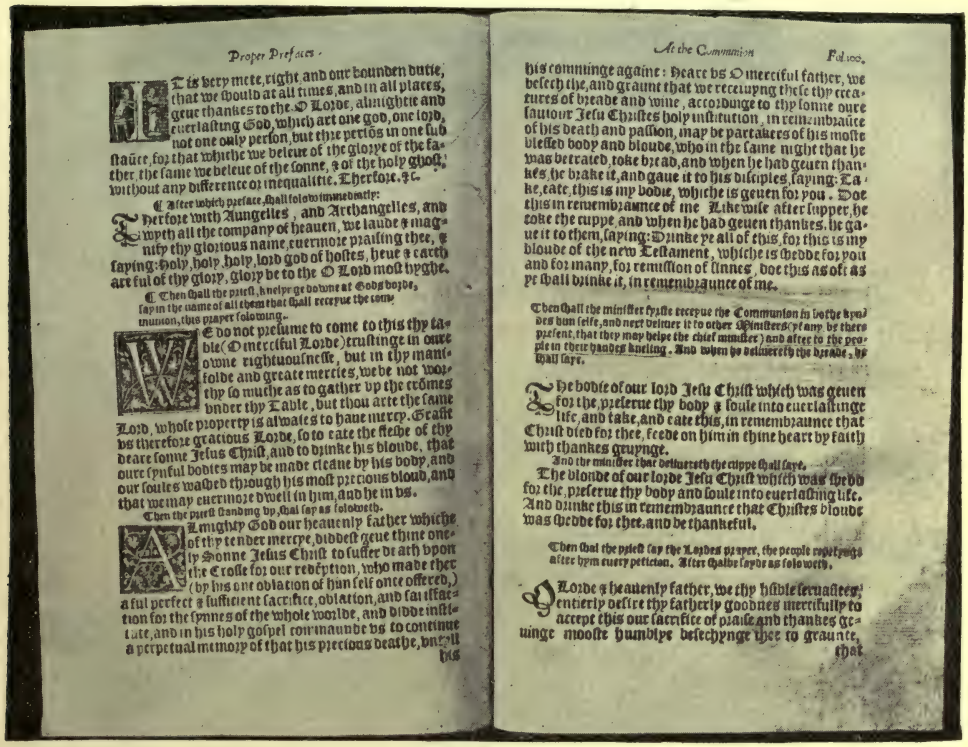
With these alterations, the Act of Uniformity, passed in the end of April, ordered the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. to come into use on St. John the Baptist's day, June 24th, 1559; and, with very few and unimportant changes, its services have been, save in the time of the Puritan rule, continued in the Church of England ever since. At some of the meetings of the divines above mentioned, to whom this liturgical work was entrusted, Dr. Parker, the future archbishop, was absent, owing to ill-health. To fill his place, Dr. Guest (or Gheast), an intimate friend of Parker, was added to the commission; probably, through his close connection with Parker,

* See Procter: "The Book of Common Prayer," part ii., chap. iii.; and Wheatley, vi., sect. xxiii.

he exercised very great influence in the deliberations, and we gather from his correspondence with Secretary Cecil, that he seems to have taken a leading part in the work. This Guest was a learned man, who afterwards became archdeacon of Canterbury, the queen's almoner, and bishop of Rochester.

"In England generally the religious settlement was welcomed by the people, and corresponded to their wishes. The English were not greatly interested in theological questions. They detested the Pope, they wished for services which they could understand, and were weary of superstition. The number of staunch Romanists, or strong Protestants, was very small."*

A general visitation was appointed by royal authority during the vacancy of the see of Canterbury, and the visitors were empowered to eject all those of the clergy who would not conform to the religion now established. The first work of these commissioners was to administer the oath of supremacy to the clergy, and to require the observance of the reformed liturgy. The surviving Marian bishops, with the



Proper Prefaces.

IT is very mete, right and our bounden dutie, that we should at all times, and in all places, geue thankes to the. O Lorde, almightie and euerlasting God, which art one god, one lord, not one only person, but three persons in one substaūce, for that whiche we beleue of the glorye of the father, the same we beleue of the sonne, & of the holy ghost, without any difference or inequalitie. Therfore, &c.

¶ After which preface, shall follow immediately:

Therfore with Aungelles, and Archangelles, and with all the company of heauen, we laude & magnifie thy glorious name, euermore praising thee, & saying: Holy, holy, holy, lord god of hostes, heuē & earth are full of thy glory. glory be to the O Lord most hyghe.

¶ Then shall the priest, kneling downe at Gods boorde, say in the name of all them that shall receyue the communion, this prayer following.

WE do not presume to come to this thy table, O mercyful Lorde, trustinge in oure owne righteousnesse, but in thy manifolde and greate mercies, we be not worthy so muche as to gather vp the cromes vnder thy Table, but thou arte the same Lord, whose propertye is alwaies to haue mercy. Graūt vs therefore gracious Lorde, so to eate the fleshe of thy deare sonne Jesus Christ, and to drinke his bloude, that our synfull bodies may be made cleane by his body, and our soules washed through his most precious bloud, and that we may euermore dwell in him, and he in vs.

Then the priest standing vp, shall say as followeth.

ALmighty God our heauenly father whiche of thy tender mercye, didest geue thine onely Sonne Jesus Christ to suffer death vpon the Crosse for our redemption, who made there (by his one oblation of himself once offered,) a full perfect & sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the synnes of the whole worlde, and didde institute, and in his holy gospel commaunde vs to continue a perpetual memory of that his precious death, vntyll

At the Communion Fol. 100.

his comminge againe: Heare vs O merciful father, we beseech the, and graunt that we receiuing these thy creatures of breade and wine, according to thy sonne oure sauiour Jesu Christes holy institution, in remembraūce of his death and passion, may be partakers of his moste blessed body and bloude, who in the same night that he was betrayed, toke breade, and when he had geuen thankes, he brake it, and gaue it to his disciples, saying: Take, eate, this is my bodie, whiche is geuen for you. Doe this in remembraunce of me. Likewise after supper, he toke the cuppe and when he had geuen thankes, he gaue it to them, saying: Drinke ye all of this, for this is my bloude of the new Testament, whiche is shedde for you and for many, for remission of sinnes, doe this as oft as ye shall drinke it, in remembraunce of me.

Then shall the minister first receyue the Communion in both kyndes himselfe, and next deliuer it to other Ministers (if any be there present, that they may helpe the chief minister) and after to the people in their handes kneling. And when he deliuereth the breade, he shall say.

THe bodie of our lord Jesu Christ which was geuen for the preserue thy body & soule into euerlastinge life, and take, and eate this, in remembraunce that Christ died for thee, feede on him in thine heart by faith with thankes geuynge.

And the minister that deliuereth the cuppe shall say.

The bloude of our lorde Jesu Christ which was shedde for the, preserue thy body and soule into euerlasting life. And drinke this in remembraunce that Christes bloude was shedde for thee, and be thankeful.

Then shal the priest lay the Lordes prayer, the people repeatyng after hym euery petition. After thalbe layde as followeth.

O Lorde & heauenly father, we thy humble seruauntes, entierly desire thy fatherly goodnes mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thankes geuinge moste humbly beseechynge thee to graunte, that

PAGES FROM THE PRAYER BOOK OF 1559.

Containing Part of the Communion Service, showing the most important alteration † made in the Prayer Book of 1549 (*see p.* 340). (*British Museum.*)

* Bishop Creighton: "Queen Elizabeth," chap. ii.

† *Cf.* p. 221.

exception of Dr. Kitchin, bishop of Llandaff, refused to comply. Of these we shall speak directly. Besides the bishops, a considerable number of dignitaries were, owing to non-compliance, ejected from their preferments, including one abbot, four priors, and one abbess, twelve deans, fourteen archdeacons, and sixty prebendaries. But, on the other hand, the parochial clergy as a body were prepared to acquiesce in the change. It is computed that out of 9,400 clergy in England only 192 refused the oath of supremacy and declined to comply with the Act of Uniformity. These were gently dealt with, and had pensions assigned to them proportioned to the value of their preferments.*

The archbishopric of Canterbury had been vacant since the death of cardinal Pole; several of the bishops, too, had died about the same time, and only fourteen remained in possession of their sees. There were also two suffragan bishops of Thetford and Bedford. These two conformed, as did all the Irish prelates save three, but their views were not generally favourable to the Reformation. There were, however, still alive three bishops of the reformed opinions who had been regularly consecrated, and who had formerly, before the Marian changes, been in possession of sees. These were *Coverdale*, somewhiles bishop of Exeter; *Scory*, bishop of Rochester, then of Chichester; and *Barlow*, bishop of St. David's, then of Bath.

Of the thirteen Marian bishops who refused to accept the change, eleven were ejected from their sees. It was hoped for some time that Heath, archbishop of York, and Tunstal, bishop of Durham, would submit, and their sees were not filled up for nearly two years. They were all treated with conspicuous kindness and consideration, Bonner alone being imprisoned. A few retired abroad, but most remained in England. Several were entertained in the families of the newly appointed bishops. Heath, the archbishop of York, the late Chancellor, who had a considerable private fortune, lived henceforth in retirement in his own house at Chobham, near Windsor. He retained the friendship of the queen after he had lost his see. Thirlby, passages of whose eventful life and its many changes we have already touched on—notably his prominent share in the Oxford trials of Cranmer and his brother-sufferers—lived with Parker. He survived his fall many years, dying in 1570; and, it is said, found more happiness during that period of enforced retirement than he had ever enjoyed in his years of greatness. Bonner at first lived with the bishop of Lincoln, but he was subsequently placed under restraint, dwelling within the rules of the Marshalsea prison, but occupying a house of his own. Speaking of these and the others of the deprived prelates, Fuller quaintly observes—"They had sweet chambers, soft beds, warm fires, plentiful and wholesome diet, each bishop faring like an archbishop, differing nothing from their former living, saving *that* was on their own charges, and *this* at the cost of another." Tunstal, for instance, lived and died in Lambeth, the guest of archbishop Parker. On the whole, they gratefully repaid the kindness and consideration shown to them by never making any attempt to exercise episcopal functions, or

* *Cf.* Massingberd: "The English Reformation," chap. xxv

Photo : J. R. Browning, Exeter.

EXETER CATHEDRAL : THE WEST FRONT.

to set up a rival succession in the Church of England.*

It was on the 17th of December, 1559, when Elizabeth had been queen a little more than a year, that Dr. Matthew Parker was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, in succession to cardinal Pole, who died in the November of the previous year, a few hours after Mary passed away. It had been felt from the first days of the reign that this learned, quiet, thoughtful man was, of all the leading divines favourable to the Reformation and the new learning, the best fitted to fill the all-important position of archbishop of Canterbury and metropolitan. We have heard of him already, as taking a leading part all through those anxious months during which the great change from Romanism was being carried out in the Church of England. Possessing the entire confidence of the queen and Cecil, Parker was one of that little company whose wise counsels piloted the church through the first confused months which immediately followed the death of Mary, and prepared men's minds for the great change we have been relating. How wisely and well he did his work, how accurately he interpreted the real feeling of England and the vast majority of the clergy, is shown in the quiet and almost unanimous reception of the Prayer-book and the provisions of the Act of Uniformity, in spite of the almost unanimous and determined opposition of the bishops, by the parochial clergy.

No archbishop, perhaps, in the long line of our illustrious primates from the days of Augustine to our own times, ever took his seat on the historic throne of Canterbury more reluctantly than did Parker. Ill-health, some constitutional timidity, some distrust of his own powers, a preference for the quiet study-chamber, a dislike to the publicity which naturally attends high office, weighed deeply with this holy and humble man, and made him strangely averse to taking up the heavy burden of the primacy at such a juncture. The archiepiscopate was almost forced upon him; but he yielded at last to continued pressure, and his own solemn words, penned, we feel, with tear-dimmed eyes for no public scrutiny, probably on the evening of his consecration, tell us something of the spirit with which he assumed the great office. "I was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury; alas! alas! O Lord God, for what times hast Thou kept me! Now I am come into deep waters, and the flood will overwhelm me. O Lord, I am oppressed. Answer for me and stablish me with Thy free spirit, for I am a man that hath but a short time to live."

Matthew Parker, the seventieth archbishop of Canterbury, was born at Norwich in the year 1504. He belonged to a family engaged in trade, of the highest respectability and consideration. We hear later of his brother the mayor of Norwich. The family was remotely allied to the nobility; the earl of Nottingham being his distant kinsman. He was ever a studious boy; and at Cambridge he was a distinguished student of Corpus Christi College, of which society he became in

* *Cf.* Massingberd: "English Reformation," chap. xxv.

due course a fellow. He obtained, as years went on, considerable reputation as a preacher, and as a distinguished theological scholar, especially devoting himself to the study of the early Christian fathers. When he was about forty years old he was elected to the mastership of his college; his work in the development of the famous library of his house, celebrated far beyond the limits of his university, is well known. Before his election as master, he had been appointed chaplain to Anne Boleyn, whose confidence he won; she even entreated him before her death to watch over her little daughter Elizabeth, of whom he was the lifelong friend. To this connection with her ill-fated mother, no doubt, was largely owing the friendship with which Elizabeth ever regarded him.

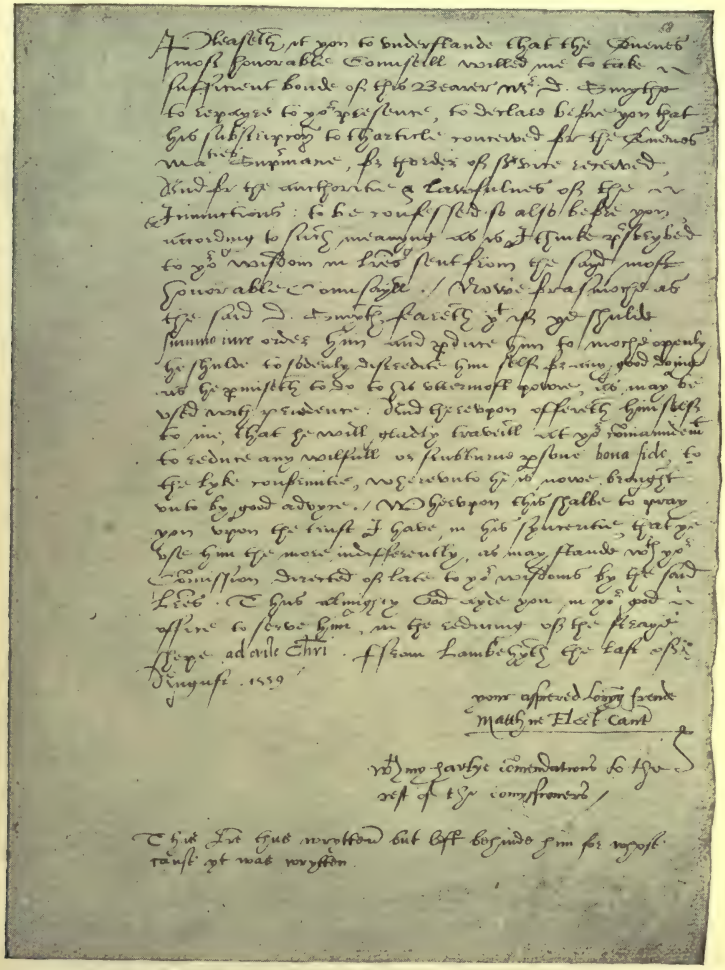
After the fall and death of Anne Boleyn, of whose innocence Parker seems to have been persuaded, Henry VIII. appointed him his chaplain, and subsequently gave him the deanery of Lincoln. His marriage, which was a most happy one, clearly shows us that his sympathies were entirely with the Reformed party in the church, and that he had little sympathy with the advocates of the old learning and the stern mediæval views of ecclesiastical life. He was intimately connected with Martin Bucer, the famous Reformer theologian, during Bucer's career at Cambridge; and by many writers it is supposed that Bucer's opinions largely influenced the views and opinions of the future Elizabethan primate. Under Mary he was, of course, deprived of his valuable and important preferments, and during her reign lived in great retirement, but apparently unmolested. It is very doubtful if he really underwent the persecution from which he is stated by some writers to have suffered.

His character generally has been summarised by two eminent Anglican writers well able to form a just conception. Parker was "a man of learning, of moderation, of system, and of piety, cautious in the formation of his opinions, and firm in maintaining them; but he was retiring in his habits, slow in his apprehensions, and (although an able preacher) disqualified for public speaking. . . . In his general habits of prudence and moderation, there were two other points which would be thought likely, at that critical period, to qualify him for the exercise of church authority. He had a profound respect for the prerogative of the crown, and dreaded the *Germanical natures*, as he styled them, of the English exiles," alluding, no doubt, to the views of such theologians as Zwinglius and Calvin.*

The second estimate runs as follows—Matthew Parker was one "who by nature and by education, by the ripeness of his learning, the sobriety of his judgment, and the incorruptness of his private life, was eminently fitted for the task of ruling the Church of England through a stormy period of her history; and though he was seldom able to reduce conflicting elements of thought and feeling into active harmony, yet the vessel he was called to pilot has been saved almost entirely by his skill from breaking on the rock of mediæval superstition, or else drifting far away into the whirlpool of licentiousness and unbelief. . . . . He was intimately acquainted

* Dr. Cardwell.

with the records of the ancient church, and uniformly based his vindication of our own upon his cordial adherence to the ancient liturgies and doctrines of the Christian church in former times. He utterly disliked, therefore, the public offices of the



LETTER FROM PARKER (1559), WHEN ARCHBISHOP ELECT, TO ONE OF THE COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED TO ENFORCE SUBSCRIPTION TO THE ARTICLE ACKNOWLEDGING THE QUEEN'S SUPREMACY IN THE CHURCH. (*British Museum.*)

primitive faith, and to the practice of the purest ages. His great skill in antiquity, to quote the language of Strype, reached to ecclesiastical matters as well as historical, whereby he became acquainted with the present Roman church, because they varied so much from the ancient."* "Among enthusiasts," again writes his patient biographer, "he had no enthusiasm; amidst

* Archdeacon Hardwick

the controversies of the day he distinguished between reform and revolution. He had studied the writings of Zwingle, Luther, and Calvin; and knowing their faults, as well as their merits, he had no inclination to follow their lead. He had studied the fathers and the general councils, and knew the deviations of the church of Rome from primitive truth. He could distinguish between things essential and not essential. . . . . Perhaps no one could be found whose principles more nearly accorded with those of Elizabeth." He had been, though their senior in age, the intimate friend at Cambridge of Cecil and Bacon, the queen's trusted advisers, who were thus personally acquainted with the inner mind of the man whom they recommended to their royal mistress as the one, among English divines favourably inclined to a "conservative" reformation, best fitted and most thoroughly equipped with learning and experience, to carry out her views.

But Parker himself for a considerable time was utterly averse to comply with the earnest desires of the queen and her counsellors. The seven years of enforced retirement from all sources of income had drained his slender private means, and he was very poor when Elizabeth became queen. His health was feeble; his voice, he said, was decayed. Let the queen give him the revenues of some prebend, he would spend the rest of his life in a private state in preaching the gospel in poor and destitute parishes. He was, however, imperatively summoned to the court, and there became at once the leading divine among those consulted in respect to the proposed changes. It was his wish, as it was also the queen's and Cecil's, to make the First Prayer-book the basis of the liturgical changes; and very reluctantly, when he found how deeply the re-introduction of that conservative compilation would wound and disturb the more advanced reformers without gaining the approval of the Romanists, he advised the queen, as we have seen, to adopt the Second Prayer-book, with certain modifications, as the form of prayer for the English Church. His views were followed, and with the changes we have notified, the Second Book appeared in the Act of Uniformity.

His repugnance, however, to accepting the primacy still continued. He was married, and the queen's aversion to the marriage of the clergy was another reason in his mind for wishing to remain in a private station. So strong were his scruples, that for a moment Elizabeth turned from him, and offered the great post to Dr. Wotton, the dean of Canterbury, an eminent man who had been in the Privy Council, and had been entrusted with important diplomatic posts. But Wotton was not an ambitious man, was conscious of his ignorance on deep theological questions, and at once refused the great office. Again Parker was pressed, and at length consented to accept it. All the various forms were carefully gone through. The *congé d'élire* to the dean and chapter of Canterbury was issued and complied with; the confirmation in the historic church of St. Mary-le-Bow was carried out; only the consecration remained.

It is the happiness of the Church of England, that in the opinion of Parker and the more earnest and thoughtful of the English reformers who, under queen Eliza-

beth, conducted the great changes of 1559 in the English Church, "the apostolic succession was of vital importance to the very existence of the church and its various branches. Without the apostolic succession, this continuity of the church, and the organic identity of the present and the past, could not be preserved. The authorities in church and state concurred in their belief that the continuity could not be sustained unless the archiepiscopal throne were occupied by one who could trace his authority to act in things sacred up to Augustine, through Augustine to the apostles, and through them to the divine Head who breathed upon the apostolic college, saying, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost.'"* No instance had occurred in the Catholic church until the period of the Reformation, in which ordination had been conferred by any who were not bishops. It is true the Lutheran and Genevan churches had adopted the Presbyterian custom; but they had done it with great reluctance, and as a matter of necessity. They would, indeed, have wished to preserve episcopal government.

There was at first, however, a grave difficulty in England, for the slender handful of Marian bishops who survived, save one, refused to conform to the Act of Uniformity, and were not available. Happily, there were three regularly consecrated bishops, deprived by Mary, still alive; and a regularly consecrated suffragan bishop (of Bedford), who had conformed. Parker made choice of these four, who consented to officiate at his consecration. Much has been written and spoken as to the validity of this act. The unbroken continuity of the orders of the Church of England, of course, depends upon it. Baseless and even ridiculous stories have been devised, in the hope of throwing doubt upon it. But great and acknowledged scholars, who have written in late times on the question of the validity of Anglican orders, have for ever established in the minds of serious men (not by any means confined to scholars who belong to the Anglican Church) that in the case of the consecration of archbishop Parker all things were done in perfect harmony with the immemorial usages of the Catholic Church.

The four consecrating bishops (this is the most important point in connection with the solemn rite) had been themselves all regularly and canonically consecrated.* William Barlow, who was selected as the presiding bishop, had long been an eminent personage during the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Mary, having been employed, as was then so commonly the case, in important public business, both at home and abroad. He became bishop of St. David's in 1536. His consecrators were archbishop Cranmer and the bishops of Exeter and Bath.† In 1548 Barlow was translated to the see of Bath and Wells. He was reputed as a learned theologian, and had much to do with the composition

* Dean Hook: "Lives of the Archbishops," Matthew Parker, chap. viii.

* In addition to these four, three other bishops who had conformed—viz. Kitchin, bishop of Llandaff; Bale, bishop of Ossory; and Salisbury, bishop of Thetford—were also available; but Parker, for various reasons, selected for his consecration the above-mentioned.

† On the question of the loss of the Registers in the case of Barlow, see—Bishop Stubbs: "Episcopal Succession," p. 77; Dean Hook: "Archbishops," vol. ix., chap. viii.; and Dr. Lingard, quoted in a lengthy note by Dean Hook, p. 241.

of the "Bishop's Book," or the "Institution of a Christian Man," printed in 1537, one of the great manuals of devotion put out under king Henry VIII. At the accession of queen Mary, Barlow, being married, probably to avoid persecution, resigned his see, and during her reign mostly resided in Germany. Under Elizabeth he became bishop of Chichester in 1559, and died ten years later, in December, 1569.

Miles Coverdale, another of Parker's consecrators, we have already spoken of at some length as the friend of Tyndale, and later, in connection with his noble labours in the translation and editing of the English Bible. He became bishop of Exeter in 1551. His consecrators were archbishop Cranmer, Ridley, bishop of London, and Hodgkins, bishop-suffragan of Bedford. His Genevan doctrines prevented his being re-appointed to a see under Elizabeth.

John Scory, the third of the bishops chosen by Parker, originally one of Ridley's chaplains, became bishop of Rochester in 1551. His consecrators were the same as Coverdale's—Cranmer, Ridley, and the suffragan bishop of Bedford. He was in the following year (1552) translated to Chichester, and was extruded from his see by bishop Gardiner's influence, under Mary, in 1554. Among the Marian exiles, he took charge of the English Church at Embden in East Friesland, under the strange title of superintendent. Early in the reign of Elizabeth he was appointed to the see of Hereford.

John Hodgkins, the fourth of the consecrating bishops, had been appointed bishop-suffragan of Bedford as early as the year 1537. Stokesley, bishop of London, Robert Wharton, bishop of St. Asaph, and John Hilsey, bishop of Rochester, were his consecrators.*

The ceremony of the consecration of Parker took place in the chapel of Lambeth Palace, in the presence of many persons, official and otherwise (amongst others the kinsman of Parker, the earl of Nottingham), at the early hour usual for this rite, between five and six in the morning; the sermon being preached by bishop Scory. All was done in accordance with the second ordinal of Edward VI., which is nearly identical with the present use of the Church of England.

Archbishop Parker was consecrated in December, 1559, bishop Barlow being nominated to the see of Chichester, and bishop Scory to the see of Hereford. Four more eminent reformer theologians inclined to moderate and conservative views, like Parker, were immediately appointed to some of the other vacant dioceses. Edmund Grindal went to London, Richard Cox to Ely, Edwin Sandys to Worcester, and Rowland Merrick to Bangor. A little later, in the course of the following year, Nicholas Bullingham was appointed to Lincoln, John Jewel to Salisbury, Thomas Young to St. David's,

* These apparently dry details have been given in view of the extreme importance of showing the perfect continuity of the Church of England in the matter of *apostolical succession*. The complete lists of all the English bishops and archbishops, with their consecrators, will be found in Bishop Stubbs's "Episcopal Succession in England," which is the one perfect and thorough work upon the subject. The old and now completely exploded fable of the pretended consecration of the archbishop at the "Nag's Head" Tavern has not been repeated or refuted here, as no serious Romanist writer thinks of quoting it any longer.

John Hodgkins,
Suffragan Bishop of Bedford.

Nicholas Bullingham,
Archdeacon of Lincoln.

Miles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter.

John Scory, Bishop of Chichester.

William Barlow. Bishop of Bath and Wells.

Matthew Parker, Archbishop Elect of Canterbury.

Edmund Guest, Archdeacon of Canterbury.

THE CONSECRATION OF ARCHBISHOP PARKER.

(By permission from the Autotype published by the Autotype Company, after the drawing by William Dyce, R.A.)

Richard Davies to St. Asaph, Edmund Guest (or Gheast) to Rochester, Gilbert Berkeley to Bath, Thomas Bentham to Coventry, William Alley to Exeter, and John Parkhurst to Norwich. In 1561 Robert Horne became bishop of Winchester, and Edmund Scrambler bishop of Peterborough. Rigidly and with extreme care was the unbroken continuity of the Church of England preserved by the wise foresight of Parker, the archbishop, and the Elizabethan ministers, among whom Sir William Cecil was the guiding influence.

After Parker, perhaps the most prominent and influential churchman in the first years of the great change was John Jewel, the famous author of "The Apology of the Church of England." This most learned and devout man was born in the year 1522 at Bude, in Devon. He belonged to an ancient but impoverished family, and already, as a student at Merton college, Oxford, had obtained a high reputation as a scholar and an indefatigable student.

He became a lecturer at his college, and soon acquired considerable fame as a preacher. He was one of Peter Martyr's most devoted pupils and followers; and on the accession of queen Mary was expelled from his college. At the first trial or disputation of Cranmer and Ridley at Oxford, 1554, Jewel acted as the secretary of the reformers, and especially incurred the anger of Dr. Marshall, the dean of Christ Church, who sent to Jewel what his anonymous biographer terms a "bead-roll of popish doctrines, to be subscribed by him on pain of fire and faggot and other grievous tortures." The poor man, we read, having neither friend to consult with, nor time allowed him, took the pen in his hand, and saying, "Have you a mind to see how well I can write?" subscribed his name hastily and with great reluctance. But Oxford was no safe place in those days of bitter persecution for a scholar who was known as the pupil and friend of Peter Martyr, and who was already famous as a keen controversialist on the reformers' side. He became a fugitive and an exile only just in time, for, his biographer tells us, had he delayed his flight but one day longer, he had been arrested; and in the Marian persecution, for one like Jewel, there was but little breathing space between arrest and speedy condemnation as a heretic to the flames.

At Frankfort, where he was kindly welcomed, he made a public recantation of his late subscription to the dean of Christ Church's paper, in which he wrote the following sorrowful words: "It was my abject and cowardly mind and faint heart that made my weak hand to commit this wickedness." From Frankfort he went to Strasburg, on the invitation of his friend and master, Peter Martyr, whom he assisted in his literary work; and in that city he was thrown in constant contact with men like Grindal, Sandys, Cheeke, and other distinguished exiles.

Jewel's exile lasted about four years, largely spent in study; thus supplementing his earlier Oxford labours, and preparing himself unconsciously for the great controversial work with which his name will ever be so honourably associated in the Church of England. In company with many of the Marian exiles, he returned home early in Elizabeth's reign, and was

named as one of the commissioners for the western part of the island in the general visitation of the dioceses ordered by Parliament for rectifying such things as they found amiss. His prudence and wisdom in this difficult and delicate task were conspicuous, and Parker recommended him among the first group of distinguished reformers for a bishopric. He was consecrated to Salisbury in the January of 1560.

Jewel at first—no doubt, owing to his long intercourse with the foreign reformers—was inclined to extreme plainness and simplicity in church order, and at one time had even written against clerical, and especially episcopal vestments. But the quiet influence of Parker prevailed with him, and with the full approbation of his friends, Peter Martyr and Bullinger, he did not allow his personal predilection in things, after all, non-essential, to interfere with the great work to which he was called. He ever loyally co-operated with the archbishop in his settlement of the Church of England, and was, indeed, a most valuable coadjutor. To great learning and real eloquence, he added the most entire and unselfish devotion in his work as a bishop.

In the June of 1560, he preached his famous sermon at Paul's Cross upon 1 Cor. xi. 23–25: "For I have received of the Lord that which I also delivered unto you, that the Lord Jesus the same night in which he was betrayed took bread, etc.," in which he publicly gave forth his challenge—"urbi et orbi"—on the great subject which agitated the minds of the religious world of the west; thus acting as the mouthpiece of archbishop Parker and the Elizabethan bishops, and publicly announcing their views on this momentous question. We may thus briefly summarise the heads of the famous challenge, which run as follows:—

"If any learned man of all our adversaries, or if all the learned men that be alive, be able to bring any one sufficient sentence out of any old Catholic doctor or father, or out of any old general council, or out of the Holy Scriptures of God, or any one example of the primitive church, where it may be clearly and plainly proved—

"That there was any *private mass* in the whole world for the space of six hundred years after Christ;

"Or that there was then *any communion* ministered unto the people *in one kind;*

"Or that the people had their common prayers in a strange tongue that they understood not;

"Or that *the bishop of* Rome was then called an universal bishop, or the head of the universal church;

"Or that the people were taught to believe that *Christ's body* is really substantially, corporally, carnally, or naturally in the sacrament (this was variously enlarged on in the great challenge);

"Or that *images* were then set up in churches to the intent that people might worship them;

"Or that the lay people were forbidden to read the word of God in their own tongue," etc. etc.

This is only a very concise summary, the challenge was much longer; but the above *précis* indicates the principal points dwelt upon; and considering that the preacher who stood at Paul's Cross under the shadow of the cathedral of the great

metropolis, was Parker's intimate and trusted friend, that his great reputation for scholarship and ecclesiastical learning was generally acknowledged, that he spoke with the weight and authority of one of the first group of Elizabethan bishops, we may fairly assume that these represented fairly the general spirit of the theology of the Church of England in these hotly-disputed questions, in the first years of the settlement under queen Elizabeth.

Two years later, in 1562, Jewel put out his well-known "Apology of the Church of England," in Latin. This celebrated treatise was "the public confession of the Catholic and Christian faith of the Church of England, and gave an account of the reasons of its departure from the see of Rome, and was also an answer to the calumnies that were then raised against the English Church and nation for not submitting to the pretended council of Trent then sitting." *

ARCHBISHOP PARKER.
(*From the portrait at Lambeth Palace.*)

The "Apology" was published with the sanction of the two primates and their suffragans, and under the authority of the queen. To the English version Parker added a brief sketch of the Church of England as it then existed, with a list of the bishoprics and an account of the universities. Some interesting details of this sketch of Parker are worth recording, as giving a graphic picture of the Church of England in the first days of her reformation under Elizabeth. "Every one of the archbishops and bishops have their cathedral-churches, wherein the deans bear the chief rule, being men specially chosen both for their 'learning' and godliness as near as may be. These cathedral churches have also other dignities and canonries, whereunto be assigned no idle or unprofitable persons, but such as either be preachers or professors of the sciences of good learning. In the said cathedral churches, upon Sundays and festival days, the canons make ordinarily special sermons, whereunto duly resort the head officers of the city and the citizens."

Careful provision, Parker explained, was made for visitation twice a year in every

* See Wordsworth's (Master of Trinity) Ecclesiastical Biographies: "Bishop Jewel," from the anonymous Life printed in 1685.

diocese by the archdeacons. If in their inquisitions any errors in religion or weighty matter should come before these officials, the bishops were to be duly informed. Nothing was read in our churches, wrote the archbishop, but the them to the people. . . . All the Common Prayer, the lessons taken out of the Scriptures, and the administering of the Sacraments, were done in the vulgar tongue, which all may understand."

Versions of the "Apology" of Jewel

APOLOGIA

ſtites, quàm de mortuis.

CREDIMVS Spiritum Sanctũ, qui eſt tertia perſona in ſacra Triade, illũ uerum eſſe Dei: Non factũ, non creatum, non genitum, ſed ab utroque Patre ſcilicet & Filio ratione quadam mortalibus incognita, ac ineffabili, procedentem. Illius eſſe duritiem humani cordis emollire, quum aut per ſalutiferam prædicationem Euangelij, aut alia quaeſique ratione in pectora hominum recipitur, illũ eos illuminare, & in agnitionem Dei, atque in omnem illam ueritatis & in totius uitæ nouitatem, & perpetuam ſalutis ſtem perducere.

CREDIMVS unam eſſe Eccleſiam Dei, eámque nõ ut olim apud Iudæos, in uniũ aliquem angulũ aut Regnum, concluſam, ſed Catholicam, atque uniuerſalem eſſe, & diffuſam in totum terrarum orbem, ut nulla nunc natio ſit, quæ poſſit uerè conqueri, ſe exclusam eſſe, & non poſſe ad Eccleſiam, & Populum Dei pertinere. Eam Eccleſiam eſſe Regnum, eſſe corpus, eſſe Sponſam Chriſti: Eius Regni Chriſtum ſolum eſſe Principem: Eius corporis Chriſtum ſolum eſſe caput: Eius Sponſæ, Chriſtum ſolum eſſe Sponſum. Varios in Eccleſia eſſe ordines Miniſtrorum: Alios eſſe Diaconos, alios Preſbiteros, alios Epiſcopos, quibus inſtitutio populi & Religionis cura & procuratio cõmiſſa ſit: Neminem tamen unum nec eſſe, nec eſſe poſſe, qui ſummæ rerum uniuerſæ præſit: Nam & Chriſtum ſemper adeſſe Eccleſiæ ſuæ, & Vicario homine, qui ex . aſſe in integrum ſuccedat, nõ egere: & neminem mortalem poſſe exiſtere, qui uniuerſam Eccleſiam, hoc eſt, omnes

ECCLE. ANGLICANAE.

omnes partes orbis terrarum, uel animo complecti, nedum ordine collocare, & recte ac cõmode adminiſtrare poſſit: Apoſtolos, ut Cyprianus ait, pari omnes inter ſe fuiſſe potestate: atq; hoc idẽ fuiſſe alios q. Petrus fuit: Omnibus ex æquo dictum fuiſſe, Paſcite: Omnibus, Ite in mundũ uniuerſum: Omnibus, Docete Euangelium: Et ut ait Hieronymus, Omnes Epiſcopos ubicũq; tandẽ ſint, ſiue Romæ, ſiue Eugubij, ſiue Conſtantinopoli, ſiue Rhegij, eiuſdẽ eſſe meriti, eiuſdẽ ſacerdotij. Vtque Cyprianus ait: Epiſcopatum unam eſſe, & eius partem in ſolidum teneri á ſingulis: Et de ſententia Niceni concilij, Romanum Epiſcopum nihilo plus iuris in Eccleſiam Dei obtinere, quam reliquos Patriarchas Alexandrinum, & Antiochenum: Romanum uerò Epiſcopum, qui nunc ad ſe unum omnia reuocat, niſi officium faciat, niſi adminiſtret Sacramenta, niſi inſtituat populũ, niſi moneat, niſi doceat, ne Epiſcopum quidem aut omnino Preſbiterum iure dicendum eſſe. Epiſcopum enim, ut Auguſtinus ait, nomen eſſe oneris, non honoris: ut ille ſe intelligat non eſſe Epi, copũ, qui uelit præeſſe, & nõ prodeſſe. Caput uerò Eccleſiæ totius, aut Vniuerſalem Epiſcopum, non magis aut illum, aut alium quemuis mortalem eſſe poſſe, quàm Sponſum, quàm Lucem, quam Salutem, quàm uitam Eccleſiæ. Hæc enim eſſe Chriſti unius priuilegia, & nomina, & illi uni proprie atque unicè conuenire: Neque unquàm quenquàm Romanum Epiſcopum ante Phocam Imperatorem, quem ſcimus interfecto Imperatore Mauritio domino ſuo) per nefarium ſcelus ad Imperium aſpiraſſe, hoc eſt, ante ſexcenteſimum decimũ tertium annum á Chriſto

De ſimplicitate prædicationis ecclæ.

Ad Eugenĩ.

De ſimplicitate precatorum.

1. ad Tim. 3.

B.ij.

PAGES FROM THE 1ST EDITION OF THE "APOLOGIA" OF BISHOP JEWEL, 1562. (*British Museum.*)

canonical Scriptures. Then followed a curious statement as to the lack of learned pastors, which Parker attributed to the old rule, "in the time of papistry." In view of this lack, he said: "As there cannot be learned pastors for every parish, there be prescribed unto the curates of meaner understanding, certain homilies, devised by learned men, to be read by

appeared almost directly after its publication in England, in the chief foreign languages, even in Greek. It was published during the last session of the long-drawn-out council of Trent, and was so important a work, that two bishops—one a Spanish and the other an Italian—undertook to answer it. But the answer in question never was forthcoming.

From the anonymous Life of Jewel (published 1685) we gather some curious details respecting the works and days of an Elizabethan bishop. "Being naturally," says his biographer, "of a spare and thin body, and restlessly trashing it out with reading, writing, preaching, and travelling, he hastened his death—which happened before he was fully fifty years of age—of which he had a strange perception a considerable time before it happened, and wrote of it to several of his friends, but would by no means be persuaded to abate anything of his former excessive labours, saying, '*A bishop should die preaching.*' He was ever a most laborious preacher, always travelling about his diocese, and preaching wherever he came, wherein he laboured to speak to the apprehensions of the people, hating all light, jingling discourses and phrases as beneath the dignity of the sacred place; yet he was careful here, too, in the choice of his words, and endeavoured to move the affections of his auditors by pathetic and zealous applications; avoiding all high-flown expressions, and using a grave and sedate rather than sweet way of speaking, and never venturing in the meanest auditory to preach extempore." He was, says the writer of his life, of a pleasant debonair humour, extremely obliging to all; but, withal, of great gravity, and of so severe a probity and virtue, that he extorted from his bitterest enemies a confession that he lived the life of an angel. Though he came to a bishopric (Salisbury) miserably impoverished and wasted, yet he found means to exercise a prodigious liberality and hospitality. Of the first, his great expense in the building a fair library for his cathedral church may be an instance. His doors stood always open to the poor, and he would frequently send his charitable relief to prisoners. Perceiving the great want of learned men in his time, his greatest care was to have ever with him half a dozen or more poor lads, whom he brought up in learning, and took much delight in hearing them dispute points of grammar in Latin at his table when he was at his meal. He also maintained in the university several young students, allowing them yearly pensions; amongst them was the afterwards famous Richard Hooker. The young student evidently never forgot his early friend, for years after, in his great book, "The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity," we come upon a mention of the long-dead bishop, whom Hooker calls "the worthiest divine that Christendom had bred for the space of some hundreds of years."

Besides the famous "Apology," during that busy twelve years of his episcopate Jewel put out several weighty works, expository and polemical, and was also one of the chief writers in the "Second Book of Homilies." He is justly considered one of the ablest and most authoritative expounders of the true genius and teaching of the Church of England. He died, as he wished, in harness, working to the last. His biographer above quoted thus simply relates the end: "Having promised to preach at Lacock in Wiltshire, he was advised to go home, being very weak and ailing. It were better, said his friend, that the people should want one sermon than to be altogether deprived of such a preacher. But the good scholar-bishop would not be persuaded. So he preached

his last sermon on the words 'Walk in the spirit' (Gal. v.), but with great labour and difficulty." And the Saturday following, worn out with long and ceaseless work, he rendered up his soul to God.

We have sketched his life somewhat at length, not only on account of the vast influence exercised by his works, but because he was a notable example of that group of great Elizabethan divines who guided and remodelled the church in those days of difficulty and perplexity and to whom the Church of England owes so deep a debt.

BISHOP JEWEL.
(*From the portrait prefixed to his Life by Strype.*)

Pope Paul IV. died in the August of 1559, and was succeeded by cardinal De Medici, also far advanced in years, under the title of Pius IV. He, in the course of 1560, endeavoured to effect a reconciliation with Elizabeth and England. In a letter of indisputable authority a formal overture was made to the queen, on the part of the Pope, to the effect that, on condition of her adhesion to the see of Rome, the Pope would approve of the Book of Common Prayer, including the Litany and Communion Service, and the ordinal. Although his holiness complained that many things were omitted in the Prayer-Book which ought to be there, he admitted that the book, nevertheless, contained nothing contrary to the truth, while it certainly comprehended all that is necessary for salvation. He was, therefore, "prepared to authorise the Book of Common Prayer if her majesty would receive it from him and on his authority."*

But it was too late. The preceding Pope had bitterly insulted the queen, and such concessions had since been made to the Protestant party as rendered it impossible even to receive a nuncio from Rome. Any friendly negotiation with the Pope would have rendered the queen's position impossible. The offensive petition in the Litany, which prayed for deliverance "from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome and his detestable enormities," had been omitted by Parker and his coadjutors from the Book of Common Prayer; but no formal union was possible on any terms with a church whose errors had been so explicitly rejected by the Anglican communion. The nuncio was, therefore, not allowed to land in England, the Spanish ambassador in vain remonstrating.

* Dean Hook: "Archbishops," vol. ix., chap. ix.

CHAPTER LVII.

ARCHBISHOP PARKER AND HIS WORK.

Parker's Difficulties—The Marriage Laws—The Church Calendar—The State of the Church Fabrics—The Homilies—The Convocation of 1562—The Puritan Party in the Church—History of the Thirty-nine Articles—Influence of the Queen upon them—Changes made in the Articles—The Genevan and Bishops' Bibles—The Douai Version—The Question of Vestments—Want of Uniformity and Reverence in many Churches—General Disorders—Parker's "Advertisements"—Pictures of the Church as it was—Historical Estimates of Parker and his Work in the Church—His Death—His Great Library at Cambridge—Influence upon Literature and the Elizabethan Age.

AT the outset of his work, archbishop Parker and his suffragans were met with not a few grave difficulties. Of these the more pressing was the number of vacant parishes requiring to be filled up; and the old question of the celibacy of the clergy once more presented itself. The first, the dearth of clergy, was occasioned not only from a certain number refusing to submit to the Act of Uniformity, but owing to the number of deaths which had recently occurred; sickness, which ravaged England at the close of Mary's reign and during the first months of her successor's rule, having carried off many of the parochial clergy. It was difficult at that juncture to fill the vacancies as the archbishop desired; and not a few who were willing to accept the vacant cures were extreme controversialists on one side or the other. Lay help was in consequence admitted, certain readers being formally licensed to say the Litany and to read a homily in churches destitute of properly ordained clergy. These were not, however, suffered to baptise or to marry or to minister the Holy Communion. The marriage question was a point upon which the queen herself felt strongly. Elizabeth desired that still, as before the Reformation, the marriage of the clergy should be discouraged in every way, and even wished to insist that it should only be contracted under a special dispensation from the crown. Parker, however, on this point was firm, and insisted on the recognition of clerical marriages as a right.

Considerable laxity prevailed at this period among laymen on the subject of marriage generally. Marrying within the degrees prohibited by the divine laws, and other irregularities, not unfrequently in the Middle Ages covered with special dispensations from Rome, usually procurable on the payment of fees more or less heavy, were common. Among the reformers, at home and abroad, very loose notions on the subject of matrimony undoubtedly prevailed. To correct as far as possible this state of things, the archbishop proceeded to legislate in this matter for the church on his sole authority. He took as the basis of his celebrated "table" of kindred and affinity, the principles laid down in the eighteenth and twentieth chapters of Leviticus. The "table" has only been slightly altered by subsequent

COMMUNION IN BOTH KINDS AMONG THE EARLY PROTESTANTS OF BOHEMIA.

legislation, and remains substantially to the present time the law of the church and realm. With the "table" he put out "an admonition for the present time, with a still further consultation of all such as intend hereafter to enter into the estate of matrimony godly and agreeable to law." This was ordered to be set up in every church.

Another act of the archbishop in the early days of Elizabeth is principally remarkable, as it shows the bent of his mind, and the inclinations of the queen. While the law of the land required that the *English* Prayer-Book should be generally used, the performance of divine service in *Latin* was permitted in the chapels of the universities, and of the two principal public schools of Winchester and Eton. Upon petition of the universities, a Latin version of the Book of Common Prayer was published, with royal authority for its use "among the learned." The principal work in the arrangement of this version was entrusted to Walter Haddon. Now Haddon adopted for the basis of his work the Latin translation of the First Prayer-book of Edward VI. (1549), by Alexander Aless, a Scotch canon of St. Andrews, and subsequently professor of theology at Leipsig. Aless's Latin version differed in some minor particulars from the original book of 1549, but was substantially the same. Haddon, it is true, revised in some degree Aless's Latin version; but evidently the object of Parker and the queen was to give a quasi-authority to the First Book of Edward VI. by sanctioning the use of this Latin version of it by "learned men." It is true that provision was made for an English service and communion in such chapels "of the learned," but permission by a royal letter was certainly given for service to be said in these chapels from the Latin version of Haddon. Some hope was evidently entertained that the universities and public schools, and many, too, of the clergy in their private devotions, using this book, would become reconciled to the observances and more elaborate ritual of the First Prayer-Book.*

Another piece of work of considerable interest was undertaken by Parker in these same early days of Elizabeth. In the Latin prayer-book the calendar reappeared. This was only the preliminary step towards introducing a reformed calendar into the English prayer-book, and also was an indication of the desire of the queen and the archbishop to restore to the prayer-book of the reformed church some of the mediæval uses, to which no suspicion of "superstition" was attached. The unbroken continuity of the Church of England with the Catholic church of antiquity was never for a moment lost sight of by archbishop Parker and his coadjutors in the Elizabethan settlement. The names of the eminent saints and chief benefactors of the church, they felt must be commemorated. Their memory ought to be preserved for ever in the church calendar, and ever and again to come before the thoughts of churchmen, as they looked over the lists of seasons and days of each recurring year.

A small royal commission, under the presidency of the archbishop, was appointed to make later changes in the

* See Procter: "Book of Common Prayer, chap. iii., and Appendix, section i.

lectionary, "for the greater edification of the people." The reform of the calendar, stripped of so many of its holy memories in the Second Prayer-Book, which had been, as we have seen, for the most part adopted by the Elizabethan divines, was at once taken in hand by the archbishop. The lectionary has been revised in our times, as late as 1871, but the calendar we now find in the Anglican prayer-book, with some slight additions in 1661, is the result of Parker's labours of revision in 1561.

From the earliest times of the church's history, calendars have existed. Dean Hook dates them from the martyrdom of Polycarp in A.D. 168: "We have them in the diptychs of the primitive church; when the diptychs developed into the modern calendar, we perceive the calendar to consist of a table in which are stated days, weeks, and months, with the fasts and festivals of the church. . . . We possess a calendar bearing the date of A.D. 336, and another as early as A.D. 483 of the church of Carthage. In our own church the calendar was largely illustrated by Bede in the eighth century."

The observance of saints' days arises from a very early practice of keeping the anniversary of the day on which a saint died by martyrdom. The night before such anniversaries used to be spent in watching, and was usually observed with fasting and prayer. Hence the term "vigil" (*vigilare*, to watch), now applied to the day before certain festivals. A vigil implies a fast, and is not to be confused with the eve of a festival. Some festivals have no vigils, either because they occur in seasons when fasting would be out of place, as in the case of Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, or because no martyrdom is commemorated, as, for instance, St. Michael and All Angels. St. Luke's day, again, has no vigil, probably because the festival of St. Etheldreda of Ely occupies the day before. Again, every Sunday is a festival commemorating the Lord's resurrection. It has ever been forbidden to fast on that day; so in the case of a holy day falling on a Monday, its vigil, if it has one, is kept on the previous Saturday, not on Sunday, its eve. Parker was resolved not to allow the Church of England to break off this precious link with a long historical past, so he arranged a calendar from the mediæval church, the calendar we now possess.

In the First and Second Prayer-Books of Edward VI., of 1549 and 1552, the most important festivals were recognised, and these festivals are observed still by the use of special epistles, gospels, and collects. In the first calendar of the Elizabethan book of 1559, with the festivals of our Lord, the Purification and Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, St. John the Baptist, St. John the apostle and evangelist, All Saints' and Innocents' (known as Red Letter days), the names of St. George, St. Laurence, and St. Michael alone are found. Archbishop Parker restored to the calendar of the Church of England *forty-eight more* of the minor holy days (for which proper epistles, gospels, and collects, are not provided). These are known as "Black Letter days." Of these forty-eight, twenty-one commemorate saints like St. George, the patron saint of England; St. Augustine, the Roman missionary to Ethelbert the Jutish king; St. David, the patron saint of Wales; and others more immediately con-

nected with our island. There are, however, among these "English" saints, some unaccountable omissions still. We look in vain for the names of St. Aidan and St. Cuthbert, and even for the honoured name of St. Patrick, the patron saint of Ireland. These were, strangely enough, also overlooked in the unimportant revision of 1661, when the names of Bede of Jarrow, the father of English history, and of St. Alban, the first martyr in Britain, and the little known name of St. Enurchus* (Sept. 7), bishop of Orleans, were added to the list in Parker's calendar of 1561.

The greater holy days (Red Letter) of the Church of England are mainly the same which have ever been observed by the universal church. The lesser holy days were replaced in the Anglican calendar, with few exceptions, by the loving conservative spirit of archbishop Parker, who, with his royal mistress, was intensely anxious to show that the Church of England was still undissevered in spirit from the pre-Reformation church of England of earlier years, from the goodly fellowship of Catholic Christianity.†

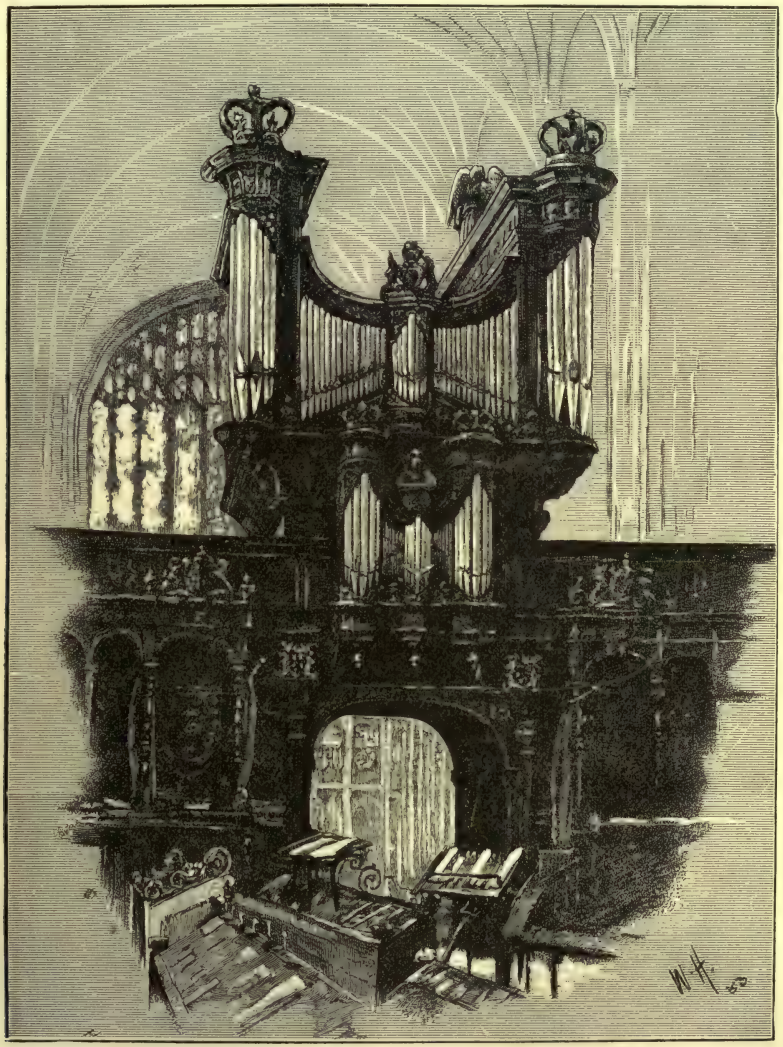
* Enurchus (the name should be spelt "Evurtius or Evortius") was sent on a mission to Orleans, A.D. 375. The election of a bishop was pending when he arrived. A dove settled on his head, and in consequence, so runs the legend, Evortius or Enurtius was chosen as the designate of God. Other marvels are related of him. The error which has substituted Enurchus (a name unknown in any hagiography) arose as follows:—Euurti (Scil. festum) was the original reading, but as "u" and "n" are very similar letter-forms in writing, as are "c" and "t," Euurti was mistaken for Enurci, whence arose Enurchus. The copy of the book in the Bodleian has Eurci.

† *Cf.* generally for greater details, Procter's and Wheatley's exhaustive works on the Book of Common Prayer: *S.V.*, "*The Calendar.*" Also Eland's "Introduction to the Prayer-Book."

The same royal commission, appointed under the influence of Parker, examined into the sadly neglected state of many of the chancels of the parish churches throughout the land. These, and in many cases the entire churches, had formerly been repaired by the monasteries to whom they largely belonged, and in whose patronage they were. After the dissolution of the religious houses, too often the laymen who became possessed of the monastic lands neglected the responsibility of caring for the churches and chancels in question. Among the directions given, the commissioners were required "to consider the decays of churches, and the unseemly keeping of chancels, and to order the commandments to be set up at the east end of the chancel, to be read not only for edification, but also to give some comely ornament, and demonstration that the same is a place of religion and prayer."

At the same time (1561–2), under the direction of Parker, was composed the Second Book of Homilies, a large portion of which is ascribed to the pen of Jewel. This second book was formally accepted by Convocation, which met in the earlier months of 1562. They are expressly mentioned and enumerated in the Thirty-nine Articles. (The Thirty-nine Articles, which were formally accepted in the same Convocation of 1562, will be presently discussed.) The Thirty-nine Articles joins the First and Second Book of Homilies together, and judges them "to be read in churches by the ministers, diligently and distinctly, that they may be understanded of the people." The object of these semi-authoritative documents was especially to provide popular discourses, which might

be read in lieu of sermons by the clergy, who in many cases, as we have already pointed out, were very illiterate, and part attributed to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer. In this first book, the homily of salvation, referred to especially in Article XI.,



ORGAN IN KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL, CAMBRIDGE. (*Early 16th Century.*)

in consequence were not licensed to preach. The First Book of Twelve Homilies had been published by authority in the reign of Edward VI. (1547), and were in great was the work of Cranmer, and is singularly eloquent, and valuable as a piece of sound theology.

The two Books of Homilies thus formally

authorised in 1562, are precious now as showing generally the mind of Parker and his coadjutors, as indicating the popular teaching which they desired should be given to the English people. "They show a firm belief in the authoritative teaching and sacred tradition of the primitive church, regarded not as co-ordinate in authority with the Holy Scriptures, but as explanatory of the same. In the homilies we find enforced a deference to the first four general councils. . . . . The homilies teach regeneration in Holy Baptism, the real (spiritual) presence in the Eucharist. Baptism and the Supper of the Lord are not only means of grace, they are means of the *special* grace of uniting the souls of the faithful to the Redeemer." *

Convocation met early in the year 1562. It was opened with great ceremony and state; the dean of St. Paul's, Dr. Nowell, being chosen prolocutor of the lower house. As most important and enduring legislation for the Church of England was virtually settled in this first Convocation of queen Elizabeth's reign, it will be well to say a little respecting the composition of this famous assembly. In the upper house, with the solitary exception, perhaps, of Sandys, bishop of Worcester, the prelates more or less sympathised with Parker, and loyally supported him in that middle course of action he had elected to follow in his difficult task of choice and rejection among the mediæval services and formulas: that "*via media Anglicana*" which has ever been the strength of the Church of England, and which, with the deepest reverence for antiquity, united a determination to sweep away superstition and, comparatively speaking, novel doctrines.

In the lower house there was a strong element present of extreme reformers, about thirty-three in number. These represented a large and formidable party in England, who had "conformed" to the new state of things—to the liturgy, to the Act of Uniformity, and generally to the regulations of the archbishop and the queen; but who hoped to bring about further changes in the direction of greater simplicity, and who longed for a more thorough sweeping away of mediæval customs, rites, vestments, which in their eyes still marred and disfigured the English Reformation. Most of the leading men of this party had spent several years in exile, and more or less had come under the influence of that masterful spirit who ruled with a stern, uncompromising rule at Geneva. Far and wide reached the influence of Calvin, largely through his great book, "The Institutes," which. since the mediæval religious text-books of the schoolmen (the Summa of Aquinas, the writings of Peter Lombard, Duns Scotus, and others), had been scornfully burnt and discredited, had become the acknowledged text-book of a very large section of reformers. We are not specially concerned here with the tenets of Calvinism, which in England, as on the Continent, so deeply coloured much of the theology of the extreme party among the reformers. In this Convocation these thirty or thirty-three agitated against the views of Parker, clamouring for a simpler service and ritual; but behind these outward things there

* See generally Dean Hook: "Archbishops," vol. iv., chap. x.

were grave doctrinal changes which they earnestly desired, and hoped eventually to see carried out.

These men, and the large party which followed their lead, gradually acquired the name of *Puritans*, by which designation it will be convenient henceforth generally to style them, in contradistinction to the moderate conservative reformers represented by archbishop Parker, whom we will term the Anglican party. These latter formed the bulk of the religious reformers of England. Generalising is ever somewhat dangerous, but we may fairly summarise as follows: These Puritans, as time went on, became divided among themselves. Some "conformed" to the established state of things, although disliking not a little of the ritual and practices, and to a less degree some of the doctrines put forth. Others sturdily refused and resisted, rather than make a sacrifice of their conscience. We may see in these early schools of thought among the men of the Elizabethan age, the ancestors of the modern High Church and Evangelical schools *within* the pale of the Establishment; the ancestors, too, of the modern Nonconformist *outside* the pale of the Church of England.

In this celebrated meeting of Convocation the Puritan party advanced some distinct views. These they scheduled, and thirty-three members of the lower house signed the schedule in question. The chief points advanced, and which were hotly debated, touched upon customs of the Catholic Church of immemorial antiquity, and were as follows: All scientific music, together with the use of the organ in divine service, was objected to; the sign of the cross in baptism, the insisting upon the position of kneeling in the reception of the Eucharist, were likewise denounced; copes and surplices were to be done away with; festivals and saints' days were to be discontinued. A very large majority, however, supported Parker and the "Anglican" party; and what is especially interesting, this majority was largely composed of the parochial clergy, the larger number of the Puritans being, strangely enough, made up of dignitaries such as deans, archdeacons, etc.

But the most important event in this Convocation was the acceptance, with slight modifications, of Parker's draft of the Thirty-nine Articles. Already a short summary of nine articles of religion had been drawn up in an episcopal "assessus," as it was termed, in the spring of 1561, in which the doctrine of the Trinity was asserted, as were also the sufficiency of Holy Scripture, the three Creeds, the power of the keys as exercised by the church, the agreement of Holy Scripture with the Book of Common Prayer, the distinction between the Mass and the Communion, the necessity of administering the Holy Communion in both kinds, the rejection of images, relics, and superstitious rites, etc. It was intended that these "Articles" should be subscribed by all the clergy licensed to officiate in the dioceses of either province.

The necessity, however, for a much more elaborate and exhaustive formulary was imperative, considering the state of "religious" England in the early days of Elizabeth. To use Parker's own expression, in a letter addressed to Sir

Nicholas Bacon: "The realm is full of Anabaptists, Arians, Libertines, Free-will men, etc., against whom only I thought ministers should be needed to fight *in unity of doctrine*. As to the Romish adversaries, their mouths may be stopped with their books and confessions of later days." When he wrote the above, the Puritan section alluded to as forming a compact party in Convocation had not formally asserted itself. But the necessity of an exhaustive formulary of doctrine seems to have been from the beginning constantly present in Parker's mind; and no doubt the short summary of the nine articles was only devised as an *interim* formulary, pending careful consideration of one more extensive and far-reaching in its scope.

As the basis of the draft of his Articles of Religion, the archbishop naturally took the great Edwardian formulary of the forty-two articles, which had been so carefully prepared by his predecessor, Cranmer, and so often revised by the council, by famous Edwardian bishops, especially by Cranmer's friend and counsellor, Ridley, and other learned men. These forty-two articles were written for the most part in a comprehensive spirit. The recension of Parker shows less of the temper of compromise, which has been well described as "characteristic of the English as contrasted with the foreign Reformation."*

Certain changes in the forty-two were made in the archbishop's first draft. Four of the original articles he expunged, four more he added, making, too, some modifications. In his revision he was guided as Cranmer had been before him, in a great degree by Lutheran formularies. Cranmer had derived much from the confession of Augsburg. Parker, in his revision, took several ideas from the confession of Wurtemburg. Both houses of Convocation accepted the final draft. In the lower house the acceptance, naturally enough, considering its composition, was not so general as it was in the upper house of bishops, where it was practically unanimous. In addition, the archbishop of York and some of his suffragans attached their signatures to the document containing the articles. "This latter circumstance," it has been well said, "gives to this Convocation the character of a national synod."

Queen Elizabeth herself, it is believed, in the exercise of what she considered her undoubted prerogative, *struck out* the twenty-ninth article, which spoke "of the wicked who eat not the body of Christ in the use of the Lord's Supper"—the title of this article then was, "Impii non manducant corpus Christi in usu cœnæ"—and *added* the famous clause, "Habet Ecclesia ritus statuendi jus, et in fidei controversiis auctoritatem," in the twentieth article. (The church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith.) Both the article then struck out and the clause in question added stand in the present Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. The articles were then thirty-eight in number.

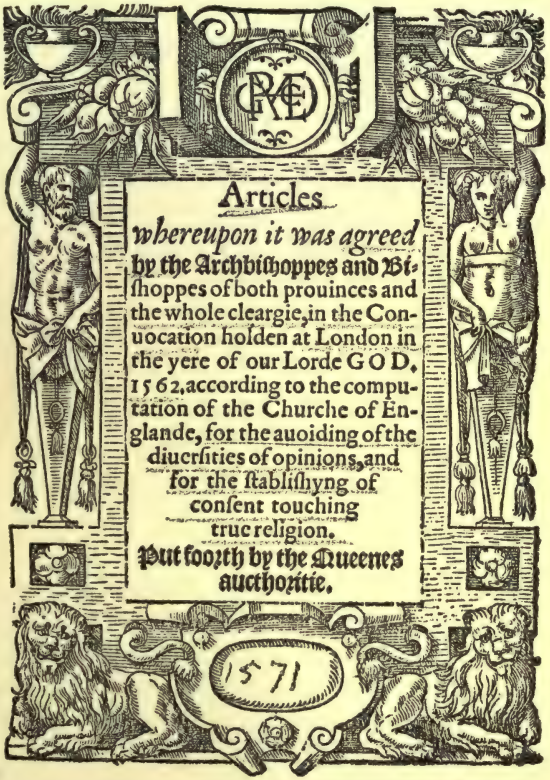
To sum up, these articles, in an English translation, were soon after (1562) put

* Dean Church, who gives Newman's by no means baseless assertion (in his defence of "Tract 90"), that the first Reformers had intended the articles to comprehend a great body of their countrymen who would have been driven out by any extreme and anti-Catholic declaration.

("Oxford Movement," chap. xiv.)

forth by the authority of Convocation, but not apparently with the authority of the queen, or of the legislature. In the year 1571, the articles (including the twenty-ninth, struck out by the queen in 1562) were again subscribed by both houses of Convocation, and committed to the editorship of bishop Jewel, and received the formal sanction of Parliament and the Queen. They were then thirty-nine in number.

"The thirty-nine articles then drawn up, subscribed, and authorised, have ever since been signed and assented to by all the clergy of the church, and until lately by every graduate of both the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and have hence an authority far beyond that of any single Convocation or Parliament, viz. the unanimous and solemn assent of all the bishops and clergy of the Church of England, and of the two universities, for well-nigh three hundred years." *


Articles
whereupon it was agreed
by the Archbishoppes and Bi-
shoppes of both prouinces and
the whole cleargie, in the Con-
uocation holden at London in
the yere of our Lorde GOD,
1562, according to the compu-
tation of the Churche of En-
glande, for the auoiding of the
diuersities of opinions, and
for the stablishyng of
consent touching
true religion.
Put forth by the Queenes
auctoritie.
1571

TITLE-PAGE TO THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES, 1571.
(*British Museum.*)

After taking into consideration the alterations above mentioned, there is no doubt that by far the greater part of the articles are as they left the study chambers of Cranmer and Ridley, remain to this day as those great reformers left them. The chief assistants of archbishop Parker in his work of revision here were Cox, bishop of Ely, Guest (or Gheast), bishop of Rochester, Grindal, bishop of London, and Jewel, bishop of Salisbury.

It is not in the province of a history to make definite and dogmatic pronouncements. It would be very hard to make such pronouncements in the matter of the famous formula of the Church of England, the thirty-nine articles. The legitimate work of the historian is to set out facts, and, where it is possible, to indicate results as far as they can be ascertained. Qualified praise, but still unmistakable praise, from serious and responsible persons, has been given again and again during the last three centuries. On the other hand, unstinted condemnation has been poured on

* Bishop Harold Browne: "Introduction to Articles," page 10.

the great Anglican formulary by able and eloquent, if somewhat latitudinarian writers. Mr. Froude's comment is a good illustration of such views. Writing of the Act of Parliament in which the thirty-nine articles received the formal sanction of the imperial legislature in 1571, the eminent historian says: "A Bill . . . made its way to the Statute-book to trouble the peace of broader times. Convocation, nine years before (in 1562), had reimposed upon the clergy, so far as they had powers to legislate, the too celebrated thirty-nine articles of religion. The Parliament had then refused their sanction to a measure which went beyond the most extravagant pretensions of the Church of Rome in laying a yoke upon the conscience. But their moderation forsook them now. The heavy chains descended. The faith of England, which, but for this fatal step, might have expanded with the growth of the nation, was hardened into unchanging formulæ, and intellect was condemned to make its further progress unsanctified by religion, the enemy of the Church, instead of being its handmaid." *

On the other hand, the quiet observer might point to the position which the Church of England holds in the great country of which every Englishman is so justly proud, a position which, as years roll onwards, and its responsibilities broaden and deepen, grows ever stronger and stronger, and more far-reaching in its practically boundless influence. "Would it," probably asks the same quiet observer, "have ever reached that position of mighty influence, still less maintained it, without some such broad and massive formulary of faith to guide and steady its accredited teachers?" That it may fairly be taken as representing that middle course ever chosen and trodden by the most faithful and thoughtful of the sons of the Church of England, is well exemplified by the Calvinist assertion at the commencement of this century (the nineteenth) which claimed the "articles" as abetting the peculiar but wide-spread Calvinistic views; while, near the close of this same century, the same articles, in a learned and somewhat exhaustive treatise by a well-known learned Scottish prelate of a very different school of thought on the famous Anglican formulary, appear as a body of exclusively Catholic divinity.

The work of Cranmer and Ridley, of Parker and Jewel, of Guest and Grindal, may be—undoubtedly is—criticised by various minds, by various schools. That it is honeycombed with faults is indisputable: what merely human work, however grand and great, is not? But that it was a good work and a great one, no fair and umbiassed critic can for a single moment doubt; that it has been an enduring work, and promises still to endure, the same fair and unbiassed critic will unhesitatingly allow. Without entering into any detailed description of the changes in the "Anglican Formulary"—slight changes, after all—effected by the Elizabethan divines, it will be interesting as a piece of theological history just to glance at a few of the more weighty changes or additions.

In Article XXII., which was directed against the teaching concerning purgatory, pardons, worshipping and adoration as well of images as of reliques, in the words of introduction, the phrase "*Romish*

* "Hist. of England," vol. x., chap. xxi.

Doctrine concerning purgatory" was substituted for the more general and historical, "Doctrine of the *Schoolmen*." The twenty-fourth article, "Of speaking in the Congregation in such a Tongue as the people understandeth," was framed in more expressive language than before. In the thirty-second article a clause was added, in which the legality of marriage on the part of bishops, priests, and deacons was at length openly affirmed.

But the most important in a doctrinal point of view were the words added to the article "Of the Lord's Supper," now the twenty-eighth; and the introduction of the twenty-ninth, "Of the Wicked which eat not the Body of Christ in the use of the Lord's Supper." It has been before pointed out at some length how the great English reformers, Ridley, Cranmer, and their companions, with great earnestness pressed the doctrine of the real but spiritual reception of Christ's body in the Eucharist. Let us give a very brief summary of these views, according to the doctrines of the Anglo-Saxon Church. In the words of *Elfric* ("Epistola de Canonibus," addressed to bishop Wulfsine): "That housel (*i.e.* the Eucharist) is Christ's body, not bodily, but ghostly." In the words of *Ridley:* "The true Church of Christ doth acknowledge a presence of Christ's Body in the Lord's Supper to be communicated to the godly by grace, and spiritually." In the words of *Cranmer:* "My doctrine is, that He (Christ) is by faith spiritually present with us, and is our spiritual food and nourishment. . . . I say that the same visible and palpable flesh that was for us crucified . . . is eaten of Christian people at His Holy Supper. . . . The diversity is not in the body, but in the eating thereof; no man eating it carnally, but the good eating it both sacramentally and spiritually, and the evil only sacramentally—that is, figuratively." For this truth the great reformers gave their bodies to be burned. In the words of *Jewel* (in the "Apology"): "We plainly pronounce in the Supper the Body and Blood of the Lord, the flesh of the Son of God, to be exhibited to those who truly believe." *Hooker* with singular clearness repeats the same doctrine (Ecc. Polity, v., lxvii., 6): "The real presence of Christ's most blessed Body and Blood is not, therefore, to be sought for in the Sacrament, but in the worthy receiver of the Sacrament." And again: "As for the Sacraments, they really exhibit, but for aught we can gather out of that which is written of them, they are not really, nor do really contain in themselves that grace which with them or by them it pleaseth God to bestow."

This doctrine had already been clearly expressed in the article "Of the Lord's Supper" in the forty-two articles of Cranmer of 1552, in the words "To such as rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the same, the bread which we break is a partaking of the Body of Christ, and likewise the cup of blessing is a partaking of the Blood of Christ." Archbishop Parker, however, determining to press right home this doctrine, added to the article in question (the present twenty-eighth) the memorable words, the full signification of which none could ever possibly mistake: "*The Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten, in the Supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner. And the mean whereby the Body*

of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is Faith." * Not satisfied even with this, the Elizabethan reformers insisted on yet another article being added (the present twenty-ninth). We say insisted, for the queen (or her council) at first expunged this article, which Convocation had authorised. The article in question is entitled "Of the Wicked which eat not the Body of Christ in the use of the Lord's Supper." The article runs thus: "The Wicked, and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth (as Saint *Augustine* saith) the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ: but rather, to their condemnation, do eat and drink the sign or Sacrament of so great a thing."

The above brief but thoroughly exhaustive references, added to what has been said before, show clearly what was the mind of the Edwardian and Elizabethan reformers on this momentous question, which has such far-reaching results, and which may be considered the great doctrinal question agitated at the Reformation. They gave effect to their views, for which they were prepared to die, and for which some, we have seen, did die, in the Edwardian formulary of 1552. And the same views were reiterated with still more expressive statements in the Elizabethan formulary of 1562 and 1571, and which has remained the formulary, in the form of the Thirty-nine Articles, of the Church of England ever since.*

Article XXX., "Of both kinds," which enjoined that the cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the "Lay-people," was also added in this Elizabethan revision.

After this important meeting of Convocation in 1562, in which all the important questions above referred to were decided upon, "for several years the Church continued to be governed by the archbishop." Parker's "prerogatives as primate seem not to have been disputed. Convocation met several times, but little business of an ecclesiastical character was transacted. The Convocations were duly assembled, but were chiefly employed in granting subsidies to the crown. Towards the end of the great archbishop's life, he presided over an important meeting of Convocation in 1571." At this Convocation, the thirty-nine articles were read and again confirmed, and signed by both houses, and the bishops were required to obtain the signatures of the clergy of their respective dioceses. The year has been described by some as "the woeful year of subscription." The same year the thirty-nine articles received the formal sanction of Parliament.

In the Reformation story, no chapter contains pleasanter reading than that which recounts the noble and persistent efforts of the Reformers of different schools of thought and various nationalities to place

* This weighty addendum was drawn up by Dr. Guest, bishop of Rochester, Parker's friend and assistant. See Guest's letter to Sir William Cecil, dated Dec. 22, 1561.

* A list has already been given of the most famous Anglican divines, whom bishop Harold Browne (Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles, article xxviii., section 1) does not hesitate to style the great luminaries of our church, all of whom have left us writings on the subject, and who, with very slight diversity, have agreed here in the substance of their belief.

11 In the ſixe hundreth yere of Noahs lyfe, in the (a) ſeconde moneth, the ſeuẽteene day of ỹ moneth, in the ſame day were all the fountaynes of the great deepe broken vp, and the wyndowes of heauen were opened.

(a) In the latter ende of Aprill when all thynges were moſte pleaſaunt, thē this deſtruction came.

12 And the rayne was vpon the earth (b) fourtie dayes and fourtie nyghtes.

(b) God in his punyſhment geueth place of repentaunce.

13 In the ſelfe ſame day, entred Noah, and Sem, and Ham, and Japheth the ſonnes of Noah, and Noahs wyfe, and the three wiues of his ſonnes with thē into the arke.

(c) This is oft tymes repeted, for that it ſeemeth vnredible to the ſenſe of man.

14 They, (c) and euery beaſt after his kinde, and al the cattel after their kinde, yea, and euery worme that creepeth vpon the grounde after his kinde, and euerye byrde after his kinde, and euery fleeyng and fethered foule.

15 And they came vnto Noah into the arke, two and two, of all fleſhe wherein is the breath of lyfe.

16 And they entryng in, came male and female of all fleſhe, as God had commaunded him: and (d) God ſhut hym in rounde about.

(d) The hand of God ſtayed the waters out of the arke

17 And the ſiudde came fourtie dayes vpon the earth, and the waters were increaſed, and (e) bare vp the arke, whiche was lyft vp aboue the earth.

(e) Moyſes ſtyll declareth how the goodlye is ſaued, then the deſtruction of the wycked

18 The waters alſo wared ſtrong, and were encreaſed exceedyngly vpon the earth: and ſo the arke went vpon the vpper face of the waters.

19 And the waters preuayled exceedingly vpon the earth, and al the high hilles that are vnder the (m) whole heauen, were couered.

(m) Thoſe were other particuler ſiudes, but this was vniuerſall.

20 Fyfteene cubites vpward did the waters preuayle, ſo that the mountaynes were couered.

21 *And (n) all fleſhe periſhed, that moued vpon the earth, in foule, in cattell, in beaſt, and in euery worme that creepeth vpon the earth, yea, and euery man alſo.

VViſd.x.3. Eccle.xl.

(n) The greeuous punyſhment of God for ſinne.

22 So that (o) all that had the breath of lyfe in his noſtrilles throughout all that was on the (p) drye lande, vyed.

(o) That is, all that liued.

(p) Of ſithe there is no mention made by Moyſes.

23 And euery ſubſtaunce was deſtroyed that remayned and that was in the vpper part of the grounde, both man and cattell, and worme, and the foule of the heauen, they were euen deſtroyed from of the earth, and (q) *Noah onlye remayned alyue, and they that were with him in the arke.

(q) Thus was he rewarded, ỹ ere ther followed God, then the multitude of wycked.

24 But the water preuayled vpon the earth, a hundreth and fifte dayes.

¶ The

the Bible, in a language they could understand, within the reach of every English man and woman. We have already dwelt in some detail upon the labours of a former generation, represented by the brilliant cosmopolitan scholar Erasmus, by Luther in Germany, by Swiss and German divines of the Rhine cities of Basle and Strasburg, and the lake towns of Zürich and Geneva, represented in England by Tyndale and Coverdale. We have described also the work of Cranmer in his Great Bible of 1540. The Marian exiles, who had temporarily chosen Geneva as their home, gave a still further impulse to these efforts, for the group of English scholars, dwelling during the days of the English persecution in the beautiful city of Calvin, employed the comparative period of leisure during their exile in bringing out another, a more portable, cheaper, and hence more generally accessible edition of the English Bible.

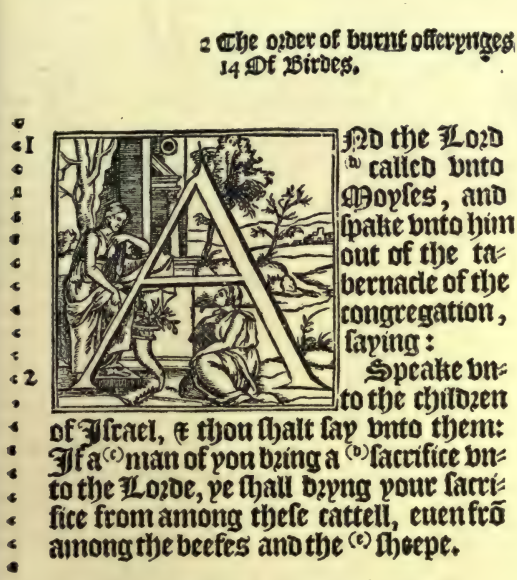
These scholars, among whom were Whittingham, who had married Calvin's sister, Goodman, Pullain, Sampson, and Coverdale, carefully revised Tyndale's famous English version. "They entered," we read, "upon their great and wonderful work with much fear and trembling," working, it is said, day and night. The New Testament, done by Whittingham, was printed in 1557, the whole Bible in 1560. It became the most popular of all versions, and was largely read in England, where it was first printed in 1561, under a patent of monopoly given to James Bodley, the father of the founder of the world-famed Bodleian library at Oxford. This patent was transferred in 1576 to one Bayter, in whose family the right of printing Bibles remained for upwards of a century. Not less than eighty editions, some of the whole Bible, were printed between 1558 and 1611.

The causes of the singular and enduring popularity of the so-called Genevan Bible are not far to seek. Different from the preceding versions, it was, comparatively speaking, a portable and handy volume, a small quarto. The far more plain and legible Roman type was used, and it was divided into verses, following the Hebrew example. The notes, too, were of their kind interesting, and often helpful, though strongly coloured, as might have been expected, with the Calvinism under whose shadow the revisers of this celebrated version lived and worked. It was deeply regrettable that most of the early printed Bibles contained so many polemical notes, as noticed already in speaking of Erasmus's work. The influence of such notes on the readers was, of course, incalculable, and sadly contributed in too many cases to bigotry and want of Christian charity. The theology and views which the comments in the Geneva Bible inculcated, were particularly acceptable to the Puritan party through the whole reign of Elizabeth, and her two successors. It was no doubt the presence of these polemical notes, and their strong Calvinistic bias,* which largely induced

* As a specimen of these notes, we would instance the note on Rev. ix. 3, where we read: "The locusts that come out of the smoke, are said to be like subtle prelates, with monks, friars, cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops." And the note on 2 Chron. xv., 16: "Herein he showed that he lacked zeal, for she ought to have died." It has been said that this was one of the texts, thus commented upon, which Scotch fanatics had handled in connection with the name of king James I.'s mother, the hapless Mary Stuart, queen of Scots.

archbishop Parker to take in hand the well-known version of the Scriptures, one of the great works of his archiepiscopate, known as "the Bishops' Bible."

Great and elaborate preparations were made for this undertaking of Parker's. Fourteen revisers were employed, and they were altogether at work for about


2 The order of burnt offerynges
14 Of Birdes.
1
2
And the Lord (b) called vnto Moyses, and spake vnto him out of the tabernacle of the congregation, saying:
Speake vnto the children of Israel, & thou shalt say vnto them: If a (c) man of you bring a (d) sacrifice vnto the Lorde, ye shall bring your sacrifice from among these cattell, euen frō among the beefes and the (e) sheepe.

INITIAL FROM THE "BISHOPS' BIBLE." (*British Museum*).

four years, 1563–4 to 1568. The idea of the archbishop was to adopt the improvements of the Genevan version, while avoiding that extreme party spirit which disfigured that work in the eyes of Anglican churchmen of the school of Parker, who desired that the Church of England should steadily hold its middle course. The company consisted of eight bishops, including Dr. Cox, bishop of Ely, Dr. Sandys of Worcester, and bishop Guest, of whom we hear so often as Parker's assistant and friend, as well as several deans and professors. Parker was the editor of the whole; and besides the general superintendence, the archbishop was responsible for several of the books in the Old and New Testaments. Among the instructions issued to his coadjutors, was a remarkable one warning them "to make no use of bitter notes upon any text, or yet to set down any determination in places of controversy."

Everything was done to make this "Bishops' Bible" attractive. Wood engravings of a high character were freely introduced, with beautiful portraits of Elizabeth, lords Leicester and Burleigh, a map of Palestine, etc. The initials of the revisers were attached to the books which they had severally undertaken to edit.

The magnificent folio of the Bishops' Bible appeared in 1568 and 1572. It was enjoined that each cathedral should have a copy, and this provision was extended gradually to all parochial churches. It was also ordered that every bishop should have in his house a copy to be placed in the hall or dining-room, that it might be used by their household, or by strangers. It is observable, however, that the Bishops' Bible, of all the English versions, had, on the whole, the least success. Its great size and cost prevented its general circulation, which was practically limited to the cathedrals and churches.

A few words should here be added on the subject of the versions which may be said to belong exclusively to the Roman Catholic devotees of the "old learning." Some English exiles belonging to the Romish obedience, produced at *Rheims*, in 1582, an English version, largely based on the authentic text of the Vulgate.

Notes were appended, keenly controversial and dogmatic in character. The work was completed in 1608 by the publication of the Old Testament at *Douai*. These Romish revisions charged all the English versions hitherto made, with being "false, corrupt, heretical." As might have been expected, these productions of the men of the "old learning" have been, comparatively speaking, little used, and even Roman Catholic scholars confess their manifest inferiority to the versions produced by the Protestants of the new learning.

WOODCUT ILLUSTRATION FROM THE "BISHOPS' BIBLE." (*British Museum.*)

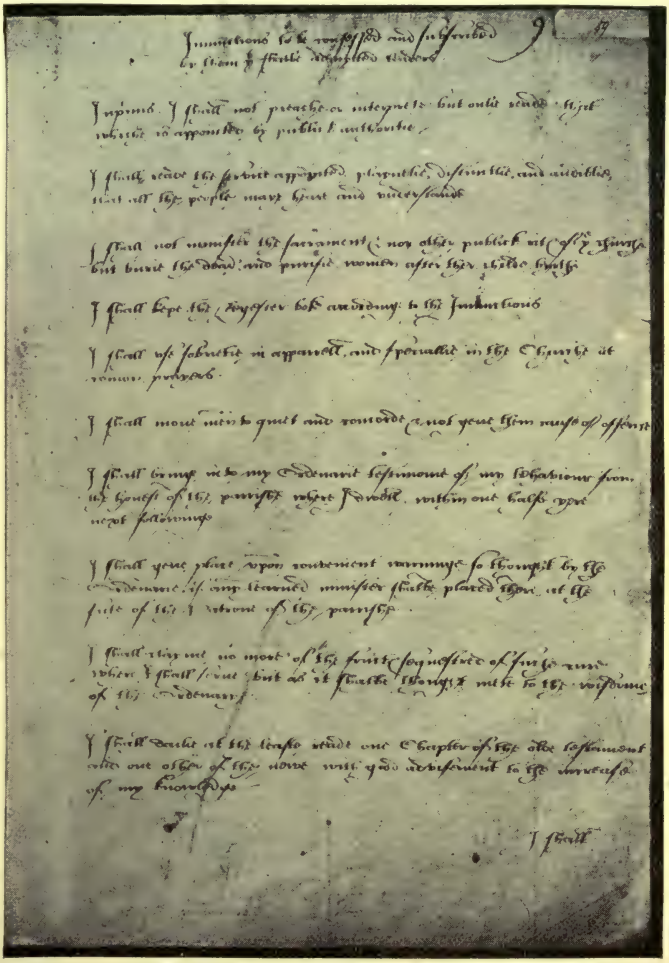
The "authorised version," which still remains to be spoken of, will be described in detail in its proper place in the year 1611.

Passing from the work of editing and revising the English Bible; passing from the work of legislation, from the making and revising service books and formularies of religion which were to influence not only the age which witnessed their composition or revision, but many as yet unborn generations of churchmen, to the inner life of the church during the first fifteen years of Elizabeth's reign, when Matthew Parker was archbishop, we shall find a state of things which must have given grave and ceaseless anxiety to the eminent Elizabethan bishops and reformers, but at the same time must have afforded them real ground of hopefulness for the church, for which they were so tirelessly working. We possess different pictures of this Elizabethan church, *circa* 1558—1576, painted by men who were well acquainted with its inner life. Some used bright colours for their pictures, others worked with sombre neutral tints, according to the minds of the painters, and perhaps partly chosen with a view to the special object for which these pictures were drawn.

Comparing, however, the various pictures together, the bright and the sombre, we shall fairly arrive at the truth, and the truth appears to have been that, in spite of much that was sad and disheartening, the English church during these earlier years of the great reign was, on the whole, a strong church, which fairly represented the religious feeling of the great majority of the English people. Its influence was,

however, vastly lessened by the presence among the people of the two powerful parties—the Puritans, of whom we have lately been speaking, on the one side, and the Roman Catholic party on the other; both of whom had strong hopes of capturing it, and of eventually moulding it after their own especial and peculiar views.

In the very centre of the Church of England there was much searching of hearts among its rulers on the question of the vestments of the clergy, which included much besides the mere dress of the clergy. This vestiarian controversy, as it is termed, sorely exercised the minds of men like Jewel and Sandys, Grindal, and others, who had been influenced by the spirit of foreign reformed churches during their exile in the days of queen Mary. These were scandalised by such practices as the retention of the crucifix in the queen's chapel, the continued use of the cope, the tacit approval of the Latin service, and of many of the ancient mediæval services sanctioned in the First Prayer-Book of Edward VI., at the universities and public schools. They disliked the square cap and the distinctive dress worn generally by the clergy. They objected to the episcopal robes, looking upon all this as contrary to the spirit of the Reformation—as a retrograde movement in the direction of the old worn-out mediævalism, from which they hoped the Reformation had purified the church. Generally united in doctrine, these men



COPY OF "INJUNCTIONS TO BE CONFESSED AND SUBSCRIBED BY THEM THAT SHALBE ADMYTTED READERS, 1562." (*British Museum.*)

gravely differed among themselves on many questions of ceremonial and ritual observance.

On many of these points, however, Parker and Cecil, and above all the queen, were determined. So most of the chief leaders, such men as Jewel, Grindal, and Sandys, somewhat reluctantly yielded. They consented to wear the objectionable dresses, and in other ways to subordinate their wishes to the established order of things, and, as far as they could, to enforce compliance on others. But this vestiarian controversy long agitated and sorely weakened the church. The conduct of the more Puritan leaders in thus yielding was warmly approved by such far-sighted and moderate reformers on the Continent as Peter Martyr, who knew England well, and Bullinger at Zürich and Strasburg; but at Geneva, Beza, Calvin's successor, took a different view, and his views and the remonstrances of his school did much to foment and keep alive the uneasy spirit of revolt, and even of dissent, among not a few churchmen in England.

Worse than this, in the English Church at this period there was undoubtedly considerable laxity and disorder, and not a little deplorable irreverence in the conduct of the services, in the state of the cathedrals and parish churches, and even in the lives led by certain of the higher clergy. In a document addressed to archbishop Parker by the minister Cecil, we read, for instance, the following stern remonstrance respecting diversity in use and irreverence in the conduct of divine service, and especially in the administration of the Holy Communion: "Some of the clergy perform divine service and prayers in the chancel, others in the body of the church—some in a seat made in the church, some in the pulpit with their faces to the people; some keep precisely to the order of the Book, some intermix psalms in metre; some officiate with a surplice, and others without it. . . . In some places the table stands in the body of the church, in others it stands in the chancel; in some places it stands altar-wise, distant from the wall a yard, in others it stands in the middle of the chancel, north and south; in some places the table is joined, in others it stands upon tressels; in some the table has a carpet, in others none. . . . Some administer the Communion with surplice and cope, some with surplice alone, some with neither; some with chalice, others with Communion cup; some with unleavened bread, others with leavened; some receive kneeling, others standing, others sitting; some baptize in a font, others in a basin; some sign with the sign of the cross, others make no sign; some administer with a surplice, some without; some with a square cap, some with a round cap; some in scholar's clothes, some in others."

This carelessness and irreverence, not uncommon as it would seem, in all care and attention paid to the churches and their sacred furniture, was evidently an object of grave anxiety to Elizabeth. In a remonstrance, addressed by the queen to archbishop Parker, we read: "It breedeth no small offence and scandal to see and consider, upon the one part, the curiosity and cost bestowed by all sorts of men upon their private houses; and, on the other part, the unclean and negligent order and spare keeping of the houses of prayer, by permitting open decays and ruins of

covering of walls and windows, and by appointing unmeet and unseemly tables with foul cloths for the communion of the Sacrament, and generally leaving the place of prayer desolate of all cleanliness and of meet ornament for such a place, whereby it might be known a place provided for divine service."

The licence to marry, and the results of this licence, at first caused considerable offence to many, and in some cases seems to have led to lax and self-indulgent living. In Elizabeth's eyes such living was always more or less a scandal; and we have seen how difficult it was for Parker, who earnestly desired the removal of all the old celibacy restrictions, to induce the queen to give her sanction to the "Article" which for ever, as far as the Church of England was concerned, swept away the ancient mediæval restriction. There is no doubt whatever that at first, among the clergy, the licence to marry gave cause for complaint and even scandal. Very early in her reign, Elizabeth forbade cathedral dignitaries to have their wives and children residing with them within the cathedral closes, under pain of forfeiting their promotions. "Cathedrals and colleges," said the queen, "had been founded to keep societies of learned men professing study and prayer, and the rooms intended for students were not to be sacrificed to women and children."

There were, no doubt, at first many deplorable instances of laxity and self-indulgence. The rapid changes in the whole aspect of the constitution of the church had "necessarily lowered the efficiency of the body of the clergy. Men who live through rapid transition either become violent partisans, or grow timorous, cynical, and indifferent. The leaders on either side had, in the late violent changes, been ejected in their turn; the clergy who remained were not men of strong character or much capacity. The old clergy were many of them indifferent. The younger were often of little learning and of lowly birth."* We read, for instance, of cases where the singing-men of the choirs of cathedrals became the prebends' private servants, having the church's stipend for their wages. We hear of the cathedral plate adorning the prebendal sideboards and dinner tables; of organ pipes being melted into dishes for their kitchens; of organ frames carved into bedsteads; of even the copes and sacred vestments, coveted for their elaborate and gilded embroidery, being slit into gowns and bodices.†

No doubt such disorderly proceedings were not by any means universal. It would be the grossest exaggeration to suggest that such a state of things as that pictured above generally existed in the English church; but that examples of such scandals were by no means unknown in this period is evident from the testimony of contemporary records which we possess.

It was, no doubt, with the desire of correcting such disorders, and with the view of putting an end to irregularities in the conduct of divine service and in the

* Froude curiously calls attention to the frequent surnames of "Clark, Parson, Deacon, Dean, Prior, Abbot, Bishop, Frere, and Monk" being memorials of the stigma affixed by English prejudice on the children of the first married representatives of the sacred orders. ("History," vol. vii., chap. vi.)

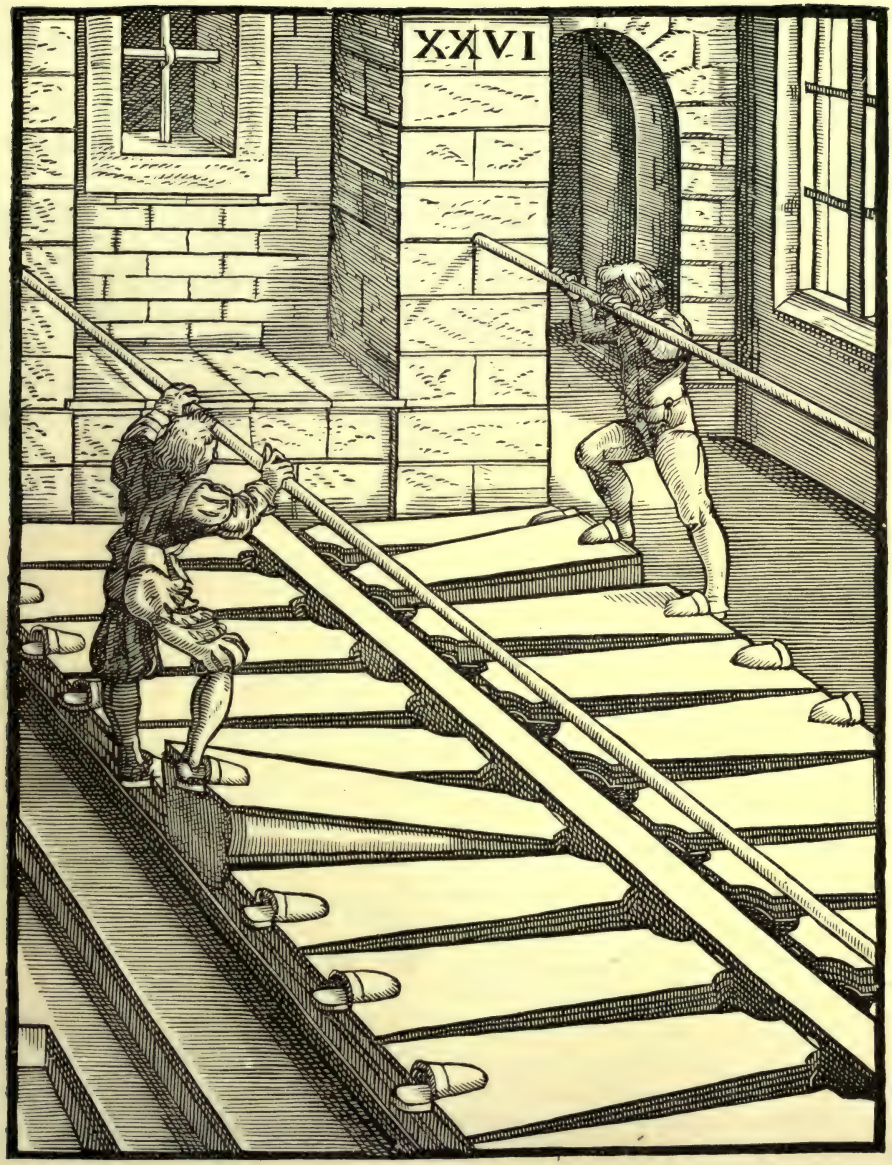
† Bishop Creighton: "Queen Elizabeth," chap. iv.

general administration of ecclesiastical matters—irregularities which too often shaded into positive acts of irreverence—that archbishop Parker put into force in 1566 certain ordinances, known as the "Advertisements." As early as 1564 these "Advertisements" had been drawn up, but they never received the royal sanction. They have since been quoted as authoritative in the canons of 1661, and were recognised as the "Advertisements of queen Elizabeth" in the canons of 1640, which were ratified by king Charles I.*

In these "Advertisements" the clergy were required to urge in their preaching the reverent estimation of the Holy Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, pressing people to the often and devout receiving the Holy Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ. Every clergyman who was licensed was required to preach in his own person once in three months, or by a deputy appointed by the bishop. (This singular and sparing command to preach shows us how unaccustomed were the parochial clergy to preach at all.) Frequent communions were enjoined in cathedrals and colleges. The principal minister in the administration of the Holy Communion was to use a cope. The dean and prebendaries of a cathedral were to wear the surplice with silk hood in the choir; and the silk hood was to be worn whenever they preached in the cathedral. The baptismal font was not to be replaced by a basin. On the Lord's Day shops were to be closed; but a proviso which forbade the displaying of any goods before the service was done, showed that fairs and markets were sometimes, at all events, held on Sundays. The Rogation days were to be observed, and Psalms and Litany were to be sung. Searching inquiries were ordered to be made into the character of candidates for holy orders. The bishops were to appear in the dress usually adopted by their order before the Reformation. The other clergy were ordered to adopt a distinctive dress for their common apparel—"a side gown with sleeves, and tippets of sarcinet."

But while recognising the existence of occasional disorder, and even of misrule, and here and there of deplorable irreverence in the case of some of the clergy in their method of saying or singing the services, we must be careful not to form our idea of the Elizabethan church from the descriptions selected only by picturesque historians. We have another picture of the same church, painted in very different colours, by Peter Heylin, who wrote only about half a century after the death of Parker in 1576, and who was born in the year 1600, when Elizabeth was still reigning. Heylin was chaplain to archbishop Laud. He became his intimate friend in the year 1627, and had, therefore, exceptional opportunities of forming a fair conception of the state of the church during the half-century before his time. Dean Hook, in his quotation of Heylin's view of the church, "first settled and established under queen Elizabeth," thus sums up his own view of Heylin's picture: "Peter Heylin lived near enough to the time to render his testimony to the success of Parker's labours valuable; and even if he took a favourable view of the

* Compare Dean Hook: "Archbishops," vol. ix., chap. xii., who gives the authorities.



Blaßbälge vnd Calcanten, ſo zu der zeit bey derſelben Orgel gebraucht worden.

ORGAN-BELLOWS AND BLOWERS IN THE CATHEDRAL AT HALBERSTADT.

(*From Praetorius' "Syntagma Musicum," published in* 1619. *This bellows room is stated by Praetorius to have been erected as early as* 1325, *and to have remained unchanged till* 1619.)

case, he will be found, on examination, to prove substantially correct." *

Archbishop Laud's chaplain (Dr. Heylin) thus writes: "Now we may behold the face of the Church of England, as it was first settled and established under queen Elizabeth. The government of the church by archbishops and bishops, according to the practice of the best and happiest times of Christianity. These bishops nominated and elected according to the statute in the twenty-fifth of king Henry VIII., and consecrated by the ordinal confirmed by Parliament in the fifth and sixth years of king Edward VI., never appearing publicly but in their rochets, nor officiating otherwise than in copes at the holy altar. The priests not stirring out of doors but in their square caps, gowns, or canonical coats, nor executing any divine office but in their surplice—a vestment set apart for religious services in the primitive times.

"The doctrine of the church reduced into its ancient purity according to the articles agreed upon in Convocation.

"The liturgy conformed to the primitive patterns, and all the rites and ceremonies therein prescribed, accommodated to the honour of God and the increase of piety.

"The festivals preserved in their former dignity, observed with their distinct offices peculiar to them, and celebrated with a religious concourse of all sorts of people. The weekly fasts, the holy times of Lent, the embering weeks, together with the fast of the Rogation, severely kept by the forbearance of all kind of flesh.

"The sacrament of the Lord's Supper celebrated in the most reverent manner, the holy table seated in the place of the altar.

"Music retained in all such churches in which provision had been made for the maintenance of it, or where the people could be trained up, at the least, to plain song. All which particulars were either established by the laws, or commanded by the queen's injunctions, or otherwise retained by virtue of some ancient usages."

The writer then went on to say, it was not to be wondered at that these ancient usages were constantly observed in all cathedrals, and in the most part of parish churches, "considering how well they were precedented by the court itself, in which the liturgy was officiated every day both morning and evening, not only in the public chapel, but in the private closet (of the queen); celebrated in the chapel with organ and other musical instruments, and the most excellent voices both of men and children that could be got in all the kingdom. The gentlemen and children in their surplices, and the priests in copes as oft as they attended service at the holy altar. The altar furnished with rich plate, two fair candlesticks with tapers in them, and a massy crucifix of silver in the midst thereof." *

* It must, however, be remembered that Heylin's picture of the Church of England was drawn in the days of Laud; *after* that great church organiser had reduced many things to order, which evidently in the early days of the Elizabethan settlement had been left undetermined. Still, such a state of things as Heylin depicts could never have been the creation of one man, however earnest, capable, and energetic, as, undoubtedly, Laud was. There must have been a generally well-ordered church, and one full of vigour and life *before* his day (*i.e.* in the times of Elizabeth).

* Heylin: "Cyprianus Anglicanus," p. 17; and Heylin: "Hist. of the Reformation," p. 314. Edit. Robertson, quoted by Hook: "Archbishops," vol. xi., chap. xii.

Another testimony to the flourishing state of the Anglican Church is also given by a foreign contemporary of Parker in the following terms: "How gravely, learnedly, and christianly, his grace (archbishop Parker) and others, the bishops, by their most godly travail, with the good help of the queen's (Elizabeth's) laws in that behalf provided, had reformed the state of the corrupt church, restored to God his due honour in public service . . . delivered the thralled minds of true Christians from their heavy bondage and oppression, drawn deceived souls out of most dangerous error, and to the people's eternal comfort published the most glorious light of God's most holy truth." *

Such descriptions as these, even if painted in too bright colours, must be taken into account when the condition of the Church of England under Elizabeth is considered. It has been the fashion with many eminent historians† to speak slightingly of the two first great Protestant archbishops, Cranmer and Parker, who took so large a part in settling the condition of the Anglican church; the first especially in the matter of her doctrines, the second in the matter of her government and administration, as well as in the confirmation of Cranmer's doctrinal formularies. Of Cranmer we have already written with much detail; his history must be his *apologia pro vitâ suâ;* whether or not the apology convinces the reader of the true greatness of the man and his work, will of course considerably depend on the views of the student himself. One fact is indisputable—the work he did was an enduring work. As to Parker, the second Protestant archbishop, the accusations levelled against him of selfish greed and excessive love of pomp and power, have been dealt with exhaustively, and, most of us think, effectually disproved. Two grave and thoughtful summaries by eminent historical scholars, each of them forming his estimate of the work and character of the great Elizabethan archbishop from a very different standpoint, have already been quoted,* and deserve to be carefully pondered over by every student of the making of the Church of England and the days of the famous Protestant queen. A third may be appropriately cited in this place.

"Parker closed a laborious and upright life with all the foresight, firmness, and complacency that marked a vigorous, equable, and religious mind. A natural gravity had kept him even in youth from spectacles, games, and field-sports. His memory was naturally odious to the Puritans, and has ever been roughly treated by dissenters. But Parker was really, in private, strictly moral, accessible, liberal, and methodical. As a public man, plain good sense, command of tongue and temper, laborious diligence, cautious decision, depth of penetration, and unity of purpose, appear to have been his characteristics. He had, as we have seen, neither any superstitious reverence for the externals that he enforced, nor much tenderness for scruples that could make such things

* "Wolfgang Musculus," quoted by Hook, ix., chap. xii.

† See Macaulay's estimate of Cranmer, chap i.; Froude's view of Parker, vol. xi., chap. xxv. Some church historians also are too ready to adopt these estimates.

* See page 344

important. He thought merely of the law, and of the ancient prejudices that could make such things expedient. He was no forward nor even unreluctant volunteer in entering upon its religious execution ; but the painful duty having been forced upon him by his superiors, he discharged it steadily to the end of life. Many men would have slackened undoubtedly, when sometimes deserted, sometimes thwarted, by the very power that had urged them into it. Parker contented himself with complaining of a tortuous policy, that he felt personally unjust and harassing, that was uncongenial to his plain, blunt nature, and revolting to his principles. He knew well besides that Elizabeth, although seemingly vacillating herself, would bear no vacillation in him. Nor would a scholar's eye allow him either to doubt the propriety of his determination or its ultimate success. Having none of the politician's pliancy, his discretion, learning, and integrity failed of securing all their proper weight among contemporaries. The same cause has widely operated to the prejudice of his memory upon posterity." *

It says much for the archbishop's wisdom and power of conciliation that he was able to preserve Elizabeth's friendship and support to the end, in spite of his firm opposition to much that the queen wished to introduce or to preserve in the Anglican settlement. Near the close of his life Elizabeth paid a state visit to the archbishop, in the course of which she expressed herself very warmly towards her old servant, telling him how gratifying to her had been this last entertainment of his, in which he had conspicuously displayed his loyalty, etc.

Parker was a great example of a man who, in spite of suffering and constant ill-health, utterly regardless of himself, lived a life of ceaseless work. He literally died in harness, thinking of his loved church, toiling for it, to the last. When too weak to write, sixteen days before he passed away he dictated an important letter to his old friend and fellow-labourer Cecil (lord Burleigh), intended for his royal mistress's eye, warning her against the Puritans and Anabaptists. In his will, which is dated only a few days before his death, after a singularly beautiful and touching expression of his belief that by the precious death and merits of his most merciful Lord and Saviour Christ he would obtain forgiveness and indulgence, if he had in any ways offended his Lord God either by imprudence or evil or weakness, he bequeathed and commended his soul into the hands of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and his body to the earth to be buried, or any other way to be handled, as Almighty God had determined the hour, manner, and place of dying according to His good pleasure.

The black marble tomb of the great prelate, prepared by himself when in life, in the chapel of Lambeth Palace, was ruthlessly destroyed, the body of the archbishop dug up, the lead torn off the coffin, and the mortal remains heedlessly and shamefully buried in a dunghill by the wild rage of the Puritans in the reign of Charles I. After the Restoration, Sancroft, many years later Archbishop of Canterbury, under an order from the House of Lords,

* Soames : " Elizabethan History," p. 246.

searched for and recovered the mouldering bones. These were reverently reinterred in the same chapel, and the sad inscription graved over the tomb, "Corpus Matthæi Archiepiscopi hic tandem quiescit."

Photo: J. T. Sandell, Thornton Heath.

LAMBETH PALACE CHAPEL.

In the evening of his work-filled life, in his rare intervals of leisure, the archbishop's great interest, outside his ceaseless labours in the government of the church, lay in the collecting of valuable manuscripts, mostly relating to the early history of England, some of which were edited and published under his superintendence. The historian and student should ever hold his memory precious. His collection of these records, which have through his care become available for scholars, is in itself

of rare value, while the noble example he set by this work of his was perhaps still more precious. His collection still exists, in the Parker Library of his college of Corpus Christi, Cambridge, where it is the greatest treasure of that ancient and honourable house, and is preserved with extraordinary care by the "Society," who are fully conscious of the value of their great master's loving bequest.* To preserve from destruction the scattered ancient monuments of national learning, once in the libraries of the confiscated monasteries, many of which, alas! had been sold for "waste," as we have already related, the archbishop employed agents to make search through England and Wales for books of all sorts, but especially historical. Among the more important of these ancient national works edited by Parker were the "Flores Historiarum" (per Mathæum Westmonasteriensem collecti), the "Historia Major" of Matthew Paris, Walsingham's "Historia Anglicana," Asser's "Life of Alfred," and an edition of Elfric's Anglo-Saxon Homily, to which reference has been made on more than one occasion in this History; Parker recognising the great value of this latter as a monument of the belief and teaching of the Anglo-Saxon Church on a subject round which such long fierce controversy had exercised men's minds in the Reformation age.

It is, indeed, no little to the credit of the great archbishop that he found time, in the midst of his perplexing and never-ending cares, for such work as this. In England he will ever rank as one of the first who saw the necessity of providing materials for the student and scholar, out of which the story of the Church of England from the earliest times might be told and retold. Vast stores of this lore, the archbishop was conscious, once existed. The libraries of the ruined monasteries had been extraordinarily rich in these ancient monuments of learning. A large portion of the ample leisure of the monastic orders, especially of the great Benedictine community, had been spent in copying and arranging these chronicles. These had been, as we have remarked, dispersed, and in many cases wantonly destroyed, but many still existed. An enormous number were, according to tradition, gathered together, thanks to Parker's diligence; we even read of as many as 6,700 volumes having been procured by one of his agents in the course of four years' diligent search. Some of these were probably worthless, and laid aside; others were no doubt copies of the same work, and it is presumable that the number of the books was greatly exaggerated; but we possess a catalogue of 482 of these precious manuscripts, given to the library of Corpus Christi college by the book-loving archbishop, who may fairly be given the honour of being the first of the great English collectors of materials for the history of England. For although his especial care was for church history, to which he ascribed so great a value, his collection was of the greatest importance in the civil history of his country. Parker, wise and devoted churchman though he was, must be considered pre-eminently a scholar; his tastes and pleasures were those of a patient and earnest student;

* It has been the ancient practice that in all inspections of the precious Parker MSS., two members of the foundation should be present.

but his great literary work, which was the charm and delight of the closing years of his most useful life, was the outcome of "his desire to give the Elizabethan church a basis in the past." *

Among the glories of the reign of Elizabeth, the wonderful development of literature in England was the most enduring, and has had the most permanent effect on the marvellous progress of the English nation. The impulse was first given by archbishop Parker, in his great work of collecting the historical manuscripts from the wreck of the monastic libraries. He was followed by other historical scholars who profited by his labours; by Stow, the careful antiquarian; by William Camden, head master of Westminster school; and especially by Sir Walter Raleigh, whose "History of the World" may be looked on as the first of the many histories which have since enriched our literature. When Parker gave this first impulse to scholarship, England was singularly behind the other chief European nations in letters. The Renaissance had in this particular, owing to various circumstances, borne little fruit among us: the many years of civil and religious troubles had effectually prevented the spread of learning in our island. But very soon after the death of Parker, the movement of which he was the illustrious pioneer gathered strength. Within four years after he had passed away, John Lyly published his celebrated romance of "Euphues," filled with quaint conceits, written in an inflated style, but full of striking and beautiful thoughts. The work obtained a wide popularity, and for a time the language and expressions of "Euphues" became the vogue, especially among Elizabeth's courtiers. This earliest among modern English romances has enriched the language with the permanent epithet of "euphuism," a synonym for decorous unreality. * Closely following upon Lyly's famous story appeared the noble prose writing of the "Arcadia" and other works of Sir Philip Sidney, the ideal "gentleman" of the second period of the great queen's reign; while the yet greater names of Hooker and Bacon, following in the last years of the century, further illustrated the wondrous age which witnessed the awakening of modern English prose literature. Of Hooker's writings, which especially belong to our own church story, we must presently speak in greater detail.

But in this marvellous sudden awakening of letters among us, great as were the Elizabethan prose writers, Lyly and Sidney, Hooker and Bacon, the poets and dramatists were even more extraordinary. "The full glory of the new literature broke on England with Edmund Spenser. The appearance of the "Faërie Queen" is the one critical event in the annals of English poetry; it settled, in fact, the question whether there was to be such a thing as English poetry or no. The older national verse, which had blossomed and died in Cædmon and his school, sprang suddenly into a grander

* See Excursus E for a short account of the "Parker" Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

* It will be remembered how mercilessly the quaint pedantry of "Euphues" was caricatured a few years later by Shakespeare in *Love's Labour's Lost.*

life in Chaucer (to whose writings as especially illustrative of certain aspects of ecclesiastical life in England we have already referred), but it closed again in a yet more complete death. . . . No great imaginative poem had broken the silence of English literature for nearly two hundred years, when Spenser landed in Bristol (from his Irish exile) with his 'Faërie Queen.' . . . It was received with a burst of general welcome. It became (did the poem) the delight of every accomplished gentleman, the model of every poet, the solace of every soldier . . . from that moment the stream of English poetry has flowed on without a break." *

The fierce theological disputes of the time curiously coloured the immortal poem of Spenser. The repeated allusions, the very characters of the poem, remind us how deep the religious questions of the period had sunk into the hearts of all sorts and conditions of men; how theology had surrounded, permeated, penetrated all life. Already had Spenser in his earlier and less-known pastoral, the "Shepherd's Calendar," ranged himself on the side of the Puritan or extreme Protestant party. But the magnificent poem of the "Faërie Queen" is even more pronounced than the "Shepherd's Calendar" in its tendency. Puritan to the core, it has been termed. "The worst foe of its 'Red Cross knight' is the false and scarlet-clad Duessa of Rome, who parts him for a while from Truth, and leads him to the house of Pride. Spenser presses strongly and pitilessly for the execution of Mary Stuart. No bitter word ever breaks the calm of his verse save when it touches upon the perils with which Catholicism was environing England, perils before which his knight must fall, 'were it not that Heavenly Grace doth him uphold and steadfast truth requite him out of all.' . . . It is in the temper and aim of his work that we catch the nobler and deeper tones of English Puritanism." We see how these Spenserian poems "are all animated by his own religious views; we see in them the force of early Protestant feeling, the hatred of Romanism, as being the source of error, the devotion to Elizabeth as the symbol of England's noblest aspirations. The 'Faërie Queen' is indeed a poem most characteristic of the time in which it was written. . . . It is the noblest monument of the fine cultivation of Elizabeth's age." *

Nor was the literature which blossomed out with such strange and startling suddenness in the last thirty years of the sixteenth century, alone represented by masters of English prose like Lyly and Sidney, Hooker and Bacon, or by songmen such as Spenser. A wondrous group of playwrights arose at the same time, and created the English drama. As famous in their own way, and perhaps even more influential with the people, were the now little-read works of Marlowe, Greene, and Peele. But all these names are forgotten in the surpassing glory which surrounds the memory of perhaps the greatest playwright and dramatist the world has ever seen—William Shakespeare—who

* Green: "History," chap. vii., sect. vii.

* Green, *Ibid.* See also bishop Creighton's "Age of Elizabeth," book vii., chap. ii. We have given some examples of Spenser's Puritan leanings further on in our story.

flourished in the last years of the virgin queen. It was indeed a wondrous school of dramatists, of which Shakespeare is the acknowledged prince and chief, and which James I., and the theatre declined before the feverish excitement which preceded the times of the great rebellion." *

When, however, the splendid roll of prose

EDMUND SPENSER.
(From an engraving by G. Vertue, after the Bretby portrait.)

includes such names as Ford, Massinger, Ben Jonson, Beaumont, and Fletcher. The Elizabethan drama "continued to thrive in England until the severer morality of the Puritans revolted against the licence into which it began to fall under the writers of Elizabeth's successor, writers, of poets and dramatists, of the reign of the great queen is proudly displayed; when the recital of the marvellous literary

* For a more detailed account of this splendid Elizabethan outburst of literature of various kinds and different schools, see the vivid and picturesque pages of bishop Creighton and Mr. Green, above referred to.

renaissance which took place in England in the last quarter of the sixteenth century is told, the student of the story of the Church of England must never forget that the pioneer of the famous band who have contributed so largely to the making of modern literary England was that quiet scholarly man, who in the days of stress and storm, with the divine help, built up the noble fabric of his church; the pain-worn, gentle, but ever wise archbishop, Matthew Parker.

THE RED CROSS KNIGHT.
(*From the first edition of the "Faëry Queene,"* 1590.)

CHAPTER LVIII.

THE GREAT CONTEST WITH SPAIN AND ROME.

Sympathy in England for the Mediæval Church Order—Elizabeth's Toleration—Mary of Scotland the Natural Head of the Roman Party—Her History—Elizabeth Excommunicated by Pius V. in 1570—Character of this Pope—Roman Catholic Conspiracies against the Queen—The Jesuits—Their Seminaries and Plots—The Queen forced to Repressive Measures—Schemes for her Assassination—Babington's Plot, and Execution of Mary—Revival on Mary's Death of Spanish Designs—Character of Philip of Spain—His Connection with England—Claims the Crown—Cardinal Allen's Pastoral—The Armada and its Failure—Effect on the English People.

THE genesis and progress of the singular and intense dislike to Roman Catholicism among the English people, is a curious and interesting study, and claims in this place some detailed mention of events spread out over some twenty years, by way of explanation. For it had great influence upon the history of the Church of England.

We have already noticed that the Church of England of Parker, Cecil, and Elizabeth, a church of the Reformation, but at the same time a church studiedly conservative in matters which belonged to primitive Catholic tradition, represented the religious feeling of the great majority of the English people; but side by side with this majority were a considerable number of men fairly content with the old state of things, with a deep attachment to the old form of worship to which they had been accustomed from the days of their childhood. In the midland and northern counties this attachment to the old state of things was most marked. There were many things which served to remind the people of the old faith. A lingering attachment to some of them made the new and colder forms of religion distasteful to not a few minds. The old festivals were neglected. The ruined abbeys, the defaced churches, the monuments of the dead perishing for want of care were ever before their eyes. The new religious life seemed, indeed, comparatively silent and colourless.

As early as the year 1562, we find De Quadra, bishop of Aquila, the Spanish ambassador in London, writing to the minister of Spain in Rome requesting him to ask the Pope Pius IV., in the name of English Roman Catholics, whether they might be present without sin at "the common prayers." These prayers themselves, he said, were those of the old church, altered only so far as to omit the merits and intercession of the saints, so that there would be nothing in such a compliance unlawful. The communion might be evaded; they asked for no dispensation here; it was only the ordinary services they wished for permission to attend. The Inquisition, however, which was then powerful in Rome, determined that there must be no compromise; so the Pope replied to the request from England sternly in the negative. Henceforth, the dividing lines between the adherents of the old and new learning became more and more marked.

For a long time the queen looked with gentleness upon these devotees to the old state of things, and repressed the persecuting zeal of her bishops and counsellors, when they would have interfered with them. Priests quietly devoted to the Roman obedience were still to be found in every part of England, especially in the northern counties. Mass was still said in many private houses. Nuns were left unmolested under the shelter of Roman Catholic families; and it was only later in her reign that the queen, becoming aware of the fanaticism and open hostility manifested to her government and person by the English Romanists, stimulated by the open support of Rome, devised sterner measures of repression.

For instance, the people of Lancashire refused utterly to come any more to divine service in the English tongue, we read that Lord Derby forbade the use of the liturgy in his private chapel. Again, Dr. Grindal, archbishop of York, found on coming to his diocese that the gentlemen were not affected to godly religion. He relates himself how they observed the old fasts and holidays; they prayed still on their strings of beads. Disguised priests were numerous and busy; corpse candles were lighted again beside the coffins of the dead, while clerks and curates sang requiems at their side. The Pope's authority was openly maintained; sedition was undisguisedly fostered; penances were openly commuted for money; the old mediæval disused practices were being in many places gradually introduced again. This state of things had been enormously increased and encouraged by the promulgation by Pope Pius V., in 1570, of the bull which excommunicated Elizabeth.

The recognised head of this party, gradually growing in audacity if not in power as the reign of Elizabeth advanced, was Elizabeth's near kinswoman, the notorious Mary, queen of Scots, upon whom most of the English Romanists looked, not only as Elizabeth's legitimate successor, but even as the rightful queen of England. The direct claim of Mary Stuart to the English crown is shown by the following little table:—

King HENRY VII.

James IV. (of Scotland) = MARGARET. Killed at Flodden.

Katharine of Arragon. = HENRY VIII. = Anne Boleyn = Jane Seymour.

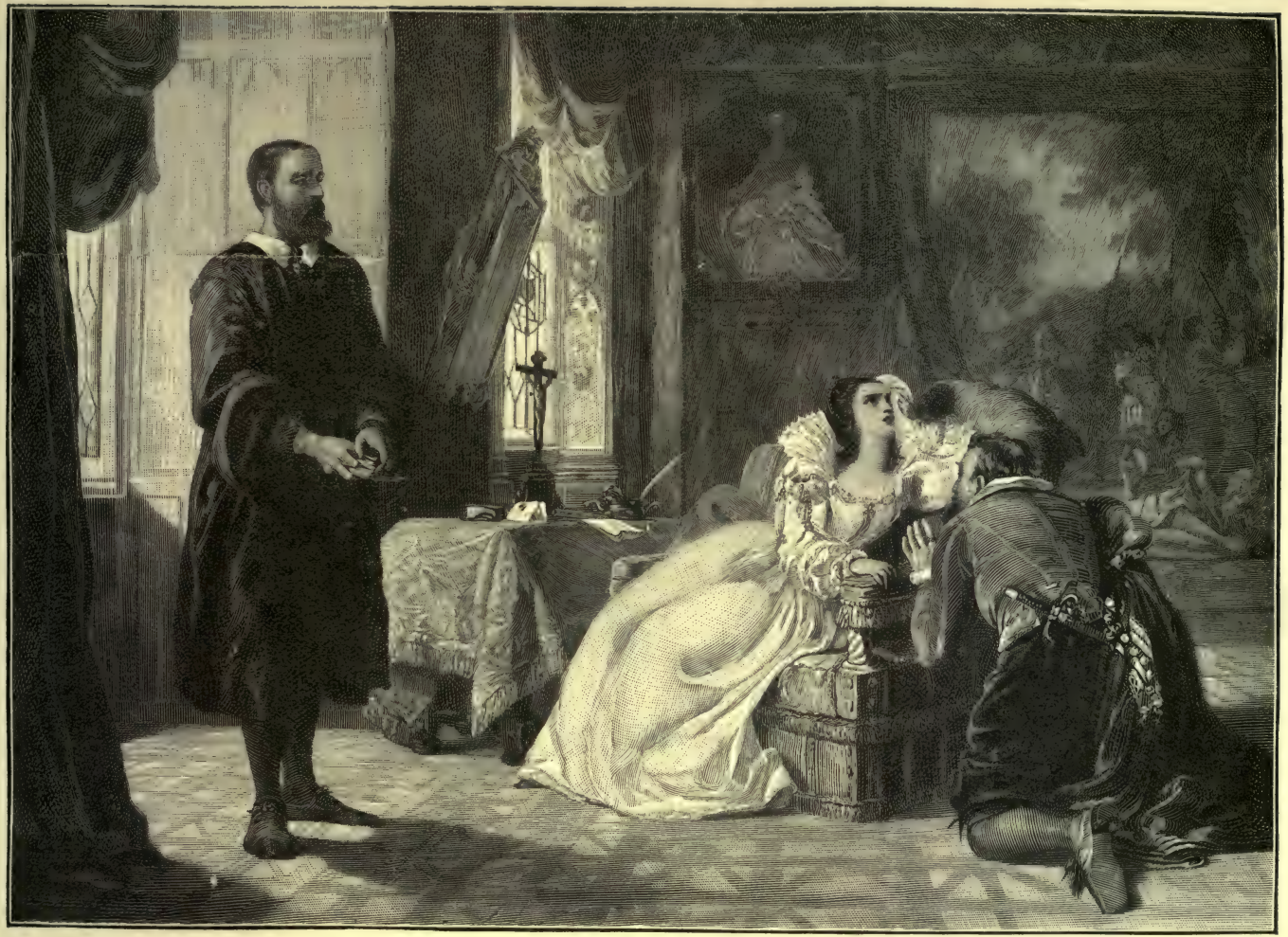
Mary of Guise = JAMES V. of Scotland.

Queen Mary. Queen ELIZABETH. Edward VI.

Francis II., King of France. = MARY STUART, Queen of Scots = Lord Darnley.

JAMES I., King of England (and VI. of Scotland).

The queen of Scots was thus descended lineally from a daughter of Henry VII. *older* than Henry VIII. [The eldest born, Arthur, the first husband of Katharine of Arragon, died before his brother, Henry VIII.] The history of this brilliant and ill-fated princess, who played so prominent a part in the reign of Elizabeth, and who so largely contributed to the feelings with which Roman Catholicism came to be regarded in England, is as follows.



JOHN KNOX REPROVING MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS.

(By permission, from the picture by W. P. Frith, R.A., in the Mappin Art Gallery, Sheffield.)

When quite a child Mary was left, by the early death of her father, king James V., heiress to the Scottish throne. Henry VIII. had endeavoured to bring about a marriage between her and his young son Edward. This policy was continued by the Protector Somerset. It completely failed, and the Scots, instead, arranged a marriage of their young queen with the dauphin of France, the hereditary enemy of England. Mary, queen of Scots, thus spent her girlhood and early womanhood at the gay and somewhat dissolute court of France. Her husband the dauphin succeeded to the French throne under the name of Francis II., and Mary was thus for a brief period queen of France as well as of Scotland. Francis II. soon died, however, and Mary was left a widow at the early age of eighteen. She then returned to Scotland to take possession of her ancestral throne. This was in the year 1561, in the fourth year of Elizabeth's reign. At this period Mary was one of the most lovely, accomplished, and attractive ladies in the world. More French than Scottish, from her girlhood she had occupied the highest position in society, and had been trained in all the ways of intrigue and statesmanship, regarding herself as rightful queen of England, as well as of Scotland. In religion and politics she was an ardent Romanist.

At first, on her return to Scotland, she was welcomed with real and devoted enthusiasm. A beautiful girl, only eighteen years of age, their own hereditary queen, who had for a brief season worn the crown of France with a singular charm and dignity, which had won her unnumbered passionate admirers in the foreign land of her adoption; heiress, too, by undoubted descent to the English throne; a consummate mistress of all the arts and intrigues of a court; for a time she was the idol of a large portion of the warlike and chivalrous Scottish nation. But Mary Stuart, with all her splendid gifts and matchless opportunities, unscrupulous and utterly selfish, was unable to retain for any lengthened period her hold upon the affections of the Scottish folk; while her sensual nature soon led her into committing the gravest errors in policy—errors which, in the course of her unhappy career, too often shaded into crimes. Although a brilliant and showy personality, she was, after all, but a sorry chief of a great religious party.

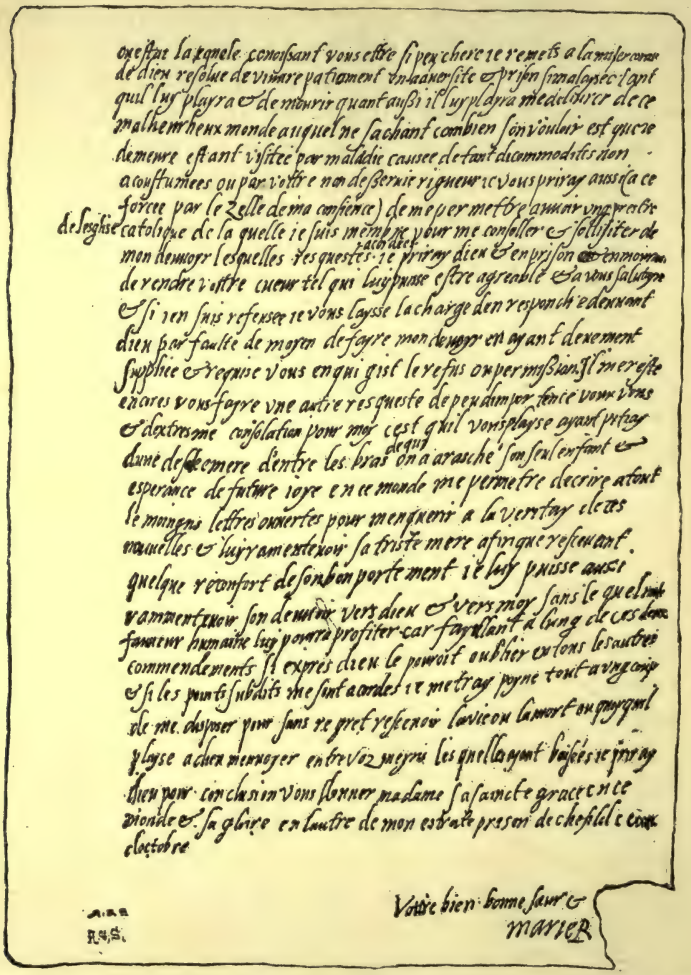
Her second marriage with Henry, lord Darnley, her cousin, a Roman Catholic like herself, kinsman also to many of the leading Scottish lords, was a most unhappy one. He has been styled, not without reason, a proud, ignorant, self-willed boy, utterly unfitted to be the mate of such a princess as Mary Stuart. It was in 1565 that Mary married her cousin Darnley. The episodes of the great tragedy which ruined Mary's life followed quickly. In the year following the marriage, David Rizzio, the queen's confidential secretary, and, men said, too-intimate friend and counsellor, was torn rudely from her presence by Darnley and his friends, and foully murdered in the royal Scottish palace of Holyrood. The queen pretended, after a time, to forgive the bitter and cruel affront; but early in 1567 Europe was startled at the news of another deed of blood, more far-reaching in its consequences than the murder of David Rizzio. Darnley, who

outwardly had been partially reconciled with Mary, on the night of a ball at Holyrood left the palace for a lonely house close to Edinburgh, called Kirk of Field, where he was residing. The ill-matched pair parted in the evening in apparent friendship, seemingly with affection; Mary kissed her husband and pressed a ring, in token of her returning love, on his finger. But that night the "Kirk of Field" was blown up by gunpowder, and the unhappy Darnley was found dead in the garden. The queen has never been cleared from suspicion of complicity in the awful crime, and her subsequent conduct went far to confirm the terrible accusation. The disgrace of Mary was complete when, in the late spring of that same year (1567) she married the earl of Bothwell, whom Froude does not hesitate to term "the foulest ruffian among her subjects." Before this iniquitous marriage was carried out, Bothwell was formally divorced from his legitimate wife. Mary at once created her third husband duke of Orkney and Shetland. There is but little doubt that the queen, whose growing dislike for Darnley had ripened into loathing after his share in the murder of Rizzio, had indulged in a guilty passion for Bothwell. Bothwell had compassed, probably with the queen's consent, the death of Darnley at the Kirk of Field.

Events now succeeded one another in quick succession in the unhappy career of Mary. Her conduct had deservedly ruined her in the estimation of all the European nations. At home her name had become a byword of shame and disgrace. A very few months after the Bothwell marriage, she became a captive of the Scottish lords, who had determined to dethrone her, in Lochleven castle, a queen henceforth only nominally. For a year she remained in duress at Lochleven; in 1568 she contrived to escape, and was soon joined by a strong force gathered together by men who still believed in the unhappy queen. Lord Murray, her half-brother, who had become regent of Scotland, met her troops and defeated them at Langside, near Glasgow. After the battle, which ruined her hopes, she fled to England, throwing herself on the mercy of her kinswoman, Elizabeth. From the year 1568 till 1587, when she expiated the errors and mistakes of her sad career in the hall of Fotheringay castle, a period of between eighteen and nineteen years, she remained a prisoner in England, treated now with greater, now with less severity, a centre of wild and generally ill-conceived plots against the life of Elizabeth, her government, and the established Anglican communion; a perpetual menace to the peace and prosperity of England.

We have given a plain, unvarnished sketch of the active portion of the life of the queen of Scots, as it appeared to her contemporaries who were responsible for the government of Scotland and England. Was she, after all, guilty of the dark crimes on the ground of which the Scottish lords demanded and enforced her abdication, before she threw herself upon Elizabeth's mercy? Again, was she privy to the plots for the assassination of Elizabeth, for which she suffered in the hall of Fotheringay? Round her memory has ever raged a war of contrary opinions. The genuineness of many of the pieces of accusation have since been gravely doubted;

but much remains unexplained, and probably the true story of that unhappy life of plots and intrigues will never be told. To some she still remains a spotless and romantic figure of a beautiful and cruelly persecuted prisoner; to others as the incarnation of wickedness, deceit, and lust. By not a few in our day the touching and pathetic presentment of the great Scottish romancist (Walter Scott) is still accepted as a piece of genuine history.



END OF A LETTER TO QUEEN ELIZABETH, FROM MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS, WHEN IN PRISON, ASKING TO HAVE A CATHOLIC CHAPLAIN. (*British Museum.*)

Among the tombs of the illustrious dead in the royal abbey of Westminster, there is no more stately monument than that erected with so much care and cost by her son, king James I.—a tardy reparation, if it be a reparation, and not a piece of royal policy, after long years of utter indifference and cruel neglect. Did king James, when ordering in his letter the removal of the remains of what was once Mary, queen of Scots, from the grave of Peterborough to the stately abbey tomb, believe in his mother's innocence and wrongs? The words, at least, would seem to imply that he did, when he wrote his royal commands, "that the like honour might be done to the body of his dearest mother, and the like monument be extant of her, that had been done to his dear sister, the late queen Elizabeth." "Over the fatal coffin which received the headless corpse of poor Mary Stuart at Fotheringay, was raised a monument like

to that of Elizabeth, but on a grander scale, as if to indicate the superiority of the mother to the predecessor, of the victim to the vanquisher."* Her tomb has ever been her bones, lately translated to the burial-place of the kings of England at Westminster, are resplendent with miracles." "This is probably," adds the historian

MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS, AT THE AGE OF THIRTY-EIGHT.
(From a Contemporary Portrait.)

revered by sympathising Scots as the shrine of a canonised saint. "I hear," says Demster, thirteen years after the removal of the remains from Peterborough, "that of the abbey (dean Stanley), "the latest instance of a miracle-working tomb in England, and it invests the question of queen Mary's character with a theological as well as an historical interest."

During the greater part of the eighteen

* Dean Stanley: "Memorials of Westminster Abbey," chap. iii.

or nineteen years of Mary Stuart's captivity in England, discredited though she was in the world after the Darnley tragedy, and the subsequent marriage with Bothwell, she was looked upon as the natural head of the English Roman Catholics, and by many at least as the probable successor to the crown. After the year 1570, when Mary Stuart had been in England about two years, the bull of excommunication launched by Pope Pius V. against Elizabeth, placed the English Roman Catholics in a new position. Hitherto, they had been tolerated in their practices, in some instances even perhaps favoured by Elizabeth; but this act of the Roman see, which affected to regard the English queen as a pretender, a usurper, a vessel of all iniquity, could only be regarded by the government of Elizabeth in the light of a declaration of war—as an act of open aggression; while the faithful adherent of the Pope in England could not help being more or less looked on as a traitor.

The occupant of the see of Rome in 1558 had been Paul IV., a violent and passionate old man, whose policy of known hostility to Elizabeth had, as early as 1559, given place to the gentle and conciliatory measure adopted by his successor, Pius IV., who ruled from 1559 to 1566. Michele Ghislieri, who followed him under the designation of Pius V., had been before his elevation a Dominican Inquisitor. He was a man of devoted piety and of blameless life, but at the same time a stern, relentless bigot; it was this Pope who in 1570 fulminated the bull of excommunication against Elizabeth, which was secretly nailed on the door of the bishop of London's house. His successors more or less followed the same bitter, hostile policy. It was Gregory XIII., who followed him as Pope, who ordered a *Te Deum* to be sung in honour of the atrocious massacre of the Huguenots (French Protestants) on St. Bartholomew's day, 1572, and went in person in solemn procession at the thanksgiving for that dreadful act. The Pope, the recognised supreme head of the Roman Catholic religion, became thus closely associated in the minds of Englishmen with plots against the government and the peace of England, being more or less connected with the several successive designs against the life of the beloved queen, with awful crimes like the St. Bartholomew's massacre in France, and the deeds of blood which disgraced the Spanish governor Alva's rule in the Netherlands.

In England gradually, as the reign of Elizabeth advanced, under the hostile inspiration of Rome the Roman Catholic became, not without reason, generally suspected of disloyalty; and—reluctantly on the queen's part—the policy of toleration was exchanged for a sterner policy of repression, and now and again even of persecution. Several dangerous conspiracies against the life of Elizabeth were unmasked by the ceaseless vigilance of the queen's ministers, Cecil and Walsingham. In all these the captive Mary Stuart was involved. In one of them the duke of Norfolk, the chief nobleman in England, and a Roman Catholic, was convicted of traitorous designs, of proposing to marry the captive queen of Scots, and of intending to place her on the throne of Elizabeth. Norfolk was beheaded as a traitor in 1572.

A still more subtle method to restore the influence of Roman Catholicism in

England was adopted through the instrumentality of an active though secret propaganda, undertaken by a succession of devoted and earnest missionaries, trained in foreign seminaries under the auspices of the recently founded Society of Jesus, known as the Jesuits. This world-famous order owed its origin to a young Spanish soldier named Ignatius Loyola, who, after being dangerously wounded at the siege of Pampeluna in 1521, consecrated his life to religion. A few like-minded comrades joined Loyola, and they devoted themselves to the advancement of Christianity, and constituted themselves the vowed servants of the Pope, at whose disposition they placed themselves unreservedly. We hear of them first at Rome in 1537. They offered to come to England in the days of cardinal Pole, but Pole distrusted them, and declined their proffered assistance. The Jesuits were bound by the most solemn vows of obedience, but the rule of their order confined them to no monastic or secluded life. They were, and have ever since been, devoted to the more practical duties of religion—to preaching, to hearing confessions, and especially to the work of education.

The order spread rapidly in continental Europe, and became a most formidable army of supporters of the Papal claims to supremacy. At Douai, and later at Rheims, under the powerful sanction and patronage of Philip of Spain, important seminaries for the training and education of English Roman Catholics were established. These famous educational centres near England, together with an English college founded by Pope Gregory XIII. at Rome in 1579, became centres of disaffected English Romanists. To the men trained in these educational homes the order of Jesus became the object of especial admiration. The Jesuits were the newest of the "orders"; their especial *raison d'être* was the defence of the Pope, whose lofty claims had been called in question by the daring innovations of the Reformation. The new "order" was the Pope's body-guard. It had its centres in every great city. The most profound learning, the most entire self-devotion, unquestioning obedience, unremitting industry, were its watchwords. The most fervid among the English Romanists were eager to become members of the famous company.

At the end of 1578 Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, wrote to Philip "that the number of Catholics increases daily, the instruments being missionaries from the seminary which your majesty founded. A hundred of those who went to study there or at Rome have returned in this past year. They travel disguised as laymen, and, young as they are, the fervour with which they throw themselves into the work, and the cheerful fortitude with which they accept martyrdom when occasion offers, are entirely admirable. Some have already suffered with the utmost calmness. . . . Till lately there were but few priests left in England, and religion was dying out for want of teachers . . . but now, by means of those who have come over, it has pleased God to provide a remedy."

These words of Mendoza fairly picture the state of things in England in 1578 and the following years, and clearly describe the new danger to which the settlement of religion under the queen, Cecil, Parker,

and their coadjutors, was exposed. The Jesuit missionaries in England became more and more active. We hear of numbers flocking to the secret services of these priests, who, in various disguises, itinerated from place to place. A printing-press was set up, which issued pamphlets bearing on controversial points, written by skilled hands, and scattered them among the people. An active propaganda of the old learning was undertaken by these zealous men.

Very reluctantly the queen was at length induced to adopt severe measures against these disturbers of the public peace. For it must be remembered that the religion so earnestly and effectively preached by these new missionaries meant revolution; meant the queen's dethronement, if not her death; meant a complete disruption of the whole existing machinery of church and state; meant complete submission to the Pope, and a return to the old pre-Reformation mediæval superstitions. Towards the close of 1580 various arrests were made, and in accordance with the unhappy practice of that age—too common, alas! in all countries—torture was had recourse to, to extort confessions. The adoption of this infamous mode of questioning was apologised for somewhat later thus, in a letter addressed to secretary Walsingham: "Nor was any man tormented for matter of religion, nor asked what he believed of any point of religion, but only to understand particular practices against the queen for setting up their religion by treason or force." Alas! not a few of these brave but mistaken men were even put to death under circumstances of revolting cruelty; but those who are enthusiastic admirers of their earnestness and undoubted fortitude under suffering, must not forget that they suffered as traitors, not as missionaries.

That the queen's life was again and again in danger from these repeated plots, was firmly believed, and not without reason. The mission of these Jesuits was evidently no mere innocent evangelisation. It was connected—there is abundant evidence for the assertion—with dark plots for assassination and rebellion. A terrible object-lesson was indeed presented to the English statesmen who were advising Elizabeth, by the assassination of the heroic prince of Orange (William the Silent), the able and successful leader of the Netherlands revolt against the bloody tyranny of Alva and Philip of Spain. The assassination of William the Silent was attempted in 1582, and fatally carried out at Delft in 1584. It was an act which was mainly due to the fanaticism inspired by the fervid preaching of the same great Jesuit order in the Low Countries. Constant plots, more or less important in the numbers and organisation of those who shared in them, came to light in these years. One most notable was the conspiracy of Throgmorton, which undoubtedly designed the assassination of Elizabeth and the placing of the captive queen of Scots upon the throne, by the aid of Spain and of Roman well-wishers in France. Throgmorton's papers, which were seized, were found gravely to implicate Mendoza, Philip's ambassador, who was in consequence summarily ordered to quit the realm.

Thus the Roman Catholic reaction gradually became more and more closely

ROUGH SKETCH BY LORD BURLEIGH OF THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE HALL OF FOTHERINGAY CASTLE FOR THF TRIAL OF MARY, ON OCT. 12. 1586. (*British Museum.*)

associated in the minds of Englishmen with treason, revolution, and even with cowardly assassination. The earnest Roman Catholic—even the law-abiding—as the reign of Elizabeth wore on, gradually appeared in the eyes of the people clad in the dark and sombre livery of a traitor. So widespread was the persuasion that the loved queen's life was in imminent danger from the machinations of traitors, that "a voluntary association was formed, the members of which solemnly undertook to prosecute to the death all who should make an attempt against the queen (Elizabeth), and all in whose behalf such an attempt should be made. This was a threat against the imprisoned Mary—a warning to her party that her death would follow on the success of any plot against Elizabeth. The Catholic assassinations were met in England with a stern threat of vengeance. The two parties stood in undisguised hostility the one to the other." *

In 1583–4 Mendoza, the ambassador, wrote that as many as 11,000 persons were under surveillance or in strict arrest as suspected of traitorous designs connected with religion. As many as 500 Jesuits or seminary priests were believed to be at work in the realm; a great number of these had at different times, since the adoption of more rigorous measures, been arrested, and batches of them, convicted of traitorous designs, had been executed. But the propaganda went on; the death of each of the martyrs, as they were termed, was celebrated as a victory of the Catholic religion, and each story of their sufferings, when told abroad in the seminaries of Rheims and Rome, was a fresh incentive for others to offer themselves for the dangerous English mission.

The hour drew near for the culmination of all this. The assassination of the English queen—that "wicked woman," as she was termed—an event earnestly desired, and, if possible, to be compassed, was freely spoken of in the lecture halls of foreign seminaries, where the tools for these dark conspiracies were forged. The two chiefs of Roman Catholicism, the clerical and the lay, had signified their approval of the queen's murder. Pope Gregory XIII. gave his sanction to the carrying out of the murderous deed; and Philip II., king of Spain, the most powerful potentate in the world, had expressed his views in writing. "To kill Elizabeth was an enterprise," wrote the Spanish monarch, "so saintly, and would be of so great a service to Almighty God, that God would prosper it, unless provoked by the backwardness of men."

In 1586 the plot was hatched which brought about the grand catastrophe. It is known in English history as "Babington's Conspiracy," from the chief conspirator, a young English Roman Catholic gentleman. The details were planned in the Rheims seminary, and several of the principal agents were more or less connected with the court of Elizabeth. The great plot included, besides the assassination of the English queen and her chief ministers (of these Cecil and Walsingham, the secretary, were the most prominent), the setting at liberty of Mary, queen of Scots, with, of course, her proclamation as queen in the room of Elizabeth,

* Bishop Creighton: "Age of Elizabeth," book v., chap. ii.

and an invasion of the Spanish troops from the Netherlands to co-operate with the English Romanists, who were expected to rise and support Mary Stuart. But the ever-watchful minister, Walsingham, Elizabeth's secretary of state, was not to be caught napping. His emissaries were everywhere—in Paris, in Rome, in the very seminaries themselves; and every dark detail of Babington's arrangements was known in London. When the fullest information had been obtained, the ringleaders were arrested. All the private papers of the queen of Scots were seized. Mary, though guarded strictly, lived in semi-royal state, and was allowed the service of waiting women and secretaries. Some of the arrested confessed their guilt freely, but confessions were hardly needed. A mass of damning evidence in the papers seized was in the hands of Elizabeth's council; and England, long conscious that dark deeds were meditated by some of the Romanists, awoke to the full knowledge of the horrors which had been formally agreed upon in this carefully arranged conspiracy. The project of Babington, as we have noted, included the murder of Elizabeth's ministers as well as of the queen herself. The English Romanists, most of them guiltless of all knowledge of such designs, were universally credited with designs of assassination, foreign invasion, and all the terrors of civil war. They stood out in the estimation of the great majority of their fellow-countrymen as at once betrayers and enemies of their country. Babington and his associates were publicly tried and executed, some of them with all the terrible adjuncts which in those days constituted a traitor's doom; hanged by the neck, but only for a moment, these unhappy men were then cut to pieces, with skilful prolongation of their dying torments.

The queen of Scots was shut up in Fotheringay Castle and rigorously guarded, and subsequently subjected to a formal state trial. In the face of the most tremendous proofs of her complicity in the plot, Mary Stuart to the last, with a strange dignity and composure worthy of a nobler life, denied all knowledge of the intended murder of Elizabeth. She was condemned, and refusing to beg her life of the English queen, died on the scaffold in the great hall of Fotheringay, with a splendid courage worthy of her royal and illustrious lineage, calm and queenly to the end. Friends and foes alike of the Scottish queen, who for so long had been so prominent a figure in European history, bear witness to the serene resignation with which Mary met her death. So calm and self-possessed, so queenly in her last words and actions was she, that it would almost seem as though she was deliberately playing a part for the judgment of posterity.

We have already referred to the different estimates which posterity has formed of this great figure which occupied for so long a period so important a place in the gallery of historic personages of the age of Elizabeth. To some she will ever be the consummate skilful actress, the beautiful but selfish woman, the slave now of her ambition, now of her passions, "the fitting tutelary saint for the sentimental Romanism of the modern world," while in the hearts of others the hapless Mary Stuart is enshrined as the fair, suffering woman; the

sad, uncomplaining victim of an iron, remorseless destiny; the patient heroine of a lost cause and a fading religion; in her very errors and mistakes even more sinned against than sinning. Our work here, however, is simply to show the lasting effect on the minds of the English people of the policy of the political English Romanists in the early days of the new settlement of the Church of England.

When the dread death sentence was pronounced and published, the news was received by the large majority of English people with wild and delirious joy. In the modern estimates of the great Fotheringay tragedy, it should be remembered that at the time the feeling of the people was generally one of intense satisfaction that so dangerous a plotter was removed from their midst. This feeling was strong among the quiet law-abiding Englishmen; they felt that at any moment the flames of a civil war might burst forth. The constantly recurring Roman Catholic plots against Elizabeth's life ever kept this dread possibility in view, and the centre of all these conspiracies had been the queen of Scots.

The plotting queen, who had so long been the powerful and dangerous, though sorely disgraced head of the Roman Catholic party in England, lay quiet at last in her bloody coffin beneath the shadow of the mighty Norman arches of Peterborough cathedral. It would have seemed that nothing further was needed utterly to discredit the Roman cause among the English people. Already the name of Romanist was synonymous with the name of traitor; already the idea of Romish success or supremacy was inextricably bound up in the eyes of men with ideas of misrule, confusion, and revolution. But another tremendous blow to the influence of Roman Catholicism among the English people was still to fall.

For long years the Spanish monarch had been watching England, waiting for the moment when his designs upon the great island kingdom, whose power and wealth he knew so well, could be carried out with a fair prospect of success. In these designs, it must be remembered, religion and ambition were equally mingled. To the heir of Charles V. and the husband of the long-dead Mary Tudor, the subjugation of England presented itself, not merely in the light of a conquest necessary to maintain the grandeur and prosperity of his own well-loved Spain; but to conquer and to convert the powerful and mighty island of heretics, in the eyes of Philip, ranked as a blessed work—a very Crusade.

Since the publication of Mr. Motley's very noble and luminous "History of the Dutch Republic," the character of Philip II. of Spain has been laid bare to the student of history, and a just appreciation of that famous or infamous man can now be formed. Two popular pictures of him exist. To the Roman Catholics he was the brave and devoted champion of what they deemed the true orthodox form of Christianity, unswerving in his purpose to extirpate from the countries of Europe heresy in its many forms. Philip II. represents to the mind of Romanists the ideal of a Catholic sovereign—the true soldier of God. To the reformers, on the other hand, of all nationalities, Philip was the cruel, ambitious ruler; the instigator

of the ruthless persecutions of the Low Countries—persecutions before which the deplorable events of the reign of Mary of England pale into insignificance. In England, Philip the persecutor was dreaded as one who aimed not merely at the extirpation of the reformed religion, but at its very existence as a nation. The

THE EXECUTION OF MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS.
(From the picture by Ford Madox Brown, by permission of Henry Boddington, Esq., Pownall Hall, Wilmslow, Cheshire.)

Spanish sovereign was credited, and fairly, with the design of reducing England to the position of a province of Spain.

The true portrait of the king of Spain is something between the two. He was not the hero the Roman Catholic historian loves to paint him ; on the other hand, he was far from being the fiend in human shape of the reformers' picture. That he was, however, the most dangerous enemy England ever had to dread and to combat is indisputably true.

The son of Charles V. was an intensely religious man. With him religion, in that form he had been trained to regard as the only true form, was ever paramount. When his father, Charles V., after his abdication, worn out by a life of ceaseless care, lay dying in his solitude in the Spanish monastery of Yuste, he commended to his son a solemn duty, which he in his war-filled anxious life had never been able to carry out. His son and successor was to extirpate "heresy," then rampant in the world of the sixteenth century, in his own broad dominions ; he was to wage, too, an implacable war with the same dreaded heresy in the dominions of his neighbours. The Spanish territories of the wealthy and powerful Low Countries, and England, where once he had worn the crown, were the two principal centres where this heresy he had to destroy especially flourished. Philip received his father's dying wish as a message from God. "He saw in his position and in his conviction a call from Providence to restore through Europe the shaking fabric of the church, and he lived to show that the most cruel curse which can afflict the world is the tyranny of ignorant conscientiousness, and that there is no crime too dark for a devotee to perpetrate under the seeming sanction of his creed." At home, in his own Spain, the work king Philip set himself to carry out was comparatively simple. Each priest and monk in Spain was a ready-made soldier of the Inquisition, without mercy, even as God, in their view of Him, was without mercy. "The rack, the dungeon, the stake, the gibbet, soon purified the Spanish dominions of Philip II. . . . In Sicily, Naples, and Lombardy there was even less difficulty; beyond the Atlantic Christianity was as yet only known in the form in which it had been preached by the Dominicans." *

The story of the persecutions, followed by the successful revolt of the Low Countries, with the historic commercial world-centres of Antwerp, Bruges, and Ghent, will ever be the most instructive chapter in the annals of the famous Spanish monarch. The attempt to coerce and to subjugate England through the tremendous instrumentality of the "Armada" ranks, perhaps, as the second of Philip's mighty efforts to carry out Charles V.'s dying injunction. How signally both efforts resulted in utter failure is told in the stirring annals of the sixteenth century. In the persecution directed by Philip's renowned instrument, Alva, in the Low Countries, it is calculated that in three months as many as eighteen hundred persons perished at the stake and on the scaffold. It was the despair and national wrath, the outcome of this tremendous burst of Spanish fanaticism, which moved

* Froude: "History of England," vol. xii., chap. xvi.

the Netherlanders to revolt, and in the end successfully to break down for ever the fabric of Spanish rule in the north countries of Europe.

The personality of the author of these awful persecutions—the husband of queen Mary Tudor, the ambitious claimant to the throne of Elizabeth and the sovereignty of England, the champion of Roman Catholicism, the man who made Romanism hateful in the eyes of the English people—is a strange and interesting one. He was no soldier. Historians like Froude and bishop Creighton, following the careful and accurate analysis of Motley and the brilliant sketch of his biographer, Prescott, dwell on Philip's reserved and cautious disposition. Slow and hesitating, he utterly lacked the energy, the high-mettled spirit, the romance, the dash and power of the Spanish character. Few seem to have been his vices. Moderate in his habits, careful and business-like even to a fault, a constant sufferer from ill-health, in the still seclusion of his gloomy palace-monastery of the Escurial he would sit the long day through, weaving the cunning web of Spanish diplomacy, ruling from that silent cabinet the vast empire of Spain and the Indies; reading despatch after despatch which poured in upon him from his obsequious lieutenants in every part of the world, mastering them all, commenting upon them with a marvellous patience and restless industry. Acting then upon the information thus painfully and laboriously gathered, he slowly issued the sovereign orders which guided the course of this terrible persecution, that stern, relentless campaign, or directed the development of the mighty web of Spanish commerce in the two worlds; but never losing sight for one moment of the grand aim of his life's work—the extirpation of the heresy of the Reformation, and the establishment of what he deemed to be the one true Catholic faith.

Such was Philip II. of Spain, true to his convictions to the last; a sad, gloomy, unhappy man, the author of untold misery—of sufferings the like to which, considering the mighty area over which he ruled and the number of human souls affected by his decrees, the world had never witnessed before—but never swerving one hair's-breadth from what he believed to be the truth. He lived to see his fairest, richest provinces torn from his grasp by the very heretics he had so relentlessly pursued; he lived to see the England he coveted for his own great and powerful as England had never been before; he lived to see his enormous fleets shattered and discredited, and the unrivalled commercial grandeur of his loved Spain already faded and tarnished; and, more than all, he lived to see the Reformation, whose destruction had been his life-long dream, firmly rooted and established both in the revolted Low Countries and in England. And dying in 1598, after a long reign, which had lasted some forty years, of a weary and painful malady bravely and patiently borne, as he passed away men heard him say: "I die like a good Catholic, in faith and obedience to the Roman church." *

Philip the Second, king of Spain

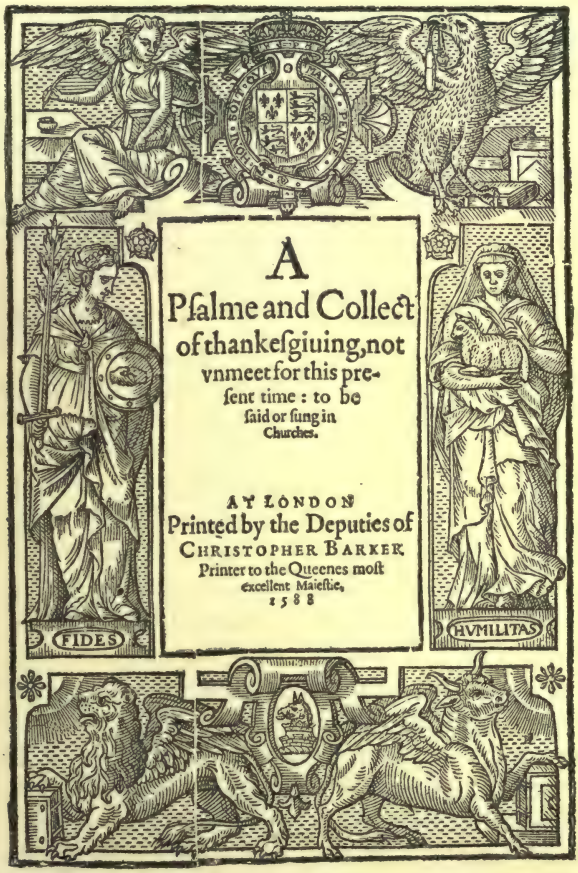
* *Cf.* Froude: "History of England," vol. ix., chap. xvi.; vol. xii., chap. xxxiv. And bishop Creighton: "Elizabeth," book vi., iii. And also Motley: "Dutch Republic," Prescott: "Philip II." and Stirling: "Cloister-Life of Charles V."

(1556–1598), heir of the ambitions of the emperor Charles V., and of most of his enormous and widespread realms, from the year 1554 had been curiously mixed up with English politics. His marriage with Mary Tudor gave him a peculiar interest in England, and a quasi-regal authority over the English people. The marriage, never a happy connection, was severed by Mary's death in 1558; but Philip, who on his father's abdication in 1556 had become king of Spain and sovereign lord of many another land, was desirous, if possible, to retain his hold on England by marrying Mary's sister, Elizabeth. Foiled in this attempt, Philip ever viewed England and her queen with dislike and suspicion; but, as we have seen, his policy prevented any open manifestation of hostility, because, had Elizabeth been driven from the throne, the succession would have certainly fallen to Mary, queen of Scots, who, through her close matrimonial connection with France, Spain's most hated rival,

PHILIP II. OF SPAIN.
(*After the portrait by Titian.*)

would have been a far more dangerous English sovereign from a Spanish point of view than Elizabeth. As time went on, and Elizabeth became the formidable champion of the Reformation, the dislike breach year by year between Elizabeth and Spain.

At last the tragedy of Fotheringay left the way open for Spain to prosecute the long-cherished project of humiliating



TITLE-PAGE OF A PSALM OF THANKSGIVING FOR THE VICTORY OVER THE ARMADA. (*British Museum.*)

of Philip, as an earnest and bigoted Roman Catholic, for the English sovereign grew in intensity. Other circumstances, too, connected with the vast colonial empire of Philip and the commercial enterprises of Spain, which were seriously interfered with by English adventure, widened the England and dethroning Elizabeth; the queen of Scots was dead, and the old fear of assisting France through Mary Stuart existed no longer. Even before her death Philip had meditated a great attack on England; but now that she was gone, the Spaniard who had been the

husband * of Mary Tudor could claim the throne for himself. What the formidable attack of Philip on England in 1588, the year following the execution of Mary, queen of Scots, really signified, is best and most graphically shown in the pastoral letter to the English people of cardinal Allen. Allen had been for years the indefatigable teacher of the disloyal Roman Catholic seminarists at Douai and at Rheims. Pope Sixtus V., who had already offered a large sum of money to Philip to help him in his invasion of England, had made him a cardinal; and Allen was also named as the future archbishop of Canterbury.

This pastoral letter of cardinal Allen rehearsed the terrible anathemas levelled by Rome at queen Elizabeth, urging at the same time the faithful English Roman Catholics to rise in arms and thus welcome the Spanish champion of their religion. Copies of this pastoral of Allen's were secretly conveyed across the Channel, and distributed by means of the many Roman missionaries scattered up and down the country. The Spanish invasion, so runs the traitorous document which heralded the advent of the Armada and the soldiers of Parma, who were to be convoyed across the narrow seas by means of the ships of Spain, was intended to dethrone the usurping heretic Elizabeth, who was termed the infamous daughter of the excommunicated Henry VIII. The English queen was described as born in adultery; as one who had overthrown the English Church, profaned the sacraments, and torn God's priests from the altars in the very act of celebrating the holy mysteries. In the sees of the bishops she had placed the scum and filth of mankind—infamous, lascivious, apostate heretics. She had made England a sanctuary of atheists and rebels. Innocent, godly, and learned men, priests and bishops in England and Ireland, had been racked, torn, chained, and even barbarously executed; and the queen had filled up at last the measure of her wickedness by killing the anointed of God, the lady Mary, her nearest kinswoman, and by law the rightful possessor of her crown. The holy father had for a long time treated her with gentleness; but finding that such treatment availed nothing, he at length asked the princes of Christendom to aid him in the punishment of so wicked a monster—the scourge of God and shame of womankind. The most Catholic king [Philip II. of Spain] had undertaken the task, and his soldiers were about to land on the English coast. "His holiness," pursued Allen, "being of your own flesh and blood, has been pleased to choose me as his legate for the restoring of religion. . . . He discharges you (the faithful) of your oath of allegiance, and requires you to join his Catholic majesty's power on their arrival." They (the faithful) were to fight for God's church and the honour of English knighthood, for Christ, for religion, and for the holy sacraments of the faith. The saints in heaven were interceding for them; the blood of the martyred bishops, friars, priests, and laymen was crying to God for their victory; they were not to fear, for the English nation would turn from the setting sun, and would follow no more the broken fortunes of a

* Philip had also shadowy claims to the English throne through his descent from the house of Lancaster; John of Gaunt having married Constance, daughter of Peter the Cruel of Castille, from whom the emperor Charles V. was descended.

mean and filthy woman. They were to take heart and quit themselves like men.*

Much more of similar traitorous stuff was contained in this singular document of cardinal Allen, which preceded the advent of the Spanish Armada. The mighty armament itself sailed from the shores of Spain for the invasion of England in the July of 1588, under the command of the duke de Medina Sidonia, the grandest and apparently the most powerful fleet that the world had ever seen, while a trained and well-equipped Spanish army, under the able generalship of the prince of Parma, waited for their coming on the coasts of the Low Countries.

The utter discomfiture of this magnificent Armada by the English fleet, under the gallant Howard, Drake, and their valiant companions, is a well-known story, and does not belong to our own. But the memory of king Philip's attempt, and the awful danger to which England had been exposed, remained for ever green in the memory of the English people. It has never been forgotten. Twenty years filled with plots, with secret machinations, with constant rumours of revolt, revolution, and assassinations, had already sunk deep into the hearts of the nation. The Armada was the crowning blow to Roman Catholicism in this country. The innocent suffered with the guilty. There is no reason to suppose that the majority of English Romanists really sympathised with these would-be disturbers of the national peace, or ever dreamed of making common cause with the traitorous men who desired the violent death of Elizabeth and the elevation of the queen of Scots to the throne; still less favoured the views of Philip of Spain. But, naturally, the well-known conspiring of the little band of Jesuits and of seminarists, their undisguised teachings, the horrible fulminations of successive popes, the designs of Philip, which, when the Armada sailed in all its grandeur and pomp of war from the shores of Spain, seemed near their dread fulfilment—all these things impressed the English people with the persuasion that Roman Catholicism was a public and perpetual menace to the very existence of the empire; that the English Roman Catholic was at heart a traitor, one who for the interests of what he deemed the true religion was ready to sacrifice the best interests of his country.

Never has this stern object-lesson been forgotten; and the dislike, in many cases the positive hatred, of the English nation to Rome and its faith, which even after three centuries still lives among us, is largely traceable to the events which happened during the first thirty years of Elizabeth's reign, very briefly and roughly portrayed in the preceding pages. In much, the dispassionate modern historian freely confesses, this dislike is exaggerated and perhaps unreasonable; but it was then far from baseless, and, rightly or wrongly, it has largely influenced and deeply coloured the whole subsequent history of the Church of England. How strongly these events influenced Elizabeth, and determined her conduct and the policy of her confidential advisers in church matters, must now be related, as we proceed to take up again our chronicle of the ecclesiastical settlement of her reign.

* *Cf.* Froude, who gives this "Admonition to the Nobility of England by Cardinal Allen" at greater length: vol. xii., chap. xxxvi.

CHAPTER LIX.

ARCHBISHOP GRINDAL AND THE PURITAN PARTY.

Elizabeth's Religious Views—Overpowered by the Circumstances of her Reign—Influence of Exile upon the Reforming Bishops—Influence of the Queen—The Resulting Compromise—Thomas Cartwright and the Extreme Puritans—The First English Presbytery of 1573—Edmund Grindal—Claims of the Puritans—Strength of the Puritan Movement—Resistance by Grindal and Horne—Grindal's Views and Action as Archbishop of York—Becomes Primate of All England—The "Prophesyings"—Displeasure of the Queen—Death of the Archbishop—His Character and Work.

ELIZABETH in many respects inherited her father's (Henry VIII.) views on religion. It has been said broadly, but not without some truth, that king Henry attempted to constitute an Anglican church differing from the Roman Catholic church on the point of the papal supremacy, and on that point alone.* His daughter to a large extent shared these views. "Circumstances rather than preference had placed her originally on the side of the Protestants. Her connection with them was political, and it was only when she needed their assistance that she acknowledged a community of creed. With the quarrel with Rome she was identified from her birth. Her mother's marriage had caused the rupture, and the reunion under her sister had been accompanied by her own disgrace. But with the creed as distinct from the papal supremacy she had no quarrel at all. Mass and breviary, accompanied by national independence and liberty, not of worship but of conscience, would have suited best with her own tastes. . . . For Protestantism Elizabeth had never concealed her dislike and contempt. She hated to acknowledge any fellowship in religion either with Scots, Dutch, or Huguenots. She represented herself to foreign ambassadors as a Catholic in everything except in allegiance to the Papacy. . . . She left the Catholics in her household so unrestrained that they absented themselves at pleasure from the royal chapel without a question being asked. She allowed the county gentlemen all possible latitude in their own houses."*

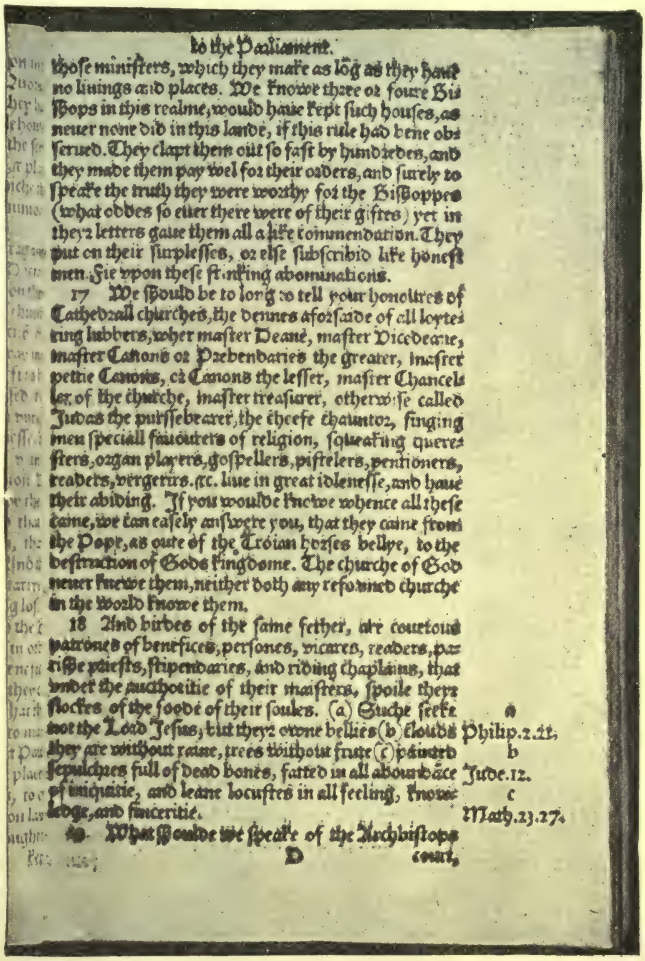
These passages of our historians, allowing perhaps for a little exaggeration, fairly represent Elizabeth's mind toward religion. The great queen, however, was no theologian like her father, and in these matters felt less deeply than he had done, and allowed herself to be largely influenced by her episcopal advisers. These had been, of course, mostly chosen from the reformed party, which had suffered so grievously under the rule of her sister Mary. Their influence with her was enormously strengthened, as we have seen, by the events which happened during the first thirty years of her reign. The danger

* Macaulay: "History of England," vol. i., chap. i.

* Froude: "History of England," vol. xii., chap. xxxviii., and "Conclusion."

from the Roman Catholic party to her person and dynasty in which she constantly lived, the feeling that "the Protestants were the only subjects on whose loyalty she could rely," inclined her, however, to another policy, and enabled Parker and his fellows, and their immediate successors, happily to carry out in great measure their views of church doctrine and government.

These bishops, learned and eminent men for the most part, during the Marian persecution had spent several years in exile, and naturally had passed under the influence in a greater and less degree of the great foreign reformers with whom they came in contact during that exile; with such master minds as Peter Martyr and Bullinger, and the yet more extreme Calvin and Beza. Archbishop Parker, perhaps, was of the famous company the least influenced by the powerful minds of the foreign reformers; but Jewel, as we have seen, reluctantly consented to subordinate his Puritan tendencies. Grindal hesitated for some time to accept a mitre under the conditions imposed by Elizabeth, Parker, and Cecil; while Sandys, for a time at all events, openly espoused the views held by the Puritan party in England. These are conspicuous instances of the great Elizabethan bishops; and there is no doubt but that the strong predilections of the queen in favour of what we may still term the "old learning," considerably modified their actions, and contributed in no small degree to the wise and happy compromise which marks the constitution,



to the Parliament.

those ministers, which they make as log as they haue no liuings and places. We knowe there ar foure Bishops in this realme, would haue kept such houses, as neuer none did in this lande, if this rule had bene obserued. They clapt them out so fast by hundreden, and they made them pay wel for their oaders, and surely to speake the truth they were worthy for the Bishoppes (what oddes so euer there were of their giftes) yet in their letters gaue them all a like commendation. They put on their simplesses, or else subscribid like honest men. Fie vpon these stinking abominations.

17 We should be to long to tell your honoures of Cathedrall churches, the dennes aforsaide of all loytering lubbers, wher master Deane, master Dicedeane, master Canons or Prebendaries the greater, master pettie Canons, or Canons the lesser, master Chancellor of the churche, master treasurer, otherwise called Judas the purssebearer, the cheefe chaunter, singing men speciall fauourers of religion, squeaking queresters, organ players, gospellers, pistelers, pentioners, readers, vergerers. &c. liue in great idlenesse, and haue their abiding. If you woulde knowe whence all these came, we can easely answere you, that they came from the Pope, as oute of the Troian horses bellye, to the destruction of Gods kingdome. The churche of God neuer knewe them, neither doth any reformed churche in the world knowe them.

18 And birdes of the same feither, are courteous patrones of benefices, persones, vicares, readers, parisse priests, stipendaries, and riding chaplains, that vnder the auctoritie of their masters, spoile their flockes of the foode of their soules. (a) Suche seeke not the Lord Jesus, but their owne bellies (b) cloudes they are without raine, trees without fruite (c) painted sepulchres full of dead bones, fatted in all abomination of iniquitie, and leane locustes in all feeling, knowledge, and sinceritie.

19 What shoulde we speake of the Archbishops court,

a Philip. 2. 21.
b Jude. 12.
c Matth. 23. 27.

D

PAGE OF CARTWRIGHT'S "ADMONITION TO PARLIAMENT," CONTAINING THE PASSAGE REFERRED TO ON PAGE 411. (*British Museum.*)

the doctrines, and the ritual of the Church of England. As Macaulay somewhat roughly but happily writes, the Church of England "occupies a middle position between the churches of Rome and Geneva. Her doctrinal confessions and discourses, composed by Protestants, set forth principles of theology in which Calvin or Knox would have found scarcely a word to disapprove. Her prayers and thanksgivings, derived from the ancient breviaries, are very generally such that cardinal Fisher or cardinal Pole might have heartily joined in them." Her ritual is based entirely upon the best primitive models, only purged from superstitious additions which had no place in the more ancient and purer uses; while her episcopal succession, traced from the days of the apostles, maintained the unbroken continuity of the Church of England in the days of Elizabeth with the church of Theodore and Dunstan, of Lanfranc and Anselm.

In the last four or five years of archbishop Parker's life (1570–1 to 1576) the Puritan discontent with the established order of things assumed considerable proportions, had far-reaching consequences. The most prominent figure on the Puritan side was an able and persevering Cambridge scholar, one Thomas Cartwright. Born somewhere about 1535 in Herefordshire, in early life his perseverance in his studies brought him through various obstacles to St. John's college, where his industry attracted attention. It is said that throughout his life he never allowed himself more than five hours for sleep. He was attached to the extreme Reformation party, and during Mary's reign earned his bread as a lawyer's clerk. Returning to Cambridge after Mary's death, he became in succession a fellow of St. John's and Trinity. On the occasion of queen Elizabeth's visit to the university he was chosen as one of the more distinguished scholars to dispute before her; and it is supposed by some that his hostility to the reigning powers in the church was first excited by his jealous indignation on that occasion, that the queen failed specially to notice him. At all events, he left Cambridge for a time and betook himself to Geneva.

Returning to England, we next find him occupying the distinguished position of Margaret professor of divinity at his university; and he was in 1570 looked upon as the ablest controversialist on the Puritan side. Both in the pulpit and in the lecture hall he was in the habit of furiously inveighing against the established government of the church; disallowing the vocation of bishops and other ecclesiastical officers, the administration of the holy sacraments, the observation of rites and ceremonies. Many of these he openly denounced as damnable, devilish, and detestable. Over the minds of many of the resident students Cartwright obtained a singular influence, through his eloquence and earnestness. On one occasion it is related he denounced the use of surplices; the next day, with three exceptions, all the students of Trinity appeared in the college chapel without the customary surplice. Through the influence of Whitgift, who at that time was master of the college, Cartwright was deprived of his university preferments and banished from Cambridge.

In 1571 the now famous Puritan leader presented his well-known "Admonition to Parliament." It consisted of two parts, and is a good specimen of the intolerant, bitter spirit with which the extreme Puritans viewed the Church of England, and to what length their principles carried them; it must also be borne in mind that they had in the England of that day a powerful minority of the people well disposed to them, some even in high positions of authority. Leicester, the powerful favourite of Elizabeth, had constituted himself especially their protector and patron. Cartwright and his fellow Puritan teachers ignored the apostolical succession so jealousy guarded by archbishop Parker. They maintained the perfect equality of bishops and presbyters, pronouncing the bishop to be incapable of a title. They denounced all ranks in the hierarchy, condemning the offices of deans, archdeacons, and prebendaries, and held that their precedence was an infringement upon the privileges of ordinary presbyters. The use of the Geneva Prayer-Book might be allowed, but the clergy should possess a free licence for extemporaneous prayer. Saints' days, the Lenten and other fasts observed from time immemorial in the Catholic church, were denounced as unscriptural and superstitious. The use of the sign of the cross in baptism was an offence; confirmation must not be regarded as essential; kneeling at the Lord's Supper led to idolatry. The surplice and the ceremonies retained in the Church of England were branded as disgraceful.*

A curious passage taken from Cartwright's "Admonition to Parliament" will well illustrate the extraordinary bitterness of the extreme Puritan party at this period. After stigmatising cathedrals as "Popish dens," which together with the queen's chapel by their organs and curious singing "must be patterns and precedents to the people of all superstitions," the *Admonition* goes on with the following: "We should be long to tell your honours of cathedral churches, the dens aforesaid of all loitering lubbers, where master dean, master vice-dean, master canons or master prebendaries the greater, master petty canons or canons the lesser, master chancellor of the church, master treasurer or otherwise called Judas the purse-bearer, the chief chanter, singing men, squeaking choristers, organ-players, gospellers, epistollers, pensioners, readers, vergers, etc., live in great idleness, and have their abiding. If you would know whence all these come, we can easily answer, *that they come from the Pope as from out of the Trojan horse's belly, to the distraction of God's kingdom.*"

This violent and insolent diatribe was formally answered by Whitgift. Cartwright was never restored to his university position; several times we read of his being even committed to prison by bishop Aylmer (of London). Through the patronage of Leicester, however, he was subsequently appointed to the mastership of a hospital at Warwick. In his latter years Whitgift, when archbishop, showed him various acts of kindness, even allowing him again to preach at Warwick upon his promise to observe the laws and government of the Church of England. Worn out by his ceaseless studies, his disappointments, and care-filled, anxious

* Compare dean Hook: "Archbishops," vol. ix., chap. xii., and vol. x., chap. xxiv.

life. Cartwright died in 1603, having been in his latter days, some believe, won to a gentler and more loving estimation of his adversaries.

To go back, however: as the result of the fierce diatribes of Cartwright the Cambridge professor, and the exaggerated and unhistorical views of reformation pressed by the extreme reformers, in the May of 1573 we hear of a separate association or community being formed at Wandsworth in the neighbourhood of London. This first presbytery consisted of nonconforming ministers, who were joined by certain laymen. From this small beginning, which quickly followed upon Cartwright's formal attack on the church in the "Admonition to Parliament," we trace the first organisation of Protestant dissent in England.*

It will be thus seen to what grave dangers the church was exposed during the first years of its establishment, and how difficult and dangerous was the work of guiding it. On the one side was Rome and its phalanx of devoted and earnest English adherents, determined at all costs—even at the terrible alternative of sacrificing the national independence—to restore the Roman domination and the mediæval doctrines taught and the rites practised before the great upheaval of the sixteenth century. On the other side was the Puritan party, equally determined upon introducing into England the many changes adopted by the foreign reformers, although such changes would irretrievably have destroyed the continuity of the English church with the ancient Catholic church.

* Dean Hook: "Archbishops," vol. ix., chap. xii

In the providence of God these grave dangers were averted. The sympathies of Elizabeth, the loved Tudor queen, whose power was very great—far greater than the Englishman of the nineteenth century can imagine—were at first undeniably with the Romanists, as far as doctrines and mediæval rites were concerned; but these sympathies were gradually alienated as her reign advanced by the attitude of the Romanist party, which identified itself with the deadly enemies of England, becoming, as we have seen, closely allied with Spain and her deep-laid designs upon the very existence of England as a nation. The peril which menaced the church from the Puritan party was averted, largely owing to the wise counsels and measures of Cecil, afterwards known as lord Burleigh, the great minister of the reign, and perhaps still more to the wisdom of the learned man who occupied the position of metropolitan in those first anxious years — Matthew Parker — and to the moderation and loyalty of the band of scholars and earnest men by whom he was surrounded. Those Elizabethan bishops—Jewel, Grindal, Cox, Whitgift, and others—were men for the most part whose theology was deeply coloured with the teaching of the eminent foreign reformers, at whose feet they had once sat and learned the story of the Reformation; but who for the sake of preserving intact what they felt on the whole was catholic truth, for the sake of maintaining unbroken the continuity of the ancient English church, subordinated, as a rule, their personal feelings and desires, and loyally accepted that middle course of conciliation so dear to Parker the archbishop and Cecil the

minister; that *via media* which has been, and still is, the strength of the Church of England.

The successor of Parker in the primacy was his friend and intimate associate Grindal, archbishop of York. The choice of Grindal to fill the important position of archbishop of Canterbury is an indication of the popular movement in favour of Puritanism. The disfavour with which the Roman Catholic party were generally viewed had been more or less reflected upon the "high" Anglican reformers, who were steadily inclined to a conservation of as much of the old mediæval rites and customs as was consonant with the removal of superstitious and comparatively later usages. Grindal, although Parker's friend, and on the whole one who sympathised with his work and policy, was a more advanced reformer than the first Elizabethan archbishop, and his feelings towards the Puritan party were decidedly warmer than those of his predecessor. His appointment to the great post is therefore an indication of the general popular bias in the year 1575. To Elizabeth, however, he was never a *persona grata*. Her views never varied, and it was only the determined hostility of the Romish party which induced her very reluctantly to favour the extreme Protestants. But she felt, and with reason, during a considerable portion of her reign, that not only her person was in danger but that a revolution was even meditated, and the very existence of her loved England threatened by the Catholics.

EDMUND GRINDAL, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.
(*From the engraving by Arnold Buchel, in "Heroölogia Anglicâ," published at Arnheim in* 1620.)

Edmund Grindal was born in the Lake district about the year 1519; his family were of the middle class. The future archbishop, in the course of a distinguished university career, came under the notice of Ridley, then the master of his college (Pembroke Hall). He filled various positions in his university; was subsequently appointed chaplain to Ridley when the great reformer occupied the see of London; then we find Grindal a royal chaplain at the court of Edward VI. The most interesting detail in connection with the first portion of the future archbishop's life was his intimacy with Martin Bucer, whose influence at Cambridge has been

already described. This close friendship with the eminent foreign reformer no doubt permanently influenced the whole of Grindal's subsequent life and policy. He was with Bucer during his last illness, and was the recipient of his dying wishes.

During the Marian persecution he formed one of that little band of distinguished exiles at Strasburg; and in common with most of his associates, devoted himself to the ardent study of the Reformation principles, his guide at that period of his career being Peter Martyr, to whose lectures and instructions Grindal was a diligent and attentive listener. During this time of exile he contracted that firm friendship with the eminent German reformers which so largely influenced his future life.

On the accession of Elizabeth he returned to England, where he was warmly welcomed by Parker, and almost immediately was employed in the ecclesiastical work taken in hand by Parker and Cecil. Appointed a commissioner to consider the revision of the Prayer-Book (1558–9), he was at once, as one of the inner band of divines, singled out to fill high office in the Church of England. His scruples about some of the ceremonies retained by Cecil and Parker, and his anxious misgivings as to the queen's evident leaning to practices viewed with grave suspicion by his foreign friends, such as the retention of the crucifix in the royal chapel, made him hesitate for a time before he decided to throw in his lot with the moderate party, then in the ascendant. However, Parker succeeded in overcoming his hesitation, persuading him that, after all, these things—the vestments of the clergy and other matters in dispute—were but of secondary importance; and, with some reluctance, he accepted the bishopric of London when Bonner was deposed.

He was consecrated at Lambeth in the December of 1559, with Dr. Cox, bishop of Ely, Dr. Rowland Meyrick, bishop of Bangor, and Dr. Edwin Sandys, bishop of Worcester; the last-named eventually followed him in the sees of London and York. These consecrations were arranged by Parker with all the care which befitted a rite so important to the continuity of the English Church. The names of the consecrators of Grindal and this little group of eminent Elizabethan prelates are preserved in several authoritative records. They were Scory, bishop of Hereford, Barlow of Chichester, Hodgkins, bishop-suffragan of Bedford, and archbishop Parker himself.

Grindal's Puritan leanings were early manifested in his disinclination to wear the episcopal dress, to which he submitted with great reluctance. His loyalty, however, to the general principles of the English Church was unquestionable. This is clear from his consenting to act as one of the commissioners who revised the new Calendar in the Prayer-Book, to which such grave exception was taken by the extreme reformers. He was also, strange to say, connected with the Latin form of the Prayer-Book, which was virtually the First Book of Edward VI., and which Latin form collegiate churches, as we have seen, were permitted to use.

Very early in his episcopate a destructive fire necessitated the partial reconstruction of St. Paul's cathedral. An immense sum was expended on this restoration. The money was largely provided by a tax levied

on the London clergy. On this occasion Grindal's liberality was princely. Before the Reformation, the vast nave of St. Paul's (Paul's Walk) was commonly used as an exchange in which business was transacted, and where people used to walk and converse. This desecration was in part remedied by Grindal's reverential care.

The pressure brought to bear by foreign theologians upon prelates like Grindal and Horne, bishop of Winchester, whose Puritan views were well known in continental centres such as Zurich and Strasburg, where they had lived and studied during the Marian persecution, is well illustrated in a letter addressed to these prelates by Bullinger. The letter bears the date of 1566. Grindal was at this time bishop of London. The complaints of Bullinger were no doubt echoes of what he heard from discontented Puritan divines in England. Amongst other grievances, the famous German divine dwelt on the following: "We hear, though we hope the report is false, that certain new articles are required of ministers, to which if they refuse to subscribe they have to relinquish their office." The articles in question contained, amongst other things, the following "superstitions," as reformers like Bullinger deemed them. The measured chanting in churches was to be retained, together with the sound of organs; ministers who performed the office of baptism were obliged to use breathings, exorcism, the sign of the cross, lighted tapers; in the receiving the Lord's Supper, kneeling was necessary (which has an appearance of adoration); all the power of church government was pronounced to rest solely with the bishops; and no pastor was allowed publicly to deliver his opinion on ecclesiastical matters. Other matters are mentioned in this curious letter, some of which had no existence at all in the practices of the Church of England. Bullinger concluded by a hope that Grindal and Horne would consult with their episcopal brethren and other "holy and prudent" men touching the amendment and purification of these and similar superstitions.

From the "Zurich letters"* we see clearly what it was the Puritan party desired, and how strenuously they were endeavouring to strip the Anglican church of many of the rites and ceremonies and ritual observances happily preserved by Parker and his coadjutors in the Elizabethan settlement; rites and ceremonies and ritual, be it remembered, of immemorial antiquity, and which could not be attacked by any thoughtful scholar or divine as being "superstitious." Among the principal points dwelt upon may be instanced "the different orders of the clergy being still maintained, as formerly in the 'Papacy,' namely, the two archbishops, one of whom is primate; after these are the bishops, then deans and archdeacons, and last of all rectors, vicars, curates. . . . No pastor is at liberty to expound the Scriptures to his people without an express appointment to that office by the bishop. The book of prayers, *i.e.* the English Prayer-book, was filled with many absurdities (to say no worse of them) and silly superfluities, and seems to be

* Quoted at some length by dean Hook, "Archbishops," vol. x., chap. xix.—who also gives *in extenso* the above quoted letter of Bullinger.

composed after the manner of the papists, the grosser superstitions, however, being taken away." In the English church these foreign reformers, no doubt the mouthpiece of English Puritans, complained that "many festivals were retained—consecrated in the name of saints with their vigils as formerly, singing in parts, in the church, and with organs, the tolling of bells at funerals. . . . By the queen's command all persons must reverently bow themselves in the church at the name of Jesus. That space which we call the chancel, by which in churches the laity are separated from the clergy, still remains in England, and prayers are said in the place accustomed in the time of popery. . . . The confirmation, too, of boys and girls is also in use, and the purification of women after childbirth. In the administration of the Lord's Supper, for the greater reverence of the sacrament, little round unleavened cakes are re-introduced by the queen. . . . Everyone, too, is obliged to communicate at the Lord's Supper on his bended knees. In every church throughout England the minister must wear a linen garment which we call a surplice; and in the larger churches, at the administration of the Lord's Supper, the chief minister must wear a silk garment which they call a cope. . . . In their external dress the ministers of the word are at this time obliged to conform themselves to that of the popish priests. The square cap is imposed on all, together with a gown as long and loose as conveniently may be, and to some also is added a silk hood."

We may—indeed, we must—respect the earnestness and real devotion of these extreme reformers in England, Germany, and Switzerland, the advanced guard, so to speak, of the great Puritan army who in years to come, for a while, captured England and her church; but the church they desired to build up upon the ruins of mediæval Christianity in good truth would have been but a sombre and naked Temple of Truth. The church they dreamed of for England would never in the long run have appealed to the masses of the English people, would never have gathered into her holy walls that great multitude of all sorts and conditions of men who now with greater or less pious earnestness, many of them with a splendid self-sacrificing devotion, worship within the broad pale of her sanctuary. Had the Puritan church become the established church of our land—as once Bullinger, and still more Calvin and Beza, so passionately desired—is it too much to assert that uncounted thousands, who have been content to live and die in the fold of the Church of England, would have taken refuge in the unchanged mediævalism of Rome, where they—forgetful of her grievous errors—would have found so much that was lacking in the austere and colourless Puritan forms of worship? Nor could these extreme reformers with any truth or justice appeal to primitive Christian antiquity as the model upon which they wished to reconstruct their cold, bare church. Ridley and Cranmer, Parker and Whitgift, with the great expounder of their ecclesiastical polity, the learned and judicious Hooker, chose as the models of their ritual and observances the ritual and observances, as far as they could be ascertained, of the earliest churches of Christendom, before superstition and man's ambitious instincts

had in any way marred and defaced them.

The danger that the Puritan reaction would undo much, if not all, the wise work of Parker and the first makers of the reformed and purified Church of England, was for many years an ever-present, real danger. The dread and hatred of Roman Catholicism, owing to the ill-omened and unpatriotic policy, above dwelt upon, of certain prominent persons of the Roman party, had deeply permeated the English nation, and favourably disposed men's minds to Puritanism, as the exact opposite to the feared and detested Romanism. This danger, however, was largely averted through the loyal conduct of such prelates as Grindal, Horne, and Sandys. They were men imbued by their foreign training and foreign friendships, with a strong Puritanical bias. But theirs was the high wisdom which could discern the beauty and strength of the church in which they held high office. In the hour of stress and storm they therefore subordinated their own inclinations, and loyally held fast to the ritual, of which they often disapproved, which had been established by the first great Elizabethan archbishop and his coadjutors; believing—and truly—that the Church of England, if it was permanently to gain the affection of the people, must be a church of mutual concession, when concession involved no real sacrifice of principles.

So we find Grindal and Horne thus replying to Bullinger's remonstrances: "We hold that the ministers of the Church of England may adopt without impiety the distinction of habits now prescribed by public authority, both in the administration of divine worship and for common use." The two Puritan bishops, as some would term them, with a splendid loyalty to their church, after reiterating in decisive terms that there existed in England the most entire liberty of preaching the purest doctrine, and likewise of exposing, laying open, and condemning by means of sound instruction errors and abuses of every kind, whether as to ceremonies or doctrine, or the sacraments or moral duties, went on to say: "We cannot accept this crude advice, neither ought we to be passive under the violent appeals which unceasingly in the pulpit are disturbing the peace of the church and bringing the whole of our religion into danger. . . . If we were to acquiesce in the inconsiderate advice of our brethren (the Puritans), and all unite our strength illegally to attack the habits by law established, to destroy and abolish them altogether, or else all lay down our offices at once—verily, we should have a papistical, or, at least, a Lutherano-papistical ministry, or none at all. . . . *Since we cannot do what we would, we should in the Lord do what we can.* . . . We receive," said these wise and loyal Puritans, "or rather tolerate the interrogations to infants, and the sign of the cross in baptism, and kneeling at the Lord's Supper, because it is so appointed by law."

This and much more was written by these good men, utterly declining to have any part in the Puritan schism, preferring to yield in non-essential points, some of which were evidently distasteful to them, for the sake of preserving the unity of the great church to which they belonged. It

is this wise and conciliatory spirit which has ever been one of the great sources of the strength and enduring influence of the Anglican community.

It was the strong Puritan bias of Grindal, united to a gentle conciliatory spirit, which it is said induced Parker to recommend his friend's promotion to the arch-see of York, which was vacated in 1568 by the death of archbishop Young. There was a long vacancy in the see, Grindal not being "confirmed" until the spring of 1570. The Puritan element in London was very strong, and the leanings of Grindal, loyal though he was to the church, in some measure very probably unfitted him in the eyes of Parker for the government of the see of the great and often unruly metropolis, which, from its position and nearness to the Continent, was the natural refuge of men of extreme religious opinions, who were not tolerated in their own land, and which reckoned among its regular inhabitants many turbulent spirits. The primate is reported to have said "that he liked well the removal of Grindal, for he reckoned him not resolute and severe enough for the government of London, since many of the ministers and people thereof, notwithstanding all his pains, still leaned to their former prejudices against all measures of reform." He was alluding here to the Puritan schismatics.

During his four to five years' tenure of the York archbishopric, Grindal's canons of discipline (1571) are interesting as indicative of his views, and also as throwing some light upon the state of the church at this juncture. Priests, in these canons, are forbidden to use any ceremonies or gestures not appointed by the Book of Common Prayer. There was an evident leaning on the part of many to the old mediæval ceremonies. The clergy were forbidden, in the administration of the Holy Communion, to put the consecrated bread into the people's mouths, but were directed to put it into their hands. The Holy Communion was to be received three times a year, in addition to Ash Wednesday. This "compulsory" reception shows us that the old mediæval practice of simply assisting at the "mass" was deeply rooted in the hearts of men and women. In the comparative fewness of communicants, when compared with the ordinary congregation, so often commented upon and deplored by all schools of thought in the Church of England of the present day, we still see the results of the mediæval teaching, which seemed to be content with the worshippers "assisting" at the solemn service and, save on special occasions, with "beholding" rather than communicating. His desire to do away with stone altars as they existed in many churches; his prohibition in the matter of wearing beads and praying upon them; his forbidding worshippers to make the sign of the cross when at any time they entered the church, are memorials of this famous Protestant divine's strong personal inclinations during his tenure of the arch-see of York.

His administration was generally popular in the northern counties of England, in spite of his well-known views. As an ardent encourager of learning he was justly celebrated. In the labours connected with the putting out of the "Bishops' Bible," already described, Grindal took a prominent part. The estimation in which

From photo by J. Dugdale & Co., Bath.

BATH ABBEY

he was held, probably by the majority of the English people, is curiously borne witness to by the great song-man of the age. In the glorious verse of Spenser we see a true picture of the life and thought of England in the last quarter of the sixteenth century; and Spenser has chosen archbishop Grindal, who at that time had fallen into disfavour with Elizabeth owing to his too pronounced Puritan sympathies, as his model of a Christian pastor.*

In the year 1575, when archbishop Parker, as we have related, passed away, the royal choice fell on Grindal as his successor, largely owing to the influence of the minister Cecil. His long experience, his quiet, gentle wisdom, his great learning and general popularity, no doubt pointed him out as a fitting primate; but it was especially his well-known strong Puritan bias which determined Cecil to press his appointment with the queen. The danger to the church and state from the plots and designs of the Romanist party was becoming more obvious every year; and it was felt by the wise and far-seeing statesman that the safety of the queen and her government, and the very existence of the Church of England, would best be consulted by assuring the strong support of the more thoughtful of the Puritan reformers. Among the prominent ecclesiastics Grindal appeared the prelate who was most likely to conciliate this party; while his well-known moderation would, it was supposed, prevent him from going too far in the paths of Puritan conciliation.

* See Excursus F for Spenser's interesting references to Grindal.

The great and dangerous post, however, had few charms for him, and it was only after considerable pressure that Grindal consented to accept the high office. The wisdom of the appointment was soon made manifest; for in spite of his decided leanings in the direction of Puritanism, the new archbishop speedily showed that he was resolutely determined to maintain the discipline of the church, and rigidly to uphold the order established by his predecessor Parker.

Directly after he had entered upon the duties of his great office, he determined upon a metropolitical visitation in his province of Canterbury, which included all the southern, eastern, and midland dioceses. The preliminary inquiries addressed to the suffragan-bishops of the province give us a fair idea of the regulations in force in the Church of England at this period, 1575–6. Questions were asked of the officiating ministers of all the churches and chapels, whether the "common prayer" was said or sung distinctly and reverently without any kind of alteration; whether on Wednesdays and Fridays, not being holy days, the Litany was duly used; whether in each church or chapel the Book of Common Prayer, with the new Calendar and a Psalter, was provided for the parish; and whether a copy of the English Bible in the largest volume, the two tomes of the Homilies, the Paraphrase of Erasmus translated into English, the table of the Ten Commandments, a convenient pulpit well placed, a comely and decent table for the Holy Communion, with a fair linen cloth to lay upon the same, and some covering of silk, buckram, or other such like, a fair and comely communion

cup of silver and a cover of silver for the same which might serve for the ministration of the communion bread, were all duly provided; likewise a decent large surplice with sleeves, a sure coffer with large lock and keys for the keeping of the register books, and a strong chest or box for the alms of the poor.

All these things were evidently deemed essential by Grindal, as belonging to the due observance of the services and ritual, etc., of the Church of England, and such formal inquiries preliminary to a general archiepiscopal visitation showed that the primate had no intention of making any undue concessions to the extreme party; while the following questions which were also put indicated the primate's intention to allow no "usages" which might be deemed superstitious even by moderate reformers, even though the "usages" belonged to a remote antiquity, to be practised in the church over which he ruled. So inquiries were also made whether the minister wore a cope, and whether he had recourse to gestures, rites, or ceremonies not appointed by the Book of Common Prayer, such as crossing or breathing over the sacramental bread and wine, or showing the same to the people to be worshipped or adored; whether in the ministration of the sacrament of baptism any oil and chrism, tapers, spittle, or any Popish ceremony were adopted.

Injunctions were issued, but it is doubtful if they were ever put in force; for the archbishopric was put, as we shall presently see, into sequestration before the visitation was completed. In the injunctions the churches and chapels, with the chancels thereof, were to be duly and sufficiently repaired; regulations were made with reference to the tolling and ringing the bells on Sundays and holy days. Monthly or quarterly sermons were to be preached, and in the absence of a sermon the Homilies were to be duly read. The clergy were required to conform to the Thirty-nine Articles agreed upon in the Convocation of 1562. On the other hand, the books introduced by the Romanists, and tending to the purposes of superstition, were to be utterly defaced, rent, and abolished.

Grindal also addressed an exhortation to the clergy of his province, urging them to press upon their parishioners the duty of resorting to their parish churches every Wednesday and Friday, and there in addition to the services of the day they were to hear a sermon or homily on fasting and repentance. It was suggested that on these days they were at least to spare one meal to be dedicated to the service of the poor. The practical and devout mind of the archbishop is especially shown in the advice he required to be given to the master of every household, not to omit to convene his family every night to make humble prayer to Almighty God that He would show mercy to those who had justly deserved His anger.

There is no doubt that, loyal as Grindal was to the general principles of the Church of England, his policy and friendliness to the Puritan section of the community, and his determination to stamp out certain mediæval customs which were loved by many, and still were practised in not a few churches, gave grave offence to the queen The strained relations which evidently existed between the archbishop and

Elizabeth were brought to a head in the curious controversy between the queen and primate in the matter of the "Prophesyings." It is difficult exactly to comprehend why these "Prophesyings" were so peculiarly hateful to Elizabeth. We hear of them first in the days of Parker. The name seems to have been given to meetings of the clergy, when Scripture was freely discussed, and difficult and disputed texts debated upon, and the opinions of

LETTER FROM GRINDAL TO THE LORDS OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Excusing himself for not suppressing "prophecyings," and stating that he "did not of my stubbernnes refuse to accomplishe the same, but because I thought it not safe for me . . . to be the doer of that whereof my owne harte and conscience would condemne me."—Signed. (*British Museum.*)

the Puritans were, by these means probably openly ventilated and pressed. Parker appears to have shared the queen's dislike to these "Prophesyings," and in his days they were formally forbidden, in spite of

the earnest remonstrances of some of his suffragans who were favourable to these open discussions of disputed theological questions. Under Grindal's rule they appear to have been revived in various places. The queen insisted that these clergy-meetings should be formally put a stop to. The archbishop remonstrated, suggesting that they should be permitted under strict rules and discipline ; but the queen was obstinate in her requirement that they should be absolutely forbidden. Grindal declined to comply with the royal command, and in consequence the archbishop was "sequestered" for five years, and was formally debarred from holding a Convocation. He seems, however, during this period to have continued to exercise most of his archiepiscopal functions—such as officiating at consecrations, etc. The whole question is somewhat confused, but it is clear that the queen was much opposed to Grindal's views and general policy.

The tangled knot of the relations between the sovereign and the primate was cut by the rapidly failing health and death of the archbishop. Illness enfeebled his powers, he lost his eyesight, and wished to resign. During the last days of his life, Whitgift, bishop of Worcester, acted generally as his deputy. Whitgift, of whom we must next speak, was ever a *persona grata* to the queen, who desired to appoint him at once archbishop in the room of Grindal ; but Whitgift refused to accept the arch-see so long as Grindal lived. The end, however, came soon, and the blind archbishop died in 1583, when Whitgift became his successor.

We have dwelt upon the works and days of the second of the Elizabethan archbishops with perhaps a little more detail than his quiet unobtrusive character, somewhat wanting in firmness and decision, at first sight would seem to call for. Grindal was not a great prelate or a far-seeing ecclesiastic ; he was simply a patient, earnest, scholarly man, who resolutely set himself to do what appeared to him his duty. From his early days he was thrown in the company of eminent men, who learned to value his industry, gentle piety, and unswerving rectitude of purpose. He is an admirable example of many noble souls who, from the days of Elizabeth down to our own times, have been firmly convinced that the Church of England was not only the best constituted church in the world, but was well fitted to mould and guide the religious life of his fellow-countrymen. Though a Puritan by early training and long and intimate associations, Grindal ever declined to allow the peculiar views which he loved, seriously to influence his public acts. His life and work was a noble example of subordination and loyalty to the Church of England ; being convinced, in spite of many minor points in her discipline and usages which he gravely misliked, that on the whole, to use the striking words of a great divine who lived a few years later than Grindal, "the grounds on which the established Church of England was based, were of so rare and excellent mixture . . . that there was no other church in Europe so likely to preserve peace and unity."*

* Dr. Hammond, 1605–1660.

CHAPTER LX.

ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT AND THE ANGLICAN DEVELOPMENT. RICHARD HOOKER.

Early Life of Whitgift—Independence of Foreign Influence—Enforcement of Uniformity—Views of the Extreme Puritans—Whitgift's Severe Measures against them—Guiding Principles of the English Ecclesiastical Reformers—Foreign Opinions on the Results of their Work—Temper of the English People—Influence of Whitgift's Policy on the Masses—And on the Puritans—Richard Hooker—His Controversy with the Presbyterians—Account of his "Ecclesiastical Polity"—Epoch-making Character of the Book—Sketch of Hooker's Life—Greatness of his Character and Work.

WHITGIFT, who succeeded Grindal in the primacy of the Church of England, was a man of a different calibre. To him the Puritan theories were utterly false. Equally loyal to the church as his predecessor, he was resolutely opposed to all concessions to a party which he felt would never be contented with simple toleration. The Puritans, in the eyes of Whitgift, aimed at changing the established church into something quite different. Their more extreme men even went so far as to advocate the abolition of episcopacy, and to urge the introduction in its place of the Presbyterian system. It was the church with the organisation of Calvin and Beza they longed to see substituted in England, in place of the church organised by Parker and Jewel.

John Whitgift was born about the year 1530. He belonged to a Yorkshire middle-class family. At Cambridge he was the pupil of John Bradford, who afterwards suffered martyrdom in the reign of queen Mary. His career was a distinguished one, and he early attracted the notice of Ridley, then master of Pembroke Hall, who afterwards appointed him one of his chaplains. During the Marian troubles he was protected from persecution by Dr. Pearne, master of Peter House; and on the accession of Elizabeth we find Whitgift, who was looked upon as one of the most promising of the younger Cambridge divines, chosen to fill the responsible office of lady Margaret's professor of divinity in his university. His promotion was now rapid.

Different from most of the prominent theologians who came into notice at the commencement of the Elizabethan era, Whitgift had never come under the influence of the great foreign reformers. During the Marian persecution, as we have seen, instead of living in exile at Strasburg, Zürich, or Geneva, he had resided quietly at Cambridge; and to this, no doubt, his utter want of all sympathy with the Puritan party may be largely attributed. As early as 1567 he was brought under the notice of the queen, who seems to have been singularly attracted by his great power as a preacher. By his sermons and conversation he so won her esteem that she determined to advance his fortunes. There is a curious story of a pun she made upon his name, calling him her White-gift. Through his court influence he was advanced to the mastership of Trinity college; and during his tenure of that office we twice hear of him as the

energetic vice-chancellor of the university. In 1573 he became dean of Lincoln, still holding his Cambridge offices. During his ten years of prominent university life he was distinguished as a most able and indefatigable controversialist and apologist of the Church of England. His treatises in answer to Cartwright the Puritan, who violently attacked the established church, have been already alluded to at some length. In 1576 he was advanced to the see of Worcester, making steady progress year by year in the queen's favour.

In Whitgift Elizabeth found a churchman after her own heart, and what was very rare in those days, a great English divine of the school of the new learning, who had never sat at the feet of any of the great foreign reformers. He, like Parker, believed in a duly consecrated episcopacy as a divine institution, and according to the judgment of antiquity,* considered episcopacy as essential to the being of a church. In common with the queen, he was bent on maintaining the perfect continuity of the Church of England, preserving carefully as many of the Catholic rites and usages as were consonant with the removal of merely superstitious practices. He was, besides, resolutely determined to enforce order and regularity as well as uniformity in the church, by gentle, persuasive means if possible; but when resistance was stubborn, by the introduction of harsher measures. His later administration in carrying out these views has been too justly branded with the charge of actual persecution.

It is undeniable that, owing largely to the circumstances already dwelt upon, the country was favourably disposed to Puritanism. A Puritan House of Commons rendered the rigid carrying out of this policy of repression difficult, if not positively dangerous. But in Whitgift the queen found a primate who thought much as she did on questions of church order; and so aided, the vast and undefined power of the great Tudor sovereign had its own way, and what has been termed the high Anglican system became under Whitgift and Elizabeth firmly established in England. How deeply she valued Whitgift is shown by her wish, when Sir Thomas Bromeley, the lord chancellor, died in 1587, to entrust the archbishop with the great seal. He declined the honour, being wise enough to see that the time was past when it was for the church's interest to unite the great lay and clerical offices in one person; but he induced the queen to make his friend and confidant, Sir Christopher Hatton, chancellor. Hatton's advancement, however, did much to strengthen the archbishop's hand. Whitgift preserved the queen's friendship to the last, and was with his great mistress when the end came.

Grindal, as we have seen, died in 1583. The queen, being thoroughly convinced that the conciliatory measures of that gentle, loyal primate towards the Puritan party in the church—a party daily growing stronger and more emphatic in their denunciations of what they deemed the retrograde policy of the Church of England

* "They (the members of the ancient Christian world) did not account it to be a church which was not subject to a bishop. . . . Ecclesia est in episcopo."—St. Cyprian iv., epistle ix. "The outward being of a church consisteth in the 'having of a bishop.'" (Hooker: "Ecc. Polity," book vii., chap. v., 3 and following sections.)

—were utterly insufficient for the preservation of the life of the church, at once appointed Whitgift to the vacant primacy. The new archbishop undertook the task of introducing a more rigid order and a sterner discipline into the church. He found many of the extreme reformers "taking orders and holding offices in the church, that they might use their position to subvert it." Whitgift was determined to put a stop to this, and ordered that all the clergy should subscribe to three articles, affirming the royal supremacy, the lawfulness of the Book of Common Prayer, and their assent to the Thirty-nine Articles. In pursuance of this policy, he issued articles of inquiry to the clergy, which they were requested to answer by virtue of their office.

JOHN WHITGIFT, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.
(*From an Engraving by George Virtue, 1717, from an unknown picture.*)

An outcry was immediately raised that the Inquisition was being introduced into England. Cecil (lord Burleigh) wrote to Whitgift that "this judicial and canonical sifting of poor ministers is not to edify or reform. In charity, I think they ought not to answer all these nice points, except they were very notorious offenders in papistry or heresy." Whitgift in reply defended his action, and added: "I know your lordship desireth the peace of the church, but it cannot be procured after so long liberty and lack of discipline if a few persons, so meanly qualified as most of them, are countenanced against the whole state of the clergy." In vain the House of Commons, which generally was on the Puritan side, protested; and even the queen's trusted ministers expressed their dread as to the results of what they deemed the archbishop's high-handed proceedings. Elizabeth steadily supported him. She would not permit even the strongly-expressed judgment of her faithful minister Cecil to interfere with the policy of an archbishop whose views on church government, and whose dislike to Puritan interference, so entirely coincided with her own feelings.

How dangerous were the designs of the more extreme of the Puritan party to the very existence of the church, appears from the opinions apparently generally held among them. Certain of their number were in 1587 brought before "the court of the high commissioner for causes ecclesiastical." It is not probable that the more moderate acknowledged the holding of such destructive views; but many at this time, and those, too, prominent members of the anti-church party, no doubt sympathised with these opinions, which more or less permeated all the Puritan faction. The following are among the more striking of these opinions: "That the Church of England was no church, or at the least no true church, because the worship of the English Church was flat idolatry; that the preachers had no lawful calling; that the government (of the church) was ungodly; that no bishop or preacher preached Christ sincerely and truly; that the people of every parish ought to choose their bishop; that every elder, though he be no doctor nor pastor, was a bishop; that set prayer was blasphemous; that the child of ungodly parents ought not to be baptised." *

Severe measures were resorted to in certain cases, and some of the more prominent of these Nonconformists were even executed. These acts of cruelty will ever be a blot on Whitgift's life. The times were, however, troubled, and heresy was too often construed into treason. Still, such extreme measures were deplorable. Many earnest and conscientious men fled the country, and took refuge in Holland, where gradually the body of *Independents* were formed, who came to the front later in the great civil war of the next century. Yet during the reign of Elizabeth the great mass of the Puritan Nonconformists, rigorously though they were treated, were devotedly loyal; the more thoughtful being well aware that "on the security of her person and the success of her administration was staked, humanly speaking, the fate of the realm and of all reformed churches. The Puritans, even in the depths of the prisons to which she consigned them, often prayed, and with no simulated fervour, that she might be kept from the dagger of the assassin, that rebellion might be put down under her feet, and that her arms might be victorious by sea and land. One of the most stubborn of the stubborn sect, immediately after his hand had been lopped off for an offence into which he had been hurried by his intemperate zeal, waved his hat with the hand which was left him, and shouted 'God save the queen.' The sentiment with which these men regarded her has descended to their posterity." * Their historian,† although bitterly blaming the cruelty with which she treated the people to whom he belonged, thus writes: "However, notwithstanding all these blemishes, queen Elizabeth stands upon record as a wise and politic princess, for delivering her kingdom from the difficulties in which it was involved at her accession, for preserving the Protestant reformation against the attempts of the Pope, the emperor, and the king of Spain abroad, and the Queen of Scots, and her

* See "Life of Archbishop Whitgift," by Sir George Paul, comptroller of Whitgift's household. Published 1612.

* Macaulay: "History of England," chap. i.

† Neal.

Popish subjects at home. . . . She was the glory of the age in which she lived, and will be the admiration of posterity."

Succeeding writers of different times and of various schools of thought have found bitter fault with one or other of those great ones, who were raised up in these days of stress and storm to reduce the confusion and perplexity into which religion among us had fallen, to order. Parker and Guest have been charged with over much leaning to mediævalism, with too great love for the rites and ceremonies of the church of the old learning; Jewel, Sandys, and Horne, with lingering love towards the destructive tendencies of the divines of Geneva, Strasburg, and Zürich; Grindal has been often accused of being a Puritan in heart, and of being too ready to use his great office for the purpose of undermining the catholicity of the English church. In Whitgift, on the other hand, some see a wish to stamp out the spirituality and earnestness, the splendid vigour and freshness, of the reformers; and in his harsh and inquisitorial methods of government discover a set purpose to reduce the established communion into a church subject to an iron rule of ecclesiastical despotism similar to that exercised by the Italian popes, with only the difference of the unbending orders issuing from Canterbury instead of Rome. Elizabeth the queen has been credited with being a Romanist at heart, loving too well all the old mediæval superstitions, and bent upon re-introducing into the church of her island empire the ancient superstitions and idolatries which disfigured the pre-Reformation religion, with the one exception of the old allegiance to Rome; while her minister Cecil stands out in the minds of other critics as a time-server and a heartless opportunist, as a statesman who all through the period of his long and unexampled influence, simply viewed religion as an instrument useful to his royal mistress, of whom—these think—he was the too faithful servant.

In all these various criticisms of the devoted and patriotic ministers and the group of divines around the great queen, who during her long reign succeeded in establishing order and discipline in the church, under much that is wilfully exaggerated there is, of course, a basis of truth. They were men, no doubt like other men, prone to error and mistakes, influenced in different ways by their past training and present surroundings; but who, as a whole, were distinguished for their unswerving loyalty to the church of which they were the devoted servants. They all with one accord were resolute in maintaining its continuity with the past. They were all, in their different ways of working, determined that the Church of England—the church of the future—should be no new church, but simply the pre-Reformation church purged of the old superstitions, and freed from the old and hateful domination of Rome.

In the church which they built up out of the ruins of the pre-Reformation, the Edwardian, and Marian churches, the English bishops, careful with an exceeding carefulness, preserved unbroken the *apostolical succession* so precious in the eyes of all true churchmen, so necessary to the very being and existence of a Catholic church. Unbroken was the

descent of every Elizabethan prelate from the pre-Reformation bishops; no flaw in the consecration of any Elizabethan prelate can be detected by the lynx-eyed criticism of friend or foe. The *ritual*, though simplified and purified, was the old ritual of the Catholic church. The *formularies of religion* were strictly based upon the most ancient and primitive Catholic models. The *prayers*, with very rare exceptions, were word for word translated from the "Sarum" and other uses used for centuries in all the stately English abbeys and humbler parish churches. The *faith* was the faith professed by Chrysostom and Augustine, by Bede and by Dunstan, even the very words of the ancient Catholic symbols being preserved.

In all these things, Parker, the first reconstructor of the English order; Jewel, the apologist; Sandys, Cox, Horne, and others, though trained at Strasburg and Zürich; Grindal, the Puritan; and Whitgift, the high Anglican, were absolutely one. And to this group of really great men, the reorganisers of the Church of England, every loyal and true son of our Anglican communion acknowledges a deep debt of gratitude, feeling at the same time an intense thankfulness to Him who is the church's Eternal Head, for His supreme mercy and love in raising up at such a time so noble, so true, so wise and scholarly a company as made up the Elizabethan divines, who lived and wrote and ruled in the last half of the sixteenth century.

We have an interesting and vivid picture of the impression which the order and reverence of the services of the Church of England made upon an Italian "intelligencer," a representative of the Papal court, who had come to England with a view of informing himself of the state of ecclesiastical matters under Elizabeth. His words to an English gentleman who accompanied him (Sir Edward Hobby) were as follows: "That they were led in great blindness at Rome by our own nation, who made the people there believe that there was not in England either archbishop or bishop or cathedral, or any church or ecclesiastical government, but that all was pulled down to the ground, and that the people heard their ministers in woods and fields, amongst trees and brute beasts; but for his own part, after he had witnessed the services in Canterbury cathedral on the occasion of a visit of archbishop Whitgift, where the dean, prebendaries, and preachers in their surplices and scarlet hoods were present, when he had heard the solemn music with the voices and organs, he was overtaken with admiration, and protested that (unless it were in the Pope's chapel) he never saw a more solemn sight, or heard a more heavenly sound." Sir Edward Hobby on this expressed a wish that, when he returned to Rome, "he would work miracles in making those that are led into this blindness to see and understand the truth." "It is," said the intelligencer, "the chief cause of my coming, to see with my own eyes and truly inform others." Whereupon Sir Edward Hobby accompanied him to London, and so to the court, where he saw and heard many things to confirm Sir Edward's report on the government of the church, and civil carriage of the people in their obedience to the

clergy and magistrates in the commonwealth.*

This picture referred to the Elizabethan church of about the year 1583–4. A few years later, in the year 1603, the year of the death of the great queen, we have another striking view of the aspect which the Church of England presented to another distinguished foreigner, the French ambassador, Rosny, afterwards known as the famous duc de Sully. "My lord of London (Dr. Bancroft, soon afterwards archbishop in succession to Whitgift) there seriously put his majesty (king James I.)

THE CHOIR, CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

* From the "Life of Archbishop Whitgift," by Sir George Paul, first published 1612.

in mind of the speeches which the French ambassador, Monsieur Rosny, gave out concerning our Church of England, both at Canterbury soon after his arrival, and after at the court, upon the view of our solemn service and ceremonies—namely, that if the reformed churches in France had kept the same orders amongst them which we have, he was assured that there would have been many thousands of Protestants more there than now there are." *

Some twenty-two years later we have yet another picture of the Church of England painted by a foreign hand, which gives us an equally glowing view of the order and reverence and impressive grandeur of the Anglican services. It comes from the report of a distinguished member of the suite of the marquis d'Effiat, ambassador of France, to James I. just before the marriage of prince Charles (afterwards Charles I.) with the princess Henrietta Maria. The witness in question was a French lay abbot. He thus describes his impressions to the lord keeper (archbishop Williams): "I have been long inquisitive what outward face of God's worship was retained in your Church of England, what decorums were kept in the external communion of your assemblies Therefore, waving polemical points of doctrine, I demanded after those things that lay open to the view and pertained to the exterior visage of the house of God." He had previously consulted, he remarked, with English Romanists on the subject, "such as had taken the habit of some sacred order." He went on to say: "But Jesu! how they have deceived me!" The French lay abbot in question had been attending service in Westminster abbey on Christmas Day. "What an idea of deformity, limned in their own brain, have they hung up before me! They told me of no composed office of prayer used in all these churches by authority, but of extemporaneous babblings. They traduced your pulpits as if they were not possessed by men that be ordained by imposition of hands, but that shopkeepers and the scum of the people usurp that place in course, one after another, as they presume themselves to be gifted. Above all, they turned their reproaches against your behaviour at the Sacrament, describing it as a prodigious monster of profaneness. . . . All this I perceive is infernally false. And though I deplore your schism from the Catholic church, yet I should bear false witness if I did not confess that your decency at that holy duty was very allowable, both in the consecrator and receiver. . . . I will lose my head," he went on to say, "if you and our Huguenots are of one religion." After much more of this curious impression of the services and solemn decorum, he closes with the striking words: "I think you are not far from heaven." *

The question suggests itself: Did the Anglican presentment of the reformed religion, as it appears under the administration of Whitgift (1583–1604), who fairly seems to have expressed the mind of Elizabeth, commend itself to the majority

* Quoted by Dr. Wordsworth: "Ecclesiastical Biographies," from Barlow's "Sum of the Hampton Court Conference."

* Hacket's "Life of Archbishop Williams," 1693, quoted by Dr. Wordsworth: "Ecclesiastical Biography," vol. iii., pp. 610–613, notes.

of Englishmen? On the whole, we should answer in the affirmative. In spite of Nonconformist opposition and Romanist intrigues without, and differences of opinion within the church, there is no doubt that the Church of England established under Elizabeth, under the wakeful care of the catholic-minded Parker and his able and earnest co-adjutors — Jewel, Cox, Guest, Sandys, Horne, Grindal, Whitgift, and others— now aided, now restrained or guided by the queen herself and her great minister Cecil, made a firm and enduring lodgment in the hearts of the people. Various computations have been made as to the relative number of adherents of Romanism and Protestantism at this time. Mr. Hallam, whose high rank among our historians gives vast weight to his opinion, considers that the Catholics (Roman Catholics) were one-third, and the Protestants two-thirds of the nation. Macaulay, declining "to number the people," believes that "each side had a few enterprising champions and a few stout-hearted martyrs, but the nation, undetermined in its opinions and convictions, resigned itself implicitly to the guidance of the government, and lent the sovereign of the day for the time being, an equally ready aid against either of the extreme parties. We are very far from saying," went on our popular historian, "that the English of that generation were irreligious. They held firmly those doctrines which are common to the Catholic and Protestant theology."*

Much of what was introduced by the more thoughtful advocates of the new learning was widely and generally popular—such as the rendering of the prayers in English, the communion in both kinds, above all and before all the open English Bible, which all might read, ponder over, pray over. But the people at large had "no fixed opinions as to the matters in dispute between the churches. They were sometimes Protestants, sometimes Catholics; sometimes half-Protestants, half-Catholics. . . . These mixed feelings were not confined to the populace, Elizabeth herself was by no means exempt from them."* The ancient mediæval ceremonies and usages were long remembered by queen and people alike with affectionate reverence. In the royal chapel, we know, stood a crucifix with wax lights burning round it.

The great dramatists, who may be said fairly to reflect popular feeling, writing in the latter years of Elizabeth's reign, tell us, with no uncertain voice, that religion was deeply rooted in the hearts of Englishmen, in spite of their want of ardent zeal either for Protestantism or Roman Catholicism; a state of mind largely owing to their admiration for much in the teaching of the new learning being mingled with a deep lingering attachment to rites and usages, and even doctrines, so long associated with all English religious life. In the works of these dramatists we find religion ever treated with tender respect. The fundamental doctrines of Christianity are handled reverently. The dramatists who adorned the last years of the Elizabethan era, while evidently generally possessed in a high degree with reverence for religion, spoke scarcely like Protestants

* Macaulay: Essays—"Burleigh and His Times."

* *Ibid.*

or Romanists. They seemed to hover between the two. "Almost every member of a religious order whom they introduced is a holy and venerable man. They treat the vow of celibacy — in later times so common a subject for ribaldry — with mysterious reverence. . . . Massinger shows a great fondness for ecclesiastics of the Roman church . . . Shakespeare's partiality for friars is well known. In *Hamlet*, the Ghost complains that he died without extreme unction, and, in defiance of the article which condemns the doctrine of Purgatory, declares that he is

> "Confined to fast in fires,
> Till the foul crimes, done in his days of Nature,
> Are burnt and purged away."

Yet the author of *King John* and *Henry VIII.* was surely no friend to Papal supremacy." *

On such malleable natures the influence of the high Anglican policy of archbishop Whitgift, whose power in the church and state extended over the long period of some twenty years, was necessarily very great. It moulded the Church of England into the form generally aimed at by Parker, and on the whole preferred by Elizabeth, rallying to its ranks of moderates many of those who still loved—often, perhaps, with an unreasoning love—the old ways and rites. On the other hand, the high Anglican policy of Whitgift and his school no doubt alienated many of the really devout and earnest among the Puritan party; and the stern and persecuting measures unhappily adopted later in the reign, in 1592–1593, widened the breach that was gradually forming between the established church and the extreme Puritans. These men asked themselves—should they, after having freed themselves from the yoke of Rome, quietly submit to what they regarded as a new spiritual tyranny? Thus grew up in the latter half of Elizabeth's reign, during the primacy of her favourite prelate, Whitgift, that Puritan party which developed during the reigns of the great queen's successors—James I. and Charles I.—into the Presbyterian and Independent division of the great Puritan faction, which eventually declared war with the crown and church; and which for a season was victorious, and for some years, as we shall presently see, destroyed both the crown and church. The Puritan victory, however, was but a transient one. The disappearance of church and crown was only seeming. In the heart of the people the church, with all its faults and shortcomings, had made a firm lodgment; and the victory of the church in 1660 was also the victory of the crown. But although 1660 saw the restoration of the monarchy and the downfall of the Puritan and Presbyterian supremacy, the unhappy breach between Anglicanism and Puritanism remains unbridged over, and Protestant England has ever since been split into two opposing camps.

It has been suggested that had Elizabeth and Whitgift pursued a different policy—a policy of complete toleration—the result would have been very different. This is, however, more than doubtful. The views of Elizabeth in the matter of church government and of church order,

* Macaulay: Essays — "Burleigh and His Times." On the other hand, the strong bias of the poet Spenser for Puritanism has been already noticed.

CHRISTMAS DAY SERVICE IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY, IN THE TIME OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

which were mainly the views of Parker, Whitgift, and their coadjutors, and even of such prelates as Jewel and Grindal, were too widely divergent from the opinions held on momentous questions by the more earnest of the extreme reformers—held still, alas! by their lineal descendants, the present Nonconformist bodies—to admit of reconciliation. But while the wiser and more thoughtful among Anglicans and Nonconformists feel alike that union on the grave points of difference is impossible, they are at the same time conscious that other articles bearing upon fundamental religion, which both hold in common, are so many and so deeply important, that the two great parties which make up religious England may fairly hope ever to work together as brothers, ever to fight shoulder to shoulder as fellow-soldiers, though ranged under different flags, in the great crusade which is being ever warred against the sleepless enemies of the Cross.

The later years of Elizabeth witnessed the putting forth of the famous defence and systematic exposition of the position of the Church of England by Richard Hooker, in his "Ecclesiastical Polity." The work was published virtually under the immediate sanction of archbishop Whitgift, and has ever since held a unique, almost a semi-authoritative place among the writings of the chief divines of the Anglican communion. Some details of this remarkable work, which embodied then—and largely embodies still—the chief principles which fixed the position of the Church of England, will be interesting and useful. Hooker's book, it must be remembered, after the English Bible and the English Prayer-Book, was almost the first great work in English prose. Written in language of rare dignity and massive eloquence, to which was added profound learning, the importance of Hooker's work in the ecclesiastical history of England can, as it has been well phrased, hardly be overstated.

The immediate occasion of the composition of the famous "Ecclesiastical Polity" was the fierce controversy which arose between Hooker, the master of the Temple, and Mr. Travers, the afternoon lecturer or preacher at the Temple, who had been, it may be observed, disappointed in his hopes of succeeding to the mastership when Hooker, mainly through the powerful influence of archbishop Whitgift, was appointed to that important preachership. Travers, after Cartwright, of whose violent speaking and writing at Cambridge and in London we have already spoken, was perhaps the most distinguished Puritan leader of the day. The claims of the Puritan party, resisted by Whitgift the primate, and by Hooker in his famous work, have been well summarised thus: "For the church modelled after the fashion of Geneva the Puritan leaders claimed an authority which surpassed the wildest dreams of the masters of the Vatican. All spiritual authority and jurisdiction, the decreeing of doctrine, the ordering of ceremonies, lay wholly in the hands of the ministers of the church. To them belonged the supervision of public morals. In an ordered arrangement of classes and synods these presbyters were to govern their flocks, to regulate their own orders, to decide in matters of faith, to administer

discipline. Their weapon was excommunication, and they were responsible for its use to none but Christ. The province of the civil ruler was simply to carry out the decisions of the presbyters, 'to see their decrees executed, and to punish the contemners of them.' The spirit of Calvinistic Presbyterianism excluded all toleration of practice or belief. Not only was the rule of ministers to be established as the one legal form of church government, but all other forms, episcopalian and separatist, were to be ruthlessly put down. For heresy there was the punishment of death. Never had the doctrine of persecution been urged with such a blind and reckless ferocity. 'I deny,' wrote Cartwright, 'that upon repentance there ought to follow any pardon of death. . . . Heretics ought to be put to death now. If this be bloody and extreme, I am content to be so counted with the Holy Ghost.'" *

Against these adversaries, who counted in the number of their immediate adherents and sympathisers a powerful minority of the English people, including not a few of the great, the cultured, and the powerful, arose, in the words of Hallam, a defender of the English Church, "who mingled in those vulgar controversies† like a knight of romance amongst caitiff brawlers, with arms of finer temper, and worthy to be proved in a nobler field." We allude to the famous Richard Hooker, somewhiles master of the Temple, a profound scholar, and one of the greatest divines and thinkers who have adorned the Church of England, the author of "The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity." "This eminent work," went on our great historian to say, "may justly be reckoned to mark an era in our literature. . . . It is, indeed, not a little remarkable that England, until near the end of the sixteenth century, had given few proofs in literature of that intellectual power which was about to develop itself in Shakespeare and Bacon. We cannot, indeed, place Hooker (but whom dare we place?) by the side of these master-spirits; yet he has abundant claims to be counted among the luminaries of English literature. He not only opened the mine, but explored the depths of our native eloquence. So stately and graceful is the march of his periods, so various the fall of his musical cadences upon the ear, so rich in images, so condensed in sentences, so grave and noble his diction, so little is there of vulgarity in his racy idiom, of pedantry in his learned phrase, that I know not whether any later writer has more admirably displayed the capacities of our language, or produced passages more worthy of comparison with the splendid monuments of antiquity." *

The treatise on the "Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity" has been well described as "the first great systematic development of Anglican theology, in which can be traced the ideal embodied in the Elizabethan settlement," and as "an apology for a partial and, to a great extent, accidental settlement of the difficult questions raised by the reformation. In it he appears to

* Green, iii., chap. viii., sect. i.

† Dean Church (Introduction to Book I. of the "Ecclesiastical Polity"), quoting this fine passage, justly charges Mr. Hallam with a harsh and unphilosophical judgment in the use of such terms, in the matter of the great religious controversy of the time.

* Hallam: "Constitutional History," i., 214.

write from a point of view to which the religious compromises of Elizabeth's reign wore the aspect of an absolute and unimprovable ideal. . . . He brought out the nobler features of the system he defended, exaggerated and false theory of the purpose and function of scripture as the exclusive guide of human conduct—he opposed his own more comprehensive theory of a rule derived not from one alone, but from all

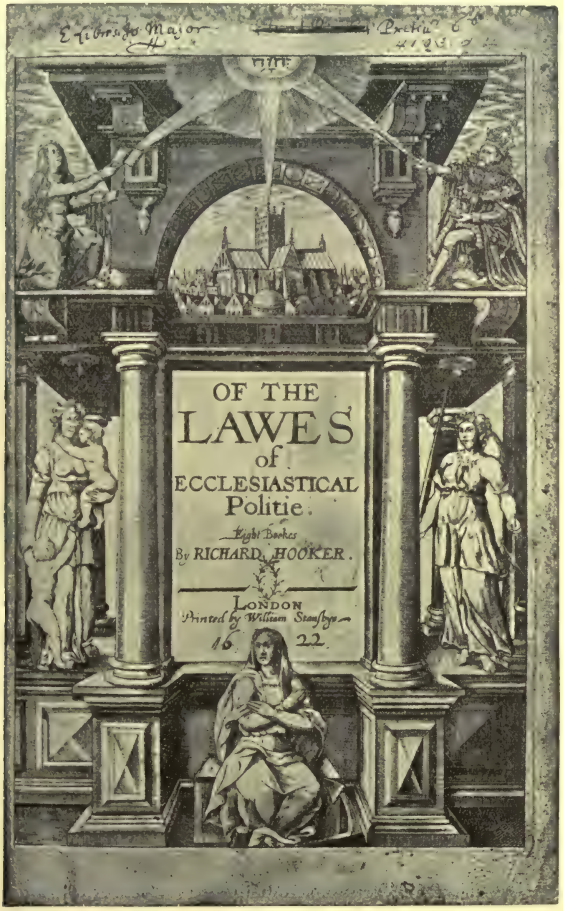
RICHARD HOOKER.
(From a rare print by Hollar.)

its fitness to be the church of a great nation, its adaptation to human nature and society, the reasonableness of its customs, the largeness of aim, and the freedom and elevation of spirit in its principles and working, compared with what claimed to take its place. . . . . To what he considered the fundamental mistake of the Puritans—an the sources of light and truth with which man finds himself encompassed." *

The work is divided into eight books. The first five appeared in print in the author's lifetime, the fifth being published in 1597, three years before his death,

* Dean Church: Introduction to Book I., "Laws of Ecc. Polity."

which happened in 1600. A considerable part of the sixth book has virtually perished, and grave suspicions exist that it was wilfully destroyed. The remaining



TITLE-PAGE OF "THE LAWS OF ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY." (1622 EDITION.) (*British Museum.*)

fragments of the sixth, and the seventh and eighth books—the two latter imperfect, but still in substantial preservation—remain. They were not, however, published till about fifty years after Hooker's death.

"No reader of Hooker," said a profound student of the Elizabethan masterpiece, "will forget the magnificent comprehensiveness of his treatment in the first book of the Polity, of the subject of the first three books, 'On the Nature of Law in general.' In the third division of this first book, the writer dwells on the law supernatural, of which the record and exponent is scripture, and explains the true domain and purpose of this law of scripture. So it is that he lays the foundation; with his foot firmly planted thereon, it is not

hard for him to strike in the next two books (the second and third) decisive blows against the two fundamental positions of his antagonists: the maxim that for the individual Christian life, 'scripture is the only rule of all things which in this life may be done of men;' and the maxim that for the corporate life of the church, 'there must be in scripture a form of church polity the laws of which may not be altered.' On each of these Puritan maxims he argued separately, examining the supposed claims of holy scripture for itself." The second and third books are, however, now comparatively little read. Bishop Barry, from whose essay we quote, considers it a fatal error to dwell upon any part of Hooker's massive work without study of the deep foundation laid in the first book, "more valuable he considers in itself, more important in its effects on subsequent English theology, certainly fuller of living instruction to us, than any part of the more apologetic and polemic superstructure which he has raised upon it."

In the fourth and fifth books are contained the defence of the worship and ritual of the Church of England. The fourth book deals with the charges brought by the Puritan party against our worship and ritual, of a want of apostolical simplicity, of too great likeness to the Church of Rome, of unlikeness to the system of Protestant churches abroad, of a derivation from the Judaic ceremonial of the Old Testament, of the retention of that which had been hopelessly corrupted by idolatry.* The fifth book, the most widely studied of all—the treatise almost universally put into the hands of all students of Anglican theology—examines the principle of a liturgy, then the various parts and accessories of our prayer-book worship, the doctrine of the sacraments and their forms of ministration, the details of our occasional services, the principles of fasts and festivals, the three orders, and even the accidents of our ministry and parochial system. "From time immemorial it has been studied as the best commentary on our prayer-book."* The famous passage on the great sacrament of the Eucharist, a passage of "earnest and impressive eloquence," which closes chap. lxvii., sect. 12, urging that "among all who hold not that base Zwinglian theory, which our church expressly repudiates, there are these great fundamental points of agreement, that it is a real participation of Christ, that it is a real means of grace of the Holy Ghost . . . . and that all this being accepted, we should inquire and dispute no further," has been already in part quoted in this work.

Of the three remaining books, much of the sixth, we have already stated, has been lost. What we possess is but a fragment, and this fragment is directed in its argument "rather against Rome than against Geneva," dealing with confession and absolution. The seventh and eighth books, only published long years after Hooker had passed away, and taken from Hooker's rough drafts, lack the corrections of the author.

The seventh contains the argument for episcopacy and the question of apostolical succession. It lays down the principle that, there being no formal rule

* See Bishop Barry: "Essay on Hooker," in the "Masters in English Theology."

* *Ibid.*

of church polity enunciated in Holy Scripture, the form of government lay in the power of the church itself to determine; that *from the beginning, even from apostolic times, that form has been episcopal—a thousand five hundred years and upward* [Hooker wrote before A.D. 1600] *the church of Christ hath now continued under the sacred regiment of bishops.* Thus, even taking the lower view of universal church custom, it is rash and presumptuous to overthrow it; but taking the generally received persuasion, held from the first beginning, that the apostles themselves left bishops invested with power, *it may be boldly and peremptorily concluded that, if anything in the church's government, surely the first constitution of bishops was from heaven, was even of God; the holy Ghost was the author of it.*

Very gently, but still very firmly, the great Anglican theologian thus sorrowfully speaks of other reformed churches, less happily circumstanced: "Although I see that certain reformed churches, the Scottish especially, and French, have not that which best agreeth with the sacred Scriptures; I mean the government that is by bishops, inasmuch that both these churches are fallen under a different kind of regiment, which to remedy, it is for the one altogether too late, and too soon for the other during their present affliction and trouble; this their defect and imperfection I had rather lament in such case than exagitate, considering that men oftentimes, without any fault of their own, may be driven to want that kind of polity or regiment which is best, and to content themselves with this, which either the irremediable error of former times, or the necessity of the present, hath cast upon them."

The eighth and last book handles the principle of the royal supremacy, as maintained in the Church of England. This is not "Erastian," in the modern sense of the word. It simply asserts that all laws connected with the church were to be passed by the whole body, by the clergy in convocation, by the laity in Parliament, with the assent of the crown. The supreme authority to enforce these laws belonged to the crown, supreme in all causes ecclesiastical as well as civil.

Such was this monumental work, which, as we have stated, was the first great systematic development of Anglican theology, published under the immediate sanction of archbishop Whitgift, the favourite prelate and confidential friend of queen Elizabeth, at the close of the sixteenth century. The fifth, the largest and most important of the books, printed first in 1597, was expressly dedicated to Whitgift in a long and elaborate dedication of several pages. So important did Whitgift deem the work of Hooker, that his biographer, the well-known Isaac Walton,* tells us how the archbishop, about a month after Hooker's death (1600), sent one of his chaplains "to inquire of Mrs. Hooker for the three remaining books of Polity (VI., VII., VIII.) writ by her husband, of which she would not, or could not, give any account, and that about three months after this time, the bishop (archbishop) procured her to be sent for to London, and there by his procurement she was to be examined by some of

* In appendix to "Life of Mr. Richard Hooker."

her majesty's council concerning the disposal of these books." So important were these writings also considered by the queen's privy council.

As regards the general estimation in which the great work of Hooker was held, Isaac Walton tells us how both the reformed, and the learned of the Romish Church esteemed them, and repeats a curious story, that cardinal Allen, or the learned Dr. Stapleton, brought the book under the notice of Pope Clement VIII. The first book was read to the Pope, Isaac Walton goes on to say, in Latin, at the conclusion of which the Pope spoke to this purpose: "There is no learning that this man hath not searcht into, nothing too hard for his understanding; this man indeed deserves the name of an author; his books will get reverence by age, for there is in them the seeds of eternity, that if the rest be like this, they shall last till the last fire shall consume all learning."

In the same charming biography (Isaac Walton's) of the great scholar, which has become a classic among us, we read how at the first coming of king James (1603) into this kingdom, he inquired of the archbishop Whitgift for his friend Mr. Hooker, that writ the books of Church Polity; to which the answer was, that he died a year before queen Elizabeth [it was more than a year], who received the sad news of his death with very much sorrow; to which the king replied: "And I receive it with no less, that I shall want the desired happiness of seeing and discoursing with the man from whose books I have received such satisfaction; indeed, my lord, I have received more satisfaction in reading a leaf or paragraph in Mr. Hooker, though it were but about the fashion of churches, of church musick, or the like, but especially of the sacraments, than I have had in the reading particular large treatises written but of one of those subjects by others, though very learned men; . . . and though many others write well, yet in the next age they will be forgotten; but doubtless there is in every page of Mr. Hooker's book the picture of a divine soul, such pictures of truth and reason, and drawn in so sacred colours, that they shall never fade, but give an immortal memory to the author." And, went on Walton to say, "it was so truly true that the king thought what he spoke, that as the most learned of the nation have, and still do mention Mr. Hooker with reverence, so he also did never mention him but with the epithet of 'learned,' or 'judicious,' or 'reverend,' or 'venerable;' nor did his son, our late king Charles the First, ever mention him without the same reverence, enjoining his son, our now gracious king [Walton wrote in the time of Charles II.] to be studious in Mr. Hooker's books." Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Charles I., says in her relation at the end of "Icon Basiliké:" "He (my father) bid me read bishop Andrewe's sermons, Hooker's 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' and bishop Laud's book against Fisher, which would ground me against Popery."

The prophetic words of king James respecting the fadeless colours of Hooker's pictures of truth and reason, and the immortal memory of the author of the "Ecclesiastical Polity," have, so far as the four centuries which have elapsed since the master theologian fell asleep can bear witness, been fulfilled. "Fadeless colours"

for his pictures of truth and reason, and an "immortal memory," are strong expressions ; but as yet the wide popularity, to use no stronger a term, of Hooker's noble work among those thoughtful religious men who have ever been the strength of the great Anglican communion, shows no sign of waning. It is not too much to say that the writer of the books of the "Ecclesiastical Polity," in the case of the large majority of English churchmen, has touched their hearts as well as their understandings.

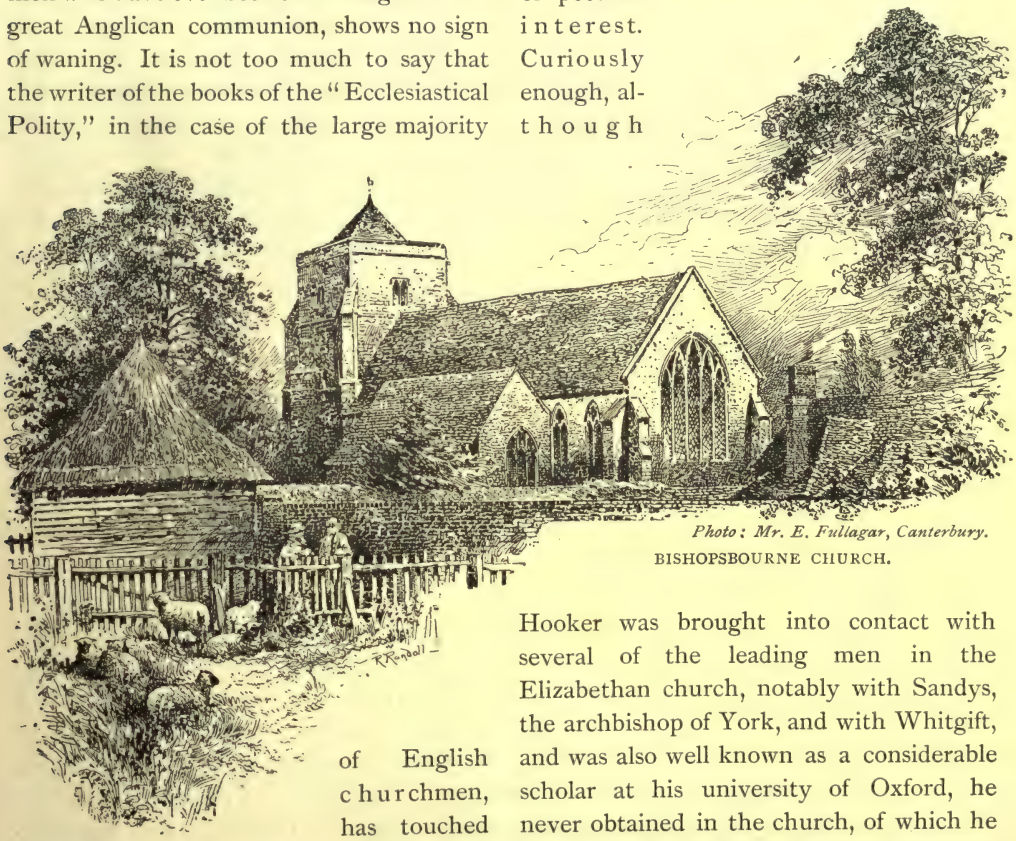


Photo: Mr. E. Fullagar, Canterbury.
BISHOPSBOURNE CHURCH.

The life-story of the greatest theologian of the Anglican communion, so rich in divines and scholarly writers, is an uneventful one, but it has been told by a real artist. Isaac Walton, in his simple biography, has invested the commonplace everyday life of Hooker and its homely troubles with a strange charm and pathetic beauty. To the student of the history of the Church of England, the circumstances which led to the composition of perhaps its most important theological work, is of peculiar interest. Curiously enough, although Hooker was brought into contact with several of the leading men in the Elizabethan church, notably with Sandys, the archbishop of York, and with Whitgift, and was also well known as a considerable scholar at his university of Oxford, he never obtained in the church, of which he became the most distinguished ornament, any preferment of high dignity, save perhaps the mastership of the Temple, which, after holding for some five or six years, he resigned, as incompatible with the prosecution of his studies. And yet, probably, after four centuries, his name is generally better known among us than that of any other of the famous Elizabethan divines, not even excepting the great archbishops

Parker and Whitgift, and the distinguished author of the "Apology," Jewel, sometime bishop of Salisbury.

Hooker's early connection with Jewel has been already noticed. It was to the kindness of Jewel that the humbly born Richard Hooker was indebted for his early education at Oxford, where he became a fellow of his college, Corpus Christi. He was distinguished especially as a Hebraist, and at Oxford some of the famous scholar's happiest days were spent in what he afterwards regretfully called "the freedom of my cell—which was my college." His first public appearance in London was in preaching at Paul's Cross. With some humour, mingled with pathos, Isaac Walton tells the story of the scholar's marriage with his landlady's daughter: "On his journey to London for the Paul's Cross sermon, Hooker contracted a severe cold. Nursed by his hostess, the wife of a draper in Watling Street, back into health, a feeling of gratitude induced the scholar to listen to her persuasion to take a wife that might prove a nurse to him, such an one as might both prolong his life and make it more comfortable." This wife was found in the person of her daughter Joan, "who brought him neither beauty nor portion . . . but the good man had no reason to rejoice in the wife of his youth, but had too just cause to say, 'Wo is me that I am constrained to have my habitation in the tents of Kedar.' This Joan seems to have been a commonplace, somewhat vulgar woman, utterly unsuited to the temper and disposition of the devoted student." By this unlucky marriage, his biographer tells us, "the good man was drawn from the tranquillity of his college, from that garden of piety, of pleasure, of peace and a sweet conversation, into the thorny wilderness of a busy world, into those corroding cares that attend a married priest and a country parsonage, which was Drayton Beauchamp in Buckingham."

An amusing and graphic picture is given us of the great scholar in his new home, with its uncongenial surroundings, on the occasion of a visit of two favourite pupils, one of whom was Edwin Sandys, a son of the archbishop of York. Sandys and his friend Cranmer* found their tutor with a volume of Horace in his hand, "tending his small allotment of sheep in a common field, which he told his pupils he was forced to do there." Subsequently they went with him to his parsonage, but were not left long in the enjoyment of his company, for presently "Richard was called by his wife to rock the cradle." The rest of their welcome, goes on the simple recital, was so like this, that they stayed but till the next morning, which was time enough to discover and pity their tutor's condition. Sandys, we read, at once proceeded to acquaint his father the archbishop with his tutor's sad condition, and to beg him to remove him to some benefice that might give him a more quiet and comfortable subsistence. Through the archbishop's influence, who represented to the benchers of the Temple that Hooker was a pattern of virtue and learning, he was appointed to the mastership of the Temple.

This was the turning-point of Hooker's career. The afternoon preacher of the society was, as we have already noticed,

* This Cranmer was a grandson of the martyred archbishop's brother.

the eminent Puritan leader, Travers. With this Travers Hooker was soon involved in public controversy; and, as Fuller wittily expresses it, "the forenoon sermons at the Temple spoke pure Canterbury, and the afternoon Geneva." We have already dwelt upon the great Puritan contention, which aimed at fundamental changes in the church government of England. This controversy now became the business of Hooker's life. His great work, "The Ecclesiastical Polity," grew out of the theological disputes of which the Temple was the scene in 1585–6, Hooker, of course, being the champion of the Church of England. The sharp and bitter controversy led the great theologian to ponder over the grave divergences of opinion which unhappily divided the Puritan from the Anglican; and he laid the foundations at that time of his exhaustive treatise on Ecclesiastical Polity, which subsequently rendered his name so famous among English divines. Finding the stir and bustle of the city incompatible with such studies, he asked the archbishop to give him a post in the country where, as he said, "I might behold God's blessing spring out of my mother earth, and eat my own bread without opposition." Whitgift listened to his prayer, and he was removed to the living of Boscombe, near Salisbury. In this retirement he composed the first four books of his master-work, which were published in 1593–4. Through Whitgift's influence, he was removed in 1595 to the more lucrative preferment of Bishopsbourne, near Canterbury, where he completed and published in 1597 the most important section of his treatise, the fifth book.

It was only in the closing years of the life of the great student that men began to recognise that a thinker and writer of no common order had arisen amongst them. The parsonage of Bishopsbourne, where Hooker spent his last few years, is about three miles distant from Canterbury, near the Dover road, "in which parsonage Mr. Hooker had not been twelve months, but his books and the innocency of his life became so remarkable, that many turned out of the road, and others (scholars especially) went purposely to see the man whose life and learning were so much admired." "What went they out for to see," quaintly asks his biographer, Walton, fully conscious of the unimposing presence of his hero—"a man clothed in purple and fine linen?" And describing the disappointment of many curious visitors on meeting with the object of their pilgrimage, he thus paints the celebrated Richard Hooker, "as an obscure, harmless man, in poor clothes, his loins usually girt in a coarse gown or canonical coat; of a mean stature and stooping, and yet more lowly in the thoughts of his soul; his body worn out, not with age, but study and holy mortifications." *

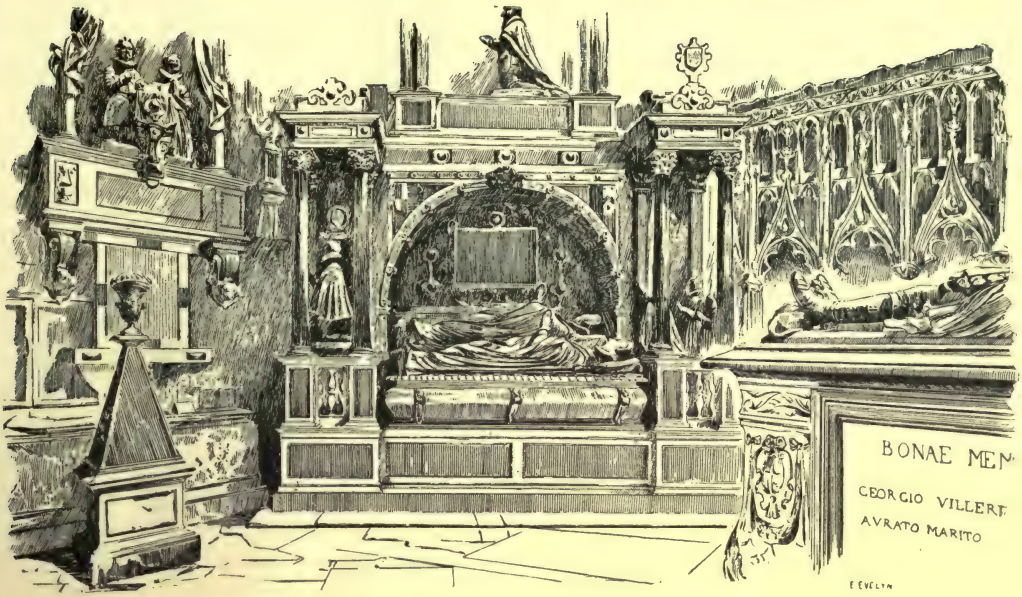
Some indignant surprise is not unnaturally felt that so little recognition was given to this eminent man by the leaders of the church and state in his lifetime; that one who deservedly is ranked among the two or three of the most conspicuous ornaments of the great reign of Elizabeth, was allowed to pass away in the comparative seclusion of a little country parsonage. But it seems that although Hooker had been well known for years to

* Isaac Walton: "Life of Hooker."

Burleigh, Sandys, Whitgift, and others, he had been only regarded as an accurate scholar and an able controversialist by these distinguished men; the real greatness of the man and the surpassing grandeur of his writings was only acknowledged too late for human recognition or gratitude. The noblest and most enduring section of the master-work—the fifth book—only saw the light in 1597; and before the year 1600 had run its course, Hooker had passed away to another and grander scene. In the biography from which we are quoting, written some sixty years or more after his death—a little writing which has charmed so many readers among our people, to whom the massive theology and the stately diction of Hooker, in his lucid and scholarly presentment of their church, is perhaps but the shadow of a mighty name—Isaac Walton is never tired of dwelling upon the humility and meekness and the devoted piety of Hooker.

Singularly beautiful is his account of the great scholar's deathbed, and of his colloquies in the last solemn hours with his dear friend, Dr. Saravia, a learned Canterbury prebendary. One of these dying utterances deserves to be quoted, even in the comparatively brief and arid annals of a history, as it gives some index to the mind of the man to whom the law and order of the Church of England, based, as he had so exhaustively shown in his writings, upon the records and traditions of an immemorial antiquity, appeared so beautiful and divine, so worthy of the English nation who had adopted it as their form of Christianity. It was the day before Hooker's death, and his friend, as he looked on him, noticed the dying man was "deep in contemplation, and not inclinable to discourse" Saravia asked him what was the nature of his present thoughts. The scholar at once replied: "That he was meditating the number and nature of angels, and their blessed obedience and order, without which peace could not be in heaven; and oh that it might be so on earth!" His last words gently expressed his wish to have lived a little longer, that he might have done the church more service; but he was sensible that he could not hope it, for his days were past.

Walton closes his story with the words: "Now he seems to rest like Lazarus in Abraham's bosom; let me here draw his curtain, till with the most glorious company of the patriarchs and apostles, the most noble army of martyrs and confessors, this most learned, most humble, holy man shall also awake to receive an eternal tranquillity, and with it a greater degree of glory than common Christians shall be made partakers of."



THE BURLEIGH MONUMENTS IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

CHAPTER LXI.

CLOSE OF ELIZABETH'S REIGN. THE REFORMED CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

Splendour of the Elizabethan Era—Loneliness of the Queen's Last Years—Closing Days and Death—Her Work and Character—Last Years of Whitgift—The Lambeth Articles—Lancelot Andrewes—His Controversy with Rome—The New Need for such an Apologist—Rise of the Jesuits—Character of Andrewes—Sketch of the Reformed Church of England at Elizabeth's Death—Sketch of the Puritan Party—Growing Bitterness of the Puritans against the Church—Reasons for this Bitterness—Its Permanent Results—Estimate by the Earlier Anglicans of the Reformation Divines and their Work.

WITH the last years of the sixteenth century, the curtain was about to fall on the brilliant reign in which so much had happened for England—the reign which had witnessed so many and such great changes, and had seen the marvellous development of English power and greatness at home and abroad. In all these changes and developments queen Elizabeth, during her long and, on the whole, prosperous reign, had borne the principal part. She had been rarely favoured throughout its long-drawn-out course with the help of a most illustrious company of assistants in every department of church and state, generally splendidly loyal, and singularly devoted to their royal mistress. No sovereign that had ever sat on the throne of England could boast of such a group of far-seeing faithful statesmen as Cecil and Bacon, Walsingham and Hunsdon; such a

company of soldiers and sailors, among whom the names of Philip Sidney, Drake, Howard of Effingham, will be for ever especially illustrious. Yet more famous in English story are the names of the chiefs of literature, who won for our country the first rank in the world of letters—Lyly and Sidney, Spenser, Ben Jonson, Shakespeare, and Bacon; while in the department with which we are more especially concerned in our history of the Church of England, a singularly wise, learned, and statesmanlike group of ecclesiastics surrounded the queen all through her eventful career—men like Parker and Jewel, Guest, Sandys and Cox, Grindal and Whitgift, and—last in rank but first in fame and in enduring influence — the judicious Hooker. But the end was come at last.

It was the melancholy destiny of the splendid queen that she outlived all her friends and faithful advisers, with perhaps the solitary exception of her favourite church counsellor and archbishop, Whitgift, who, however, only survived his royal mistress for one short year. "The great men who had upheld her throne in the days of peril, dropped one by one into the grave. Walsingham died soon after the defeat of the Armada; Hunsdon, Knollys, Burleigh (Cecil), Drake, followed at brief intervals, and their mistress was left by herself, standing, as it seemed, on the pinnacle of earthly glory, yet in all the loneliness of greatness, and unable to enjoy the honours which Burleigh's policy had won for her. The first place among the Protestant powers, which had been so often offered her and so often refused, had been forced upon her—'she was the head of the name,' but it gave her no pleasure. She was the last of her race: no Tudor would sit again on the English throne. Her own sad prophecy was fulfilled, and she lived to see those whom she most trusted turning their eyes to the rising sun. Old age was coming upon her, bringing with it perhaps a consciousness of failing faculties; and solitary in the midst of splendour, and friendless among the circle of adorers who swore they lived but in her presence, she grew weary of a life which had ceased to interest her." *

Not a few of those who had long been the foremost figures of Elizabeth's brilliant court lay in the neighbouring abbey of Westminster, where slept the mighty ancestors of the queen; some in that solemn royal ring around the remains of the Confessor, some in the yet more sumptuously adorned chapel of Henry VII., where Elizabeth herself was so soon to be laid. The monuments of the Elizabethan magnates, who died well-nigh all before their mistress, are with us still, at once the glory and disfigurement of the abbey. As illustrations of one of the most brilliant chapters of our island story, they possess an undying interest, while at the same time, in their huge and often tasteless magnificence, they disfigure the beauty of the fairest church in Christendom. The most conspicuous of these memorials of Elizabeth's courtiers are those of her kinsman and "rough and honest" chamberlain, lord Hunsdon, and of the Cecils.

Burleigh himself—the first of the two Cecils—though his funeral was celebrated in the abbey, lies in Stamford; but the mighty tomb over the graves of his wife

* Froude: "History," vol. xii., conclusion.

and daughter is at Westminster. "It expresses the great grief of his life, which but for the earnest entreaties of the queen would have driven him from his public duties altogether. If anyone ask, says Cecil's epitaph, who is that aged man on bended knees, venerable from his hoary hairs, in his robes of state, and with the Order of the Garter? the answer is, that we see the great minister of Elizabeth, his eyes dim with tears for the loss of those who were dearer to him beyond the whole race of womankind." * Burleigh died in 1598. On his death-bed the queen often visited him. Never had a sovereign been served so long and so faithfully. His great services to the Church of England during the anxious period of the settlement, have been already dwelt upon. Dying, he wrote to his son, to whom the queen entrusted many of his father's offices, "Serve God by serving the queen, for all other service is indeed bondage to the devil." Elizabeth, though at times she resented Cecil's wise and moderate counsels, thoroughly recognised the grandeur of his intellect and his unswerving loyalty, and spoke of him in the following remarkable terms: "Her comfort had been in her people's happiness, and *their happiness in his discretion*." After his death the queen could not hear his name without shedding tears. Within four years, however, she followed him into the land beyond the veil.

We have an interesting description of the magnificent but lonely queen from the pen of a German traveller, illustrative of her splendour in these last years, as she appeared in the chapel of her palace of Greenwich. "The presence chamber was richly hung with tapestry and strewn with rushes. In it were assembled the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, and the chief officers of the crown. The queen appeared, preceded by gentlemen, barons, earls, knights of the garter, all richly dressed. Next came the lord chancellor, bearing the seal in a red silk purse between two, one of whom carried the royal sceptre, the other the sword of state. Next came the queen, very majestic, her face oblong, fair, but wrinkled, her eyes small, jet black and pleasant, her nose a little hooked, her lips narrow, and her teeth black (a defect the English seem subject to from their too great use of sugar). She had in her ears two pearls. Her hair was of an auburn colour, but false; upon her head she wore a small crown. . . . Her air was stately, and her manner of speech gracious. She was dressed in white silk bordered with pearls of the size of beans, and over it a mantle of silk shot with silver thread; her train was very long, the end of it borne by a marchioness. . . . As she went along in all this magnificence, she spoke very graciously to foreign ministers and others, in English, French, and Italian—whoever speaks to her kneels. The ladies of the court followed her, dressed in white. She was guarded on each side by the gentlemen pensioners, fifty in number, with gilt halberds. . . . While she was at prayers, we saw her table set with the following solemnity." * Then follow more details of court ceremony: "It would seem," said

* Dean Stanley: "Memorials of Westminster Abbey," chap. iv.

* Quoted by Bishop Creighton: "Queen Elizabeth," chap. viii.

her biographer, "that as years went on, Elizabeth fenced herself round with greater state, and by an increase of magnificence in apparel, tried to hide from herself and others the ravages of time. Certainly she objected to any reference to her age. When the bishop of St. David's preached a sermon on the text: 'Lord, teach us to number our days, that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom,' Elizabeth, instead of thanking him, according to her custom, told him that he might have kept his arithmetic for himself; but I see that the greatest clerks are not the wisest men."

But all this outward magnificence could not hide the signs of oncoming old age; somewhat premature perhaps, for she was not yet seventy years of age; but the lonely queen was literally worn out with a long life of restless work, ceaseless anxieties, and continued excitement. It was in vain that she kept up a poor show of outward gaiety; in vain that she pretended to enjoy life as in old days. "She hunted, she danced, she jested with her young favourites; she coquetted, and scolded, and frolicked (just as she had done so forty years before). 'The queen,' wrote a courtier, a few months before her death, 'was never so gallant these many years, nor so set upon jollity.' She persisted, in spite of opposition, in her gorgeous progresses from country house to country house; she clung to business as of old." On the May day of 1602, "she went a-maying in the woods of Lewisham." She even gave the Scottish king a hint that his succession to her crown was yet in the dim distance, by keeping his ambassador waiting in a passage where he might see her dancing in her chamber. "But death crept on, her face became haggard, and her frame shrank almost to a skeleton. At last, even her taste for finery disappeared, and she refused to change her dress for a week together. A strange melancholy settled down upon her; gradually her mind gave way, she lost her memory . . . her very courage seemed to fail her. She called for a sword to lie constantly beside her, and thrust it from time to time through the arras, as if she heard murderers stirring there. Food and rest became alike distasteful." *

A touching letter from Sir John Harrington to his wife, giving the particulars of an interview with the queen, tells us something of her melancholy condition during the last months. "Our dear queen," wrote Sir John, "my royal godmother, doth now bear show of human infirmity, too fast for that evil which we shall get by her death, and too slow for that good which we shall get by her releasement from pain and misery. It was not many days since I was bidden to her presence. I blessed the happy moment, and found her in a most pitiable state." On an allusion to the dead Essex, the queen dropped a tear, and smote her bosom. The writer proceeds: "She held in her hand a golden cup, which she often put to her lips, but in sooth her heart seemeth too full to lack more filling." Alluding to some verses Sir John had written, she smiled once and said, "When thou dost feel creeping time at thy gate, these fooleries will please thee less. I am past my relish for such matters. Thou seest my bodily meat doth not suit me well; I have eaten but one ill-tasted cake since yesternight."

* Green: "History," chap. vii., sect. viii.

DEATH OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.
(*From the picture by Delaroche.*)

The end approached a few weeks later. Robert Carey, her kinsman, gives us a vivid picture of the dying Elizabeth. "When I came to court I found the queen ill-disposed. Hearing of my arrival, she sent for me. I found her sitting low upon her cushions. She called me to her; I kissed her hand, and told her it was my chief happiness to see her in safety and in health. She took my hand and wrung it, and said, 'No, Robin, I am not well,' and then discoursed with me of her indisposition, and that her heart had been sad and heavy for ten or twelve days; in her discourse she fetched not so few as forty or fifty great sighs." Then she spoke of the queen of Scots. The tragedy at Fotheringay was evidently sorely troubling her; and weeping she repeated that never had she given her consent to that sad death. She was too suffering the next morning to attend service in the royal chapel, but she had cushions laid for her hard by the closet door, and there she heard service. She remained on her cushions, says Carey, four days and nights at least. All about her could not persuade her to take sustenance or go to bed. Cecil and another of her council in vain tried to induce her, and Cecil* said that "to content the people she must go to bed." The queen looked up and said, "The word *must* was not used to princes. Little man, little man, if your father had lived you durst not have said so much; but you know I must die, and that makes you presumptuous."

She was induced at last to take to her bed. The sad scene of her death was in the palace at Richmond. The council were assembled, and waited sorrowfully for the end. On the 23rd of March, 1603, she was speechless, but made signs for the archbishop (Whitgift) and her chaplains to come to her. "About six at night," says Carey,* "I went in with them, and fell upon my knees, full of tears to see the heavy sight. Her majesty lay upon her back. The archbishop knelt down by her, and examined her first of her faith, and she so punctually answered all his questions, by lifting up her eyes and holding up her hand, as it was a great comfort to all the beholders. Then the good man (Whitgift) told her plainly what she was, and what she was come to; and although she had been a great queen here upon earth, yet shortly she was to yield an account of her stewardship to the king of kings. After that he began to pray. . . . When he had continued so long in prayer that the old man's knees were weary, he blessed her, and made as though he would rise and leave her." The queen made a sign with her hand; one of the ladies told the archbishop what Elizabeth desired. He must pray on. "He did so for a long half-hour more, and then thought to leave her; the second time she made a sign to have him continue in prayer. He did so for another half an hour, with earnest cries to God for her soul's health, which he uttered with such fervency of spirit, as the queen to all our sight much rejoiced thereat, and gave testimony to us all of her Christian and comfortable end."

She then fell asleep, and from that sleep

* Robert Cecil was secretary of state. He was the great lord Burleigh's son, and succeeded to much of his father's influence.

* Carey was a son of lord Hunsdon, and a kinsman of queen Elizabeth.

she never awakened. Strype,* in his life of Whitgift, bears similar testimony to the queen's earnestness and faith in her last moments. "I supply," writes this learned and voluminous author, "what one of her physicians, writing about her mortal sickness, is silent in. She had several of her learned and pious bishops frequently about her (the chaplains above alluded to), as particularly Watson, bishop of Chichester, her almoner, the bishop of London, and chiefly the archbishop (Whitgift), with whom in their prayers she very devoutly and with great fervency joined, . . . and making signs and shows to her last remembrance, of the sweet comfort she took in their presence and assistance, and of the unspeakable joy she was going unto."

We have dwelt with some detail on the closing scenes of the life of the great queen, drawing our picture wholly from contemporary sources, not only because the character of Elizabeth is peculiarly interesting to us on account of the momentous and permanent effect it has had upon the fortunes of the English people, or because of the splendour and surpassing lustre of the court with which she surrounded herself, but because it possesses a special importance in the eyes of the historian of the Church of England. The "Elizabethan" settlement of the difficult and somewhat confused questions raised by the Reformation; the religious compromises of the reign, which settled the position of the Church of England—a church which has emphatically shown itself fitted to be the church of a great nation—were largely influenced by the queen herself. It must ever be remembered that Parker, the great first archbishop to whom the compromises were in the main due, and Whitgift, the third archbishop, were the especial choice of the queen and her trusted minister and adviser, Cecil. Parker and Whitgift in no small degree enjoyed the intimate friendship, and generally the entire confidence of Elizabeth. The famous divines, also, who arranged the settlement and ordered the religious compromise, were chosen by Parker, without doubt, with the full sanction and approval of the queen.

Hence the life of one who so largely influenced the momentous events connected with the settlement of the ecclesiastical polity of our church, is more than an interesting study. It possesses a peculiar and enduring importance of its own. "It is easy," said her latest biographer,* "to point out serious faults in Elizabeth, to draw out her inconsistencies, . . . but this treatment does not exhibit the real woman, still less the real queen. Elizabeth was hailed at her accession as being 'mere English,' and 'mere English' she remained. Round her, with all her faults, the England which we know grew into the consciousness of its destiny. . . . There are many things in Elizabeth which we could have wished otherwise; but she saw what England might become, and nursed it into the knowledge of its

* Strype was a most learned contributor to the history and biography of the Church of England at that time. He was born in 1643, and lived to the age of ninety-four. He had access to the papers of lord Burleigh's private secretary, and to much more original matter. Although the many volumes of his works are chaotic and undigested, they contain a most useful quarry of material for historians of the age of Elizabeth.

* Bishop Creighton.

EFFIGY OF QUEEN ELIZABETH ON HER TOMB IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

power." And as with the state, so with the church. With all her acknowledged faults, the conviction of the surpassing greatness of the "Protestant queen" will grow among thoughtful Englishmen as time rolls on, and bear fresh and ever fresh testimony to the enduring character of her ecclesiastical work.

The remains of the great queen were brought by water from Richmond, where she died, to Westminster. The surgeons, contrary to her own expressed desire, cered (embalmed) the body. Camden gives us a quaint but complete expression of the universal grief felt at her death:

"The queen did come by water to Whitehall,
The oars at every stroke did tears let fall."

Her popularity, it is said, had for some time been on the wane, and it was one of her sorrows that she had lost the people's love. It is doubtful if this was really the case. Certain it is that the news of the death of the magnificent sovereign who had loved her England so well, evoked a burst of unfeigned sorrow among all sorts and conditions of men. Stow thus depicts the people's mourning for the dead Elizabeth when her body was transported from Whitehall to her resting-place in the royal abbey: "Now the Cittie of Westminster was surcharged with multitudes of all sorts of people, in their streetes, houses, windowes, leads, and gutters, that came to see the obsequie; and when they beheld her statue or picture* lying uppon the coffin, set forth in Royall robes, having a crowne uppon the head thereof, and a ball and scepter in either hand, there was such a generall sighing, groning and weeping, as the like hath not beene seene or knowne in the memorie of man; neyther doth any historie mention any people, time, or date to make like lamentation for the death of their souveraygne."

She was brought, doubtless (says Dean Stanley) by her own desire, to the north aisle of Henry VII.'s chapel, to the unmarked grave of her unfortunate predecessor (her sister Mary). On the stately monument erected by James I. (though paid for, apparently, by the citizens of London) there are on the several sides long and somewhat inflated inscriptions descriptive of the glories of Elizabeth. One of these,

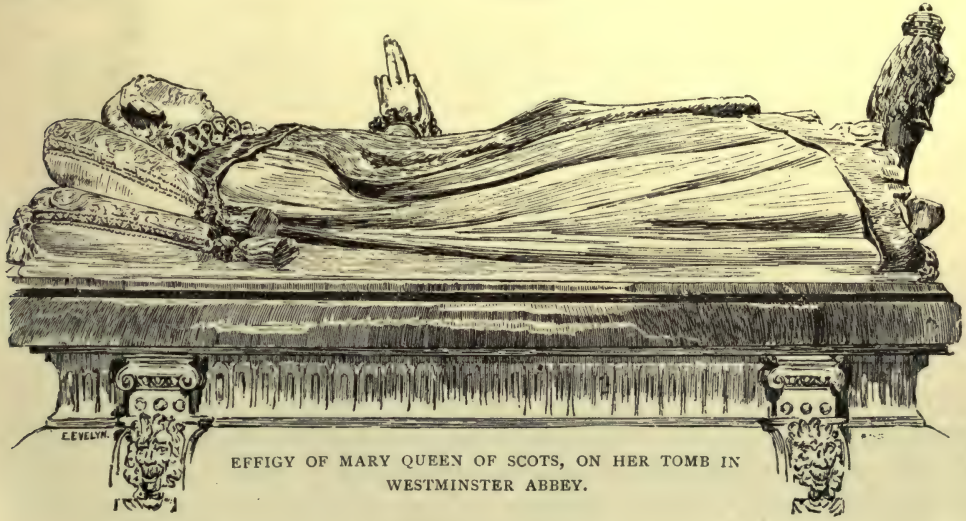
* The wax effigy that was usually laid on the coffin of sovereigns and of other illustrious persons. Some of these curious reliques of the great dead are still preserved in Westminster Abbey.

however, is most pathetic, as it tells in a few simple words how the royal sisters sleep together, the Roman Catholic and the Protestant, the daughter of Katharine of Arragon, and the daughter of Anne Boleyn: "Regno consortes et urnâ, hic obdormimus Elizabetha et Maria sorores, in spe resurrectionis."* "The stately coffin of Elizabeth rests on the coffin of Mary." The monument is an enormous pile of gorgeous Renaissance work, huge and stately rather than beautiful, telling sadly of the decadence of true art. It is much defaced and broken. Its most interesting feature is the recumbent effigy of the queen, and is, no doubt, a faithful representation of the great Elizabeth as she was known to her contemporaries in her later years. The features are calm and dignified, but wear that expression of utter weariness which seemed to come over her in her sad and lonely old age.

* "Partners both in throne and grave, we sisters Elizabeth and Mary sleep in the hope of the resurrection."

In the search for the sepulchre of James I., the wall at the east end of the monument of Elizabeth was laid bare, and through a small aperture a view was obtained into a low and narrow vault immediately beneath her tomb. "It was instantly evident that it enclosed two coffins, and two only, and it could not be doubted that these contained Elizabeth and her sister Mary. There was no disorder or decay . . . the dim light fell on a fragment of the coffin lid. There was the Tudor badge, a full double rose, on each side, the august initials E. R., and below the memorable date 1603."* The coffin had been originally covered, evidently with red silk velvet. Dean Stanley, who was privileged for a brief moment to see this solemn home of so much greatness, dwells on the impressive sight of the secluded narrow tomb, "thus compressing in the closest grasp the two Tudor sisters, 'partners of the same tomb and throne,' the great queen thus reposing in solemn

* Dean Stanley: "Memorials of Westminster Abbey."



EFFIGY OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS, ON HER TOMB IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

majesty, as can hardly be doubted by her own desire, on her sister's coffin."

Archbishop Whitgift survived the queen barely a year. One blot exists upon his character of consistency. His general policy, as we have seen, resisted the tyrannous narrowness of Puritanism; and in his warm and steady patronage of Hooker, in his acceptance of the "Ecclesiastical Polity" of that great master, he showed his determination to maintain the continuity of the existing Church of England with the historical church of the past. His conduct, however, in the matter of the so-called Lambeth Articles is inexplicable, save on the supposition that in his latter years "the instability of old age may have crept upon him," and that for the sake of peace he consented to agree to a concession to some views of the Puritan party, which were opposed to the doctrines of the church of which he had ever showed himself the resolute defender.

Let us briefly sketch the curious episode of the Lambeth Articles. It was in 1595 that a considerable party at Cambridge publicly denounced the opponents of Calvin as persons addicted to Popery, and certain heads of houses in that university went so far as to censure a divine who had spoken disrespectfully of Calvin. Whitgift, strange to say, seemed to sympathise with these Cambridge Calvinists, and arranged a meeting at Lambeth for the discussion of the points at issue. Dr. Whitaker, the Margaret Professor of Divinity, proposed to the archbishop a series of Articles, nine in number, which should be sent down to Cambridge stamped with episcopal authority. Whitgift called a meeting of some divines of high rank, who considered these Calvinistic propositions, and positively approved of them, and with certain modifications sent them down to Cambridge. These were the celebrated "Lambeth Articles." They asserted that "God has from everlasting predestinated certain people to life, and that some He has reprobated to death, and that it is not in the power of every man to be saved." The whole proceeding was irregular, and the prelates and others who were assembled at Lambeth acted without any formal ecclesiastical authority, for they were not assembled in a synod. Lord Burleigh (Cecil), who was still alive and in power when the "Articles" in question were submitted to him, expressed his general disapprobation, and laid them before Elizabeth. She condemned them very strongly, and the archbishop seems at once to have submitted to her judgment. The result was that the Lambeth Articles were suppressed.

They appeared, however, again—early in the reign of James I.—at the Hampton Court Conference in 1604, when the Puritan party asked that "the nine assertions orthodoxal concluded at Lambeth" might be inserted in the Book of the XXXIX. Articles. The petition shared the fate in that Hampton Court Conference of the vast majority of the Puritan suggestions and requirements, and was absolutely rejected. Bishop Andrewes, of whom we must speak with some detail, who was considered at the beginning of the seventeenth century as the most learned and weighty of the Anglican divines, in his judgment on the Lambeth Articles thus expresses himself: "For sixteen years since I was ordained

priest I have never publicly or privately disputed on these mysteries of predestination, and now I would much rather hear than speak of them."

With the close of Elizabeth's reign the long and eventful life's work of her great archbishop and friend was virtually done; Whitgift was well-nigh seventy-four years of age, and was worn out. He was at first anxious lest the puritanical surroundings of Elizabeth's successor (James I.) would affect the royal disposition towards the Church of England; but he was quickly reassured, and a long and intimate conversation with king James at Theobald's convinced him that the new sovereign was well disposed to the church polity of his predecessor. "He did perceive," writes Whitgift's contemporary biographer, "the king's resolution for the continuance of the well-settled state of the church." The archbishop officiated at the coronation; and afterwards, at the beginning of 1604, at the Hampton Court Conference* between the Anglican and Puritan divines, though too indisposed to be always present, was able still considerably to influence its discussions. The same year he was stricken with a sudden illness (it was called a dead palsy), the result of a chill contracted on his barge during a water journey between Lambeth and Fulham. The king visited the old and faithful primate in his sickness, when Whitgift tried to speak to him in Latin; it is supposed wishing to say something weighty on the subject of the church he had loved so well; but only the words "*pro ecclesiâ Dei*" (for the church of God) were audible. He soon afterwards expired quietly, after an eventful archiepiscopate of twenty years and two months, "living and dying," as the writer (above quoted) of his life tells us, "as a chosen and beloved servant of God, who had devoutly consecrated his whole life to God."* After describing the funeral ceremonies, Paul quaintly closes the biography of this famous Elizabethan primate thus: "Having now committed the body of this most reverend personage (which was sometimes the mansion of a most excellent soul) unto his grave (where it rests in assured expectation of a glorious resurrection), I will speak of the outward shape and proportion thereof. He was of middle stature, of a grave countenance, and brown complexion, black hair and eyes; he wore his beard neither long nor thick; he was of good and quick strength. . . ." Apologising for dwelling upon "the renowned archbishop's actions and fame," he quaintly adds, "which could not without great shame unto myself and others his followers be buried in darkness with his body."

We have drawn in the preceding pages several pictures of typical divines of this great age, more especially of Parker, the first Protestant archbishop, the organiser; of Jewel, the bishop, and first apologist and writer; of Whitgift, the primate after Elizabeth's heart, who took up and developed Parker's work; of Hooker, the first great English theologian, the quiet student, the deep and profound thinker, who, in his undying work on the laws of the ecclesiastical polity of the Church of England, brought out in "clear and explicit words, at once dignified and stately, the chief

* See next volume.

* Sir George Paul, comptroller of the archbishop's household. First published in 1612.

principles which, implied and embodied in the Reformation, fixed the Anglican position from the first," gave us the first systematic development of Anglican theology. We must paint one more like picture, which will complete our gallery of portraits of representative churchmen of this great age. We shall then be in

LANCELOT ANDREWES, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.
(*From an original engraving by Simon Passe*, A.D. 1618.)

a position to sum up what these men conceived their church should be.

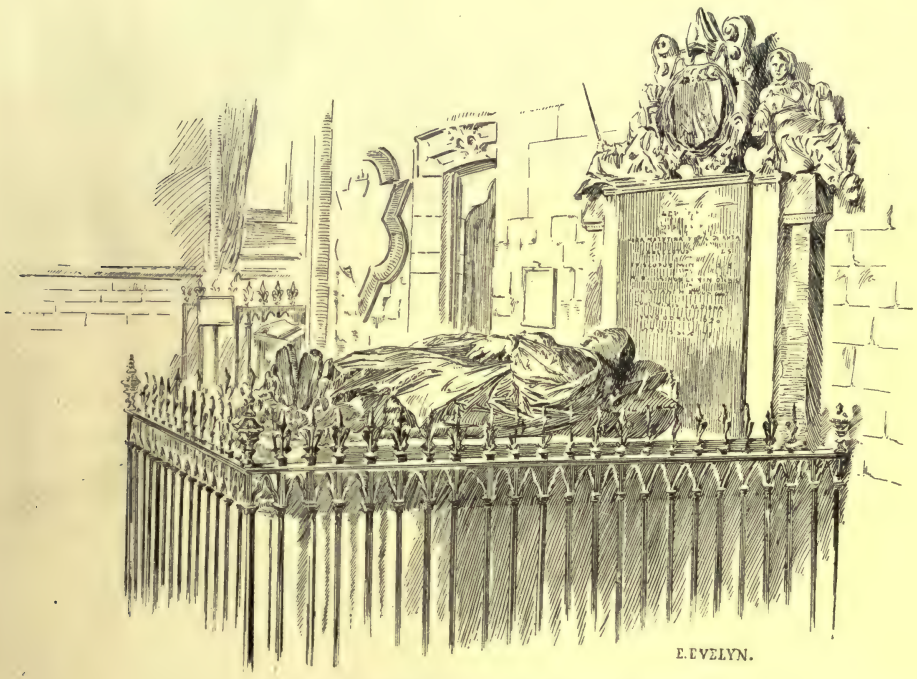
Lancelot Andrewes, the subject of the last of our Elizabethan portraits, was a link between the Elizabethan and Jacobean ages. Born only two years later than Hooker, in 1553, when Mary was still reigning, a considerable personage, and a powerful influence during the latter years of Elizabeth, his career was prolonged for more than a quarter of a century after Hooker had passed away. Occupying one of the highest and most influential positions in the church, he lived through the reign of Elizabeth's successor, James I., and during the first part of the succeeding one, and for many years before he died was esteemed the greatest living theologian of the English church.

Andrewes was early distinguished, both at the university and subsequently in London, at St. Paul's and Westminster, as a singularly attractive teacher. As a student he was indefatigable. Master of many tongues, he was acknowledged far beyond the limits of England as possessing an erudition well-nigh unrivalled. As a preacher, Andrewes was confessedly for many years the most sought-after in the Anglican communion, of which he was so long the distinguished ornament. No sermons like Andrewes' had as yet been preached in the English church. But popular preacher though he was, the subject of this little picture was even more distinguished as a controversialist. His vast and varied learning, sacred and profane, his powers as a linguist, his singular command of language, his trained and polished intellect, all singularly contributed to his success in the rough field of discussion and disputation; although the accomplished teacher, the eloquent preacher, the patient seeker after a life hidden with God, was, as has been truly said, "only by necessity a polemic." But when reluctantly he took up arms for his loved Church of England, in that sad field of controversy he was amongst Englishman without a rival.

Such a champion was indeed necessary; for the close of the sixteenth and the

earlier years of the seventeenth centuries brought into view a group of master minds on the continent of Europe, whose words and writings constituted a grave danger to the very existence of the Anglican church. Rome was not then what it had been in the days of the secular Popes, when mediæval orders in the early middle ages had done for Rome, was now in different ways being effected by this new and devoted "Roman" Militia.

The ways and methods of the Dominican and the Franciscan—though these orders were still a formidable force in the Roman



TOMB OF LANCELOT ANDREWES, IN ST. SAVIOUR'S, SOUTHWARK.

Luther preached, and Erasmus wrote: a grave reformation had passed over its widely-extended communion. The Papacy and its system had resumed in many foreign lands much of its old sway over the human heart. Above all, the new order of the Jesuits, which had through the sixteenth century been constantly growing in numbers and weight, was giving a new and undreamed-of strength to the papal power at Rome. What the Catholic Church—were somewhat unfitted for the new conditions under which the Papacy was confronted with Protestantism. The Jesuits, equally devoted to Rome, were trained now to acquiesce in, now to refute the "New Learning," as the peculiar exigencies of the moment might demand. In them the Pope possessed a sleeplessly-vigilant, devotedly-loyal, and carefully-trained band of followers, with stations in every part of the globe.

The famous "order of Jesus" produced at this early period of their existence a group of master minds: a little company of men, not only profound scholars, but able and acute historians and controversialists. Suarez, who died in 1617, has been popularly termed "the last of the schoolmen." He is ever regarded as one, if not the chief glory of the "order of Jesus"; he was certainly their greatest theologian and metaphysician. His published writings fill twenty-three folio volumes. One of his works, published at the instigation of Pope Paul V., in 1613, was "A Defence of the Catholic Faith against the Anglican Sect," a book which king James I. ordered to be burnt by the hands of the hangman. It was, however, better combated by the Anglican theologians of the seventeenth century. Cardinal Baronius, a disciple of the saintly St. Philip Neri, enriched the new Roman literature with his *Annales Ecclesiastici*, a labour which cost the scholar thirty years of toil. The first volume was published at Rome in 1588, and the twelfth and last was printed in 1607. It has been and still is considered a master-work, of enormous industry and profound research. Cardinal Duperron, archbishop of Sens, who was born in 1559 and who died in 1618, another voluminous and able writer, stands in the forefront of skilled controversialists, and in one of his famous works "drew a detailed and able comparison between the church of St. Augustine and of the four first councils, and the churches of his day, Roman and reformed; and boldly asked which of the latter bore the greater resemblance to the earlier type." But the Church of England was confronted also by Bellarmine,* a greater man, perhaps, than any of these. This divine lived between the years 1542 and 1621. He belonged to the famous "order of Jesus," and obtained the rank of cardinal in 1599, and the archbishopric of Capua in 1602. This brilliant and distinguished man is reckoned one of the greatest of the sons of the Roman Catholic church, and the first of her polemical divines. For many years he was uniformly taken by all Protestant advocates as the champion *par excellence* of the Papal claims; and a vindication of Protestantism regularly took the shape of an answer to Bellarmine.

Fortified by the learning and research, the skill and the eloquence of this distinguished group of theologians, historians, and controversialists, it appeared indeed that "Rome had much more to say for itself than had appeared to Cranmer, or even to Jewel."† It will ever be Andrewes' title to honour that he fearlessly met the challenge thrown down by Bellarmine and Duperron, as champion of the Church of England. "Andrewes," it has been well said, "wrote with the advantage which enlarged knowledge had thrown on the aims and language of both sides in the struggle; and he did not shrink from claiming for his church as large and

*A glance at the "dates" of these famous theologians who arose at this period in the Roman Catholic church, will show how formidable was the phalanx of opponents of the Anglican communion at this particular juncture, the last quarter of the sixteenth and the first fifteen or twenty years of the seventeenth centuries: Baronius lived 1530–1607; Suarez, 1548–1617; Duperron, 1556–1618; Bellarmine, 1542–1621. Of this great four, Suarez and Bellarmine were Jesuits.

† Dean Church.

essential conformity with antiquity, even in outward things, as could be pretended by Rome, and a far deeper agreement in spirit."

At home the power and vast influence of Andrewes, whom bishop Hall styles with rare truth "the renowned bishop of Winchester," and "the matchless bishop Andrewes," was in large measure owing to his sweetness and gentleness of temper; to his almost perfect character, to what has been well termed "his irresistible charm of real holiness." He was one of the most lovable of men. Occupying as he did for many years a foremost place in the Anglican hierarchy, courted and sought after by all sorts and conditions of men, from the sovereign on the throne down to the boy-student of the university and public school, he remained to the last utterly unspoiled. Ever the most loyal subject, ever the tender and devoted friend, and, above all, a man of prayer; one who in the midst of court life and public life,* alike in the solitude of his loved study as in the royal council chamber, alike in the composition of his most learned and exhaustive treatises as in the stir and excitement of the pulpit of Westminster and St. Paul's, breathed an atmosphere rather of heaven than of earth.

Before telling the story of the church under king James I., and of the events which led up to the great Rebellion, and the temporary downfall of the Church of England, it will be well to give some definite idea of what this church was, as conceived by Elizabeth, her minister Cecil, and the eminent learned and patriotic theologians who flourished in that period of building up and of reconstruction. From the writings of Hooker and Andrewes, we gather a clear-cut conception of the Church of England as it appeared in the eyes of its great teachers at the close of the sixteenth and in the first years of the seventeenth centuries—a conception which, taking into consideration the many difficulties which beset them, and the human errors which ever mar all earthly work, however noble and desirable, was fairly carried out. It was based upon the following foundation principles.

The framers of the Elizabethan church settlement, in the foundation story of their work placed four things, and these —with us still—have endured without change, during the three centuries which have elapsed since Parker died and Hooker and Andrewes preached and wrote. (1) They maintained the episcopate and the ordinal; (2) they gave to the people the English Book of Common Prayer; (3) they put boldly and without reserve the English Bible into the hands of all; (4) they finally and unreservedly repudiated the authority of Rome, and in place of that misused authority they substituted, as of old, the authority, without exactly defining its limit, of the crown, acting ever in concert with the church and the representatives of the church.

* Andrewes was successively master of Pembroke hall, Cambridge, prebendary of St. Paul's and Westminster, dean of Westminster, bishop of Chichester, Ely, and Worcester, a privy councillor, lord high almoner, dean of the Chapel Royal. His great controversial works, now only known perhaps to a very few theological scholars, were the massive and exhaustive treatises written in reply to cardinal Bellarmine: the "Tortura Torti," with its quaint and now little understood title, and the "Responsio ad Apologiam Card. Bellarmini.

The purpose of the Elizabethan divines "was, taking the actual historical church of Augustine and Ethelbert, of Becket and Wolsey, of Warham and Pole, as the existing historical representative and descendant of that supernatural society which is traceable through all the ages to apostolic days, to assert its rights, to release it from usurpation, to purge away the evils which this usurpation had created and fostered; and, accepting the Bible as the primitive church had accepted it, and trying to test everything by Scripture and history, to meet the immediate necessities of a crisis which called not only for abolition, but for reconstruction and replacement."* The ideal which these men and their queen set before their eyes was, as far as possible, to harmonise "antiquity and novelty, control and freedom, ecclesiastical and civil authority, the staid order of a church as old as the nation, and the vigour of a modern revolution of the age of the Renaissance." Their ideal was "to stimulate conscience and the sense of individual responsibility, and yet to keep them from bursting all bounds; to overthrow a vast ancient power, strong in its very abuses, and entrenched behind the prejudices and the great deeds of centuries, and yet to save the sensitive, delicate instincts of loyalty, reverence (*ehrfurcht*), and obedience; to make room in the same system of teaching for the venerable language of ancient fathers, and also for the new learning of famous modern authorities."† Their noble ideal, and one which they, on the whole, succeeded in realising, was that the continuity and identity of the existing church with the historical church of the past should be maintained.

The experience of three centuries, with all their wear and tear, with even the terrible interlude of a sweeping Revolution which for a few years eclipsed the church, has shown that the work of these Elizabethan builders was at once a good one and an enduring, . . . "It has shown a wonderful power of obstinate tenacity against jars and shocks, a force of continuous growth and of vigorous recovery after disaster and stagnation. It has certainly vindicated its claim to life and reality." To sum up in a few words, "The Church of England at its Reformation had taken up its ground on the Scriptures and the primitive church. It had avowed its object to be a return, as far as was possible, to what the teaching of the apostles and their disciples had made the primitive church to be."*

There was, however, another side of our country's religious life. In no country had the Reformation and its principles sunk so deep into the hearts of the people as in England. From the middle of the reign of Elizabeth, we have already noticed how England became "the people of a book, and that book was the Bible; how the general study of the divine writings evoked a startling enthusiasm" . . . and consequently the whole life of the nation felt the change. Foreigners who visited England in this period especially commented upon this interesting phase of English life.

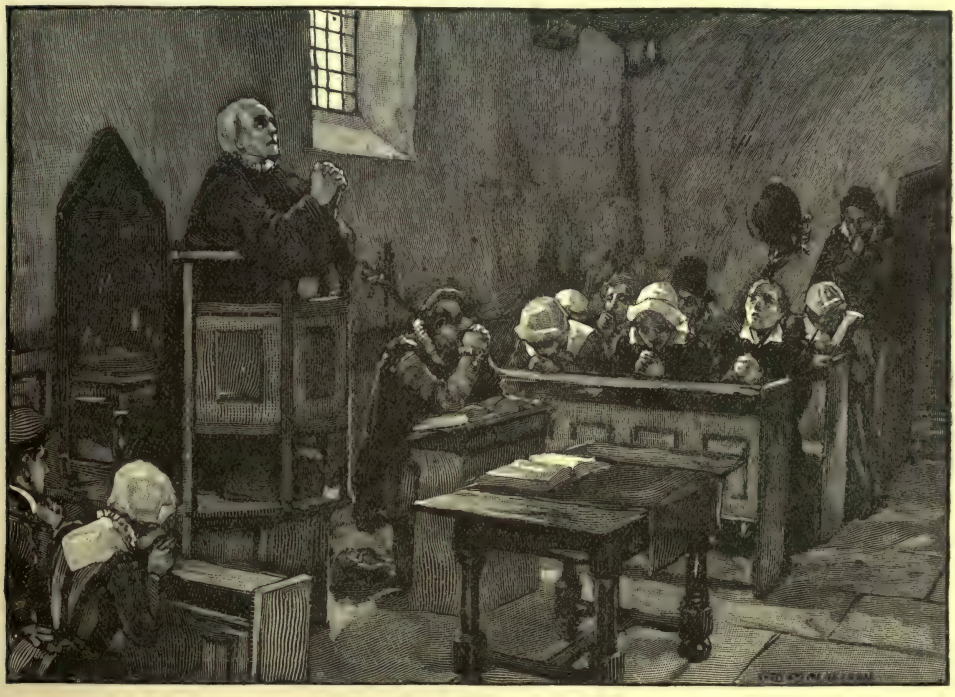
* Dean Church: "Masters in English Theology (Lancelot Andrewes)."

† *Ibid.*

* *Ibid.*

And the religious England of the second half of the sixteenth century, thus stirred and moved to its very heart by the Reformation spirit, was now divided into two great parties. Both were intensely in earnest in their desire to purge away mediæval superstition and foreign usurpation, and to restore a nobler and purer worship. But while one party were, as we have just seen, more conservative, and determined to sanction no change which would break the continuity of the reformed church with the old historical church of the Anglo-Saxon, Norman, and Plantagenet times; the other party, usually known as the Puritans, without at first being positively hostile to their maintenance, cared less for these things, deemed by the Anglicans of paramount importance.

The earlier Puritan was no gloomy fanatic. Those "fierce Jewish hatreds" which later on so marred his profession of faith, did not characterise it until a subsequent period. Not a few of the great Elizabethan divines themselves had strong Puritan leanings, which they more or less subordinated for the sake of unity, and with the desire of establishing law and order in the church they loved. How great a power was Puritanism in its earlier stages among the people, before it was disfigured by the extravagance and wild demands of men like Cartwright, and



PURITAN WORSHIP IN THE TIME OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

the school who followed him, we see from the evident puritanical leanings of Spenser; from the temper, on more than one occasion, of the House of Commons; from the existence of a strong party, too, even at the court of Elizabeth, although the queen herself had little sympathy with the school. The higher side of Puritanism, which long lingered in the ranks of the men who were influenced by it, is beautifully delineated in such works as Lucy Hutchinson's memoirs of her husband, the man afterwards sadly known as colonel Hutchinson, one of the unhappy Regicides. The Puritan gentleman in his youth, with all his deep sense of the truth of religion, was highly accomplished, chivalrous, and deeply religious. This was very early in his career, though the Puritan sadness appeared, and gave a sombre colouring to his life. John Milton, a little later, is another example of the highest and purest type of these more extreme Protestants.

It is sadly interesting to trace the various influences which darkened Puritanism, rendered its professors more unbending and fanatical, and gradually widened the breach between the Anglican and the Puritan; a breach which has gradually widened still more, and now parts the Church of England from the Nonconformists by a gulf which no serious man can see any reasonable hope of ever bridging over. Unutterably sad it is to think of England, *the* home of Protestantism, with all its grandeur, and power to help and inform the world, being so hopelessly divided; to think of its best, and truest, and most earnest sons in opposite camps. Very true ring the mournful words of one of our profoundest thinkers, which tell us how, "even in the best state which society has just reached, it is lamentable to think how great a proportion of all the efforts and talents in the world are employed in merely neutralising one another." *

This "parting of the ways" must be mentioned here, because it began early in Elizabeth's reign. It was attributable to many circumstances. Among the more prominent stands out the revival of Rome and the Papal power, which has been treated of above. This alarmed and dismayed the earnest Puritans. The council of Trent had done more than definitely settle the dogmas of the Roman Catholic church. It had enormously purified the life and government of the Roman communion. The awful scandals which had shocked Erasmus and dismayed More and Colet, were in great measure things of the past; and though the old mediæval errors of doctrine remained uncorrected, nay, had been even authoritatively ratified, the loose morality, the venial government, and the relaxed discipline of the enfeebled and discredited church had given place to a sterner and more earnest state of things. Simultaneously with this great Roman "reformation" had arisen that mighty militia of the papacy, the "Order of Jesus," an order of preachers, teachers, missionaries, and even statesmen. It was, indeed, a new life which inspired Rome before the sixteenth century had run its course.

The effect was marvellous. Roman Catholicism, which for a time appeared dying, became again a vast power in the world. Countries which for a time seemed

* J. S. Mill: "Political Economy," book v., chap. xi., 16.

lost to it were regained; while in the lands of the newly discovered western world, it advanced under the shelter of the flag of Spain, annexing new empires of undreamed-of magnitude and boundless wealth. Even in Europe, strange to say, Romanism gained ground, recovering people it had lost or well-nigh lost. In South Germany, Bavaria, with its broad and wealthy territories, returned to the Roman obedience; and the great house of Hapsburg definitely adopted the cause of the Pope's as its own. France, then as now the first in influence and power of the states of Continental Europe, so long wavering between the religion of the old and new learning, under the influence of the once Protestant Henry IV. of Navarre, who bought his crown and his fair capital city of Paris at the price of a mass, became definitely Roman; and the Huguenot faith, which at one time seemed likely to become the faith of France, relegated for the most part to the old provinces of Aquitaine and Provence, became nothing more than the faith of a sect, where once the reformers had hoped to have seen it the religion of a nation. Even in the Low Countries, where, thanks to the heroic resistance of William of Orange and the founders of the Dutch republic, the promise of the fortunes of the Reformation seemed so bright, in the southern portion of the old Burgundian province Roman Catholicism regained its old position; and Brabant and East and West Flanders, the most important portions of the present kingdom of Belgium, again were reckoned among the lands of the Roman obedience. From the days of this Roman Catholic reaction until the present time, the countries then recovered by Rome—viz. South Germany, the Low Countries, and France—have been reckoned among the most staunch and faithful of the papal adherents.

All this was sorely grievous and disappointing to the earnest Puritan spirit, which gradually became embittered. The high hopes and outlooks cherished in the days of Luther, and even later than Luther, of a wide and general Reformation, were dissipated. At home also alarming symptoms, as they thought, were manifesting themselves. "The historical feeling [in the Church of England] showed itself in a longing to ally the religion of the present with the religion of the past; to claim part in the great heritage of Catholic tradition. Men . . . started back from the bare intense spiritualism of the Puritan, to find nourishment for devotion in the outer associations which the piety of ages had grouped around it—in holy places and holy things, in the stillness of church and altar, in the awful mystery of sacraments." * In their own England a Hooker arose, and with a terrible accuracy demonstrated the fundamental errors of the system of extreme reformers; and a Whitgift for many years, as primate, gave effect to views repugnant to Puritan wishes and ideas.

And Whitgift was resolutely backed up by the undefined and vast power of the crown, under an imperious Tudor sovereign. During her long and glorious and generally popular reign, Elizabeth's sympathies were wholly with the high Anglican party; for the Puritans the great queen cherished only feelings of dislike

* Green: "History of the English People," chap. viii., sect. ii.

and distrust, feelings which gathered strength rather than diminished. As time went on, and the sixteenth century drew towards its close, the Puritan outlook in England grew more and more gloomy. Its more extreme advocates, such as Cartwright, were exposed even to a harsh persecution; some were positively put to death. Wider and ever wider grew the breach; dislike grew gradually into hatred. The language and remonstrances of the Puritans grew more and ever more exaggerated. From the beginning of the seventeenth century, another and a sterner spirit animated the Puritan party. The gentler, the more yielding and more Christian spirit which animated such men as archbishop Grindal, in part disappeared; the fierce and uncompromising spirit of men like Cartwright gradually began to take its place. It was no longer a small section of the Puritans who set themselves in open opposition to the Anglican settlement, but great numbers of the party, slowly and hesitatingly at first, adopted the extreme views which their fathers would have indignantly repudiated.

In common with all reformers from the first days, they clung to the words and teaching of the Bible; but the more extreme Puritans as they developed and multiplied found comparatively little in the New Testament to suit their peculiar and distorted views. "The Old Testament contained a history of a race selected by God to be witnesses of His unity and ministers of His vengeance, and specially commanded by Him to do many things, which, if done without His special command, would have been atrocious crimes. In such a history it was not difficult for fierce and gloomy spirits to find much that might be distorted to suit their wishes. The extreme Puritans, therefore, began to feel for the Old Testament a preference, which perhaps they did not distinctly avow even to themselves, but which showed itself in all their sentiments and habits."* We find many of them at this period giving their children the names no longer of Christian saints, but of Hebrew heroes; we find the Sunday transformed into the old Jewish Sabbath, and hedged about with a number of Judaic restrictions; we find a stern and rigid life, out of which many of the more graceful and at the same time harmless habits and customs were eliminated, characterising the Puritan sect. They affected a peculiar and unbecoming dress; they condemned as sinful, innocent amusement and relaxation; they rejected the very literature which their fathers had encouraged and largely contributed to. Even the poems of the Puritan Spenser were forbidden.

Even this was not all. As we shall see more in detail in the new chapter of our history now about to open, while this spirit of discontent with the established state of things in religion was disturbing large numbers among the more serious and God-fearing Puritans, the two first Stuart kings, James I. and Charles I., attempted to enforce their views as to the duties and rights of kings. James I. passed away unloved, but still tolerated by the mass of his subjects. Charles I. inherited his father's ideas and views, and determined to carry them out in his government. Wentworth (lord

* Macaulay: History of England," chap. i.

Strafford), *the* minister of the unhappy reign, shared in his master's estimate of the royal prerogative, believed that an absolute king was the best and truest form of human government, sadly mistaking the temper and the determination of the English people. And associated with Strafford, and Wentworth's policy. Puritanism allied itself with the parliament, fighting for the immemorial rights and privileges of Englishmen; while Anglicanism adopted the fortunes of the king. When the parliament, after a long and bloody war, was victorious, the division between

THE SORCERESSES, AN INCIDENT OF PURITAN TIMES.
(By permission, from the picture by Walter MacEwen.)

strange to say, sharing with him his views of the importance of absolutism, was the archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud. For many years Charles, Strafford, and Laud carried out the fatal policy. The fact of Laud being a prominent personage of this ill-fated trio, enormously widened the rift between Puritanism and Anglicanism. Anglicanism became tainted in the eyes of even the moderate Puritans, with all the faults and political mistakes of Charles the two great parties of English Protestants had become more pronounced. Between the Anglicans and Puritans now were the ineffaceable memories of Edgehill and of Marston Moor, of Naseby and Worcester, of a hundred other less known hotly-contested battles. The churches of England, the possessions of the Anglican clergy, were treated as the spoils of a vanquished enemy are treated by a merciless conqueror. The children of Cranmer and Ridley, of Parker

and Jewel, the pupils of Hooker and Andrewes, under the hateful appellation of Malignants, were driven from their churches, were stripped of their possessions, were forbidden, under severe and cruel penalties, even to worship with the rites or to utter the prayers approved by and unspeakably dear to the Marian martyrs, or the Elizabethan Reformers.

When once more, under the overwhelming reaction of the Restoration, the Anglicans regained their lost power and more than their old influence among the people, scant consideration was shown by them to the vanquished when in their turn they occupied the place of victors; and for years, under the rule of Charles II. and his Cavalier parliament, a series of bitter, cruel, fierce Acts, now condemned by the most fervid Anglicans, in succession harassed and distressed the once triumphant Puritans. The chance was thus lost—perhaps for ever—of uniting even with slender cords of friendship and consideration the two opposing schools of Protestant thought in England. The saddened historian, as he writes his melancholy chronicle, must condemn alike the Church of England and the Puritans for their fatal, short-sighted, persecuting policy, at once unsympathetic and un-Christlike.

Thus Protestantism in England became hopelessly divided; and although time has relaxed somewhat these sad differences, the two parties have never since come together. At last the day of mutual toleration dawned; but, alas! it was too late! The kindly latitudinarian, who with a light heart speaks of a possible, even of a probable, re-union between the great Nonconformist sects which have sprung out of the Puritan party, and the historic Church of England, is strangely ignorant of theology, is but scantily equipped with a knowledge of the past. The final parting of the ways, the Puritan and the Anglican, dates from the early years of the seventeenth century, and the wound thus inflicted upon the Protestant influence of England has never since been healed. The Puritan and the Anglican, with similar high aims, and with one noble purpose, for three centuries have not been allies; if not enemies, at least hopelessly at variance, the one, as has been justly said, too often neutralising the influence of the other.

We may close this brief study of the Church of England of the Elizabethan divines with the words of archbishop Whitgift: "This I dare boldly affirm, that all points of religion necessary to salvation, and touching either the mystery of our redemption in Christ, or the right use of the sacraments and true manner of worshipping God, are as purely and perfectly taught, and by public authority established, in this Church of England at this day as ever they were in any church since the apostles' time";* and with the words of the famous Laud, who enjoyed in the early days of his public career the friendship of Andrewes: "I have lived and shall (God willing) die in the faith of Christ, as it was professed in the ancient primitive church, as it is professed in the present Church of England."†

The great Elizabethan divines built upon the foundation-stories laid by the

* Preface to "The Defence of the Answer" (Whitgift).

† Conference with Fisher (Andrewes).

first generation of English reformers, by master builders such as Ridley and Cranmer. It is too much the practice of some in modern times to underrate the work of these great ones, and to speak slightingly alike of the Reformation and of its early chiefs, to whom our church owes so vast a debt of gratitude. In forming an estimate of these foundation-stories, so well and securely laid in times of sore stress and storm, we should ponder well the weighty words penned by some of those profound scholars and divines of our Anglican communion, whom men of all schools of thought in our church delight to reverence and honour. These speak of the Reformation in language very different from that which we sometimes hear, and cannot hear without being saddened. So Hooker, who writes of the English Reformation as "wonderfully marked by divine grace and favour and God's miraculous workings." "What can we conclude," he says, "than that the thing which He (God) so blesseth, defendeth, keepeth so strangely, cannot choose but be of Him? Wherefore, if any refuse to believe us disputing for the verity of religion established, let them believe God Himself thus miraculously working for it, and wish life even for ever and ever unto that glorious and sacred instrument whereby He worketh." A very little later dean Jackson (Peterborough, 1579–1640) speaks of it as "that discreet and judicious, that happy Reformation." Bishop Hall (1574–1656) styles it "that blessed Reformation." "I earnestly exhort you," wrote the saintly Ken (1637-1710), "to a uniform zeal for the Reformation, that as, blessed be God, you are happily reformed in your faith and in your worship, you would become wholly reformed in your lives."

And as of the Reformation, their work, so these great divines spoke of the early reformers themselves. "Those illustrious men," says Andrewes, "never to be mentioned without the deepest reverence, whose services God employed in the restoration of religion." Similarly Jackson: "The sage and reverend reformers of our church." So Sanderson: "Our godly forefathers, to whom (under God) we owe the purity of our religion." So the great bishop Bull (St. David's), 1634–1719, writing of Latimer: "Martyr constantissimus . . . sanctissimus . . . beatissimus pater." So bishop Nicholson (Gloucester), 1599–1672, writing of Cranmer: "That glorious martyr of our church." So bishop Hall: "The composers of it (the liturgy), we still glory to say, were holy martyrs and confessors of the blessed reformation of religion, and if any rude hand have dared to cast a foul aspersion on any of them, he is none of the tribe I plead for; I leave him to the reward of his own merits." So bishop Morton (Chester, Lichfield, and Durham), 1564-1659: "That goodly vine, which many Pauls, the industrious bishops and pastors have planted by preaching, and many Apollos, the faithful martyrs of Christ, have watered with their blood." So dean Hickes (Worcester), 1642–1715: "The reformers were as eminent for virtue and learning as any of that age; their judgment was and is approved by millions of Christians." So archbishop Bancroft, 1544–1610: "They

were most learned men, and many of them godly martyrs, who were the chief penners and approvers of the Communion Book in king Edward's time." So bishop Taylor: "The zeal with which archbishop Grindal, bishop Ridley, Dr. Taylor, and others the holy martyrs and confessors in queen Mary's time, expressed for this excellent liturgy, before and at the time of their death, defending it by their disputations, adorning it by their practice, and sealing it with their blood, are arguments which ought to recommend it to all the sons of the Church of England for ever." Whitgift, writing of the compilers of king Edward's first Communion Book, says: "They were singular learned men, zealous in God's religion, blameless in life, and martyrs at their end." And in an interesting passage, apologising for the plunder of church property in the days of Henry VIII., bishop Andrewes thus speaks of the "error of those illustrious men," such as Ridley, Cranmer, and Latimer, "men never to be mentioned without the deepest reverence, whose services God employed in the restoration of religion, and who, too anxious for the restoration of the doctrines, paid less attention to the patrimony of the church, and said almost as the king of Sodom said to Abraham, 'Give us the souls, and take the goods to thyself.'"

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

(From the portrait by Isaac Oliver.)

EXCURSUS D.

THE STORY OF THE NUN OF KENT—COMMONLY KNOWN AS THE "HOLY MAID OF KENT," 1531–4.

In the year 1531 Elizabeth Barton, the "Holy Maid of Kent," was at the height of her fame. She was a country girl of Addington in Kent, a manor belonging to the archbishops of Canterbury. For some years she had been in a weakly state of health. Gradually strange symptoms developed themselves—she became a somnambulist; she passed now and again into deep trances, and saw visions and heard strange voices. Her case attracted considerable attention. It was a superstitious age, and men were ever watching for signs of the marvellous and supernatural. The neighbouring prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, sent two of his monks to visit the dreamy hysterical girl, and they were struck with her strange powers. Then, in 1531, commenced the impostures. Elizabeth was carefully trained by able and unscrupulous tutors. In her trances—partly, no doubt, real, partly feigned—she related how she had seen the blessed Virgin, how she had heard voices which spoke of things unseen by mortal eyes, unheard by mortal ears. She consented to become a nun, and for a considerable period (1531—1533–4) she became a recognised prophetess.

The question of the king's divorce from Katharine of Arragon was then agitating all minds in England. Some of the friends of the injured queen did not scruple to employ the now famous "Nun of Kent" as an advocate of queen Katharine. It is curious that during the earlier days of her reputation as "a seer," so many serious persons believed in the truth of her inspirations. Among them was Wolsey, shortly before his fall, archbishop Warham, queen Katharine herself, and—greatest of all—Sir Thomas More. More at first thought little of her sayings; but later, he seems to have been drawn into the circle of those who believed in her and her revelations. The king even desired Sir Thomas More to look into the matter, which had become grave enough to attract the notice of the royal cabinet. "Divers and many, as well great men of the realm as mean men, and many learned men, but specially many religious men, had great confidence in her and often resorted to her." "The saintly halo was round her head, and her most trivial words caught the reflexion of the glory and seemed divine." *

Time went on, and the visions grew more numerous. Once a fortnight she would fall into a trance, and would relate how she was taken up into heaven into the presence of God and the saints, with heavenly light, heavenly voices, heavenly melodies and delights. She was used as an instrument—alas, as a willing instrument! for the adulation she received, and the sense of importance she had acquired, were all too pleasant to the poor, weak, and vain woman—to influence men's minds in favour of queen Katharine against king Henry. Among her prophecies were solemn words addressed to king Henry, warning him that if he persisted in his resolution of marrying Anne Boleyn, God would take away his throne and life. She reiterated this, and announced that she had been bidden by God to declare this. Her seditious prophecies—for they soon passed into open sedition, into threatening the king's majesty—were secretly but extensively circulated, and she became a great danger to the state.

At length the "Holy Maid" and five of the Canterbury monks were arrested. Then the curious bubble at once burst. Alone, in captivity, subject to harsh treatment, with unknown dangers before her, probably torture threatening her, a traitor's terrible death at the end, her courage soon gave way, and she made a full and ample confession of her strange imposture.

Far and wide her pretended revelations had found more or less acceptance. Vast numbers of regular and secular clergy listened eagerly to her words of prophetic warning, which she professed to have heard spoken by heavenly voices. Many of these were of high rank, dissatisfied with the political outlook, alarmed at the prospect of ecclesiastical affairs, disturbed at the question of the divorce and all the divorce entailed; the imminent rupture with the Pope, and the consequent changes in the church. Not a few, too, among the laymen of England believed in her. We read how the bishop of Rochester, the saintly Fisher, had "wept for joy" at the utterances of the inspired prophetess; and Sir Thomas More, "who at first did little regard the said revelations, afterwards did greatly rejoice to hear of them."

The Nun of Kent was certainly in communication with queen Katharine and her daughter, the princess Mary, and their immediate adherents. And there is no doubt but that treasonable projects were mixed up with the "utterances" which kept coming from her lips. These utterances

* Froude: Hist., chap. iv.

grew more and more hostile to the king as months passed on, till the end came; the arrest and the confession of imposture, and the last dread scene at Tyburn, where the poor dreamer and her chief accomplices expiated their strange crime on the scaffold.

EXCURSUS E.

THE PARKER LIBRARY AT CAMBRIDGE.

THE library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is known throughout the world of scholars for its magnificent collection of manuscripts accumulated by archbishop Matthew Parker, and bequeathed by him to the house which he had ruled as master for nine years. These were largely, if not entirely, gathered from the sad relics of the libraries of the monasteries suppressed by king Henry VIII., when these most precious treasures were heedlessly and selfishly plundered and scattered. The books, being in themselves of no intrinsic value, were little heeded, and to a large extent were lost or destroyed. A good example of this utter carelessness in the matter of the monastic books exists in one great folio volume containing, with other MSS., the Iliad and Odyssey of Homer. It is numbered 81 in the Corpus Collection, and contains a few lines in the hand of archbishop Parker on the first leaf. In this memorandum he expresses his belief that it once belonged to the great archbishop Theodore (experts, however, believe now the MS. is of much later date). Another memorandum in the hand of Josselyn, Parker's secretary, tells us how a baker in Canterbury picked it out from among *some waste paper* (inter laceras chartas) remaining from St. Augustine's monastery after the expulsion of the monks, and how the archbishop welcomed it as "a monstrous treasure."

The oldest MS. in the collection (No. 304) is the "Historia Evangelica," which is a transcript of the latter part of the sixth century. The most interesting, historically, however, is No. 286, which a reasonable tradition asserts to have been one of the volumes (referred to on page 87 of Vol. I. of this History) which Pope Gregory the Great sent from Rome for the use of St. Augustine of Canterbury. No. 197, a fragment of St. John, was written, apparently, at Lindisfarne at the end of the seventh century.

The Parker library is especially rich in chronicles; two of them, Nos. 16 and 26, are supposed to have been *composed, written, and illustrated* by Matthew Paris himself in the reign of king Henry III.

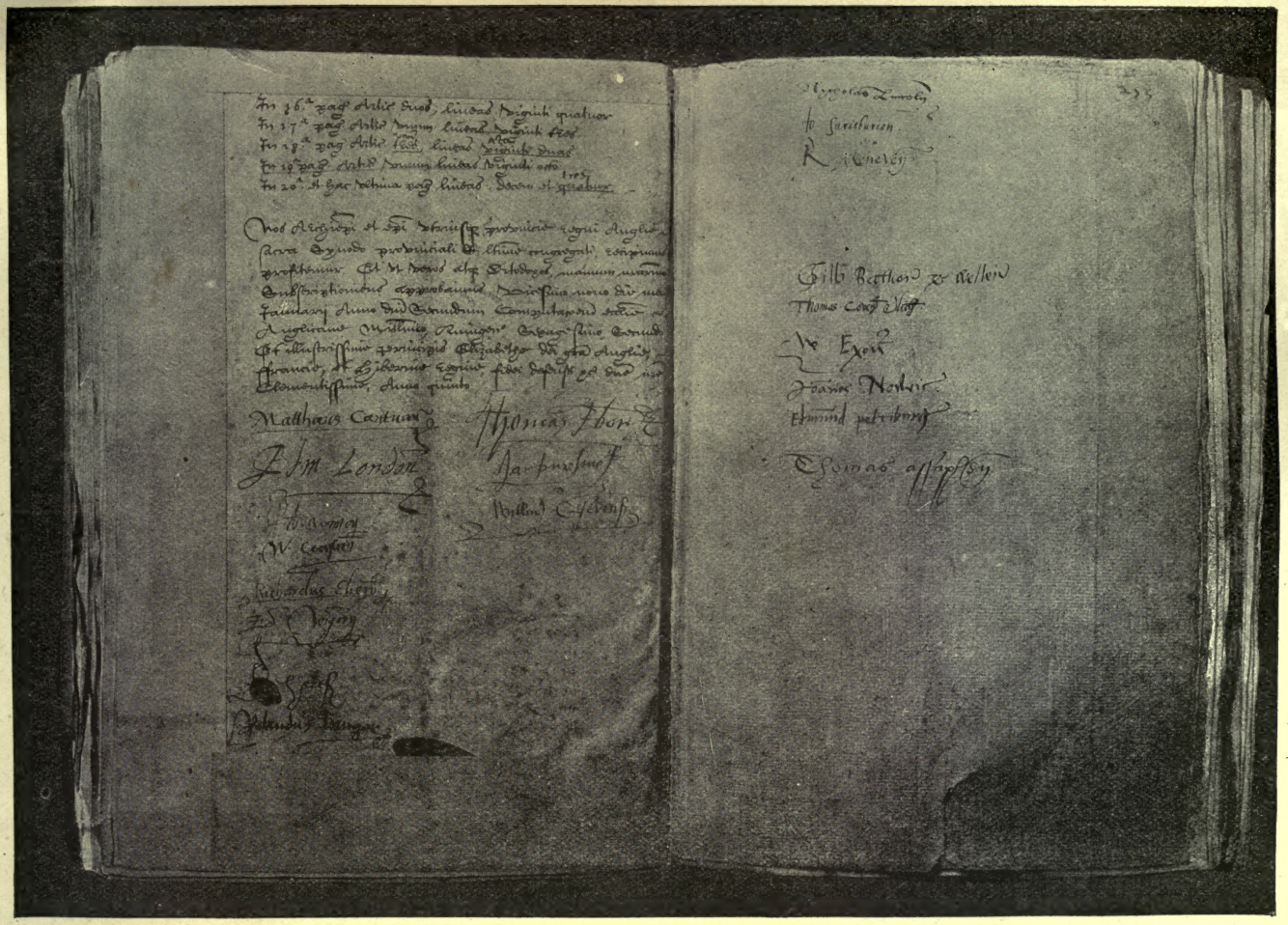
No. 322 contains two treatises by St. Anselm, written, there can be no doubt, by the hand of his dear friend and disciple Eadmer. This precious volume is enriched with autograph corrections by the saintly archbishop himself in the days of William Rufus.

There are some exceedingly valuable MSS. of liturgies. No. 270, written in the eleventh century, embodies, in all probability, a direct transcript from the "Sacramentary" which St. Augustine brought with him from Rome to England, and is the only known MS. possessing a well-established claim to exhibit the authentic text of Pope Gregory's final recension of the Roman liturgy. No. 473 is a tropary of rare interest, written at Winchester in the tenth century, probably in the time of St. Dunstan, and containing hymns and the musical notation in the use of the Anglo-Saxon church. The earliest of the Parker MSS. of this class is, however, No. 272. It is a psalter and litany dated A.D. 884, written, apparently, at Rheims in the days of our king Alfred. It contains one of the earliest known copies of the "Quicunque Vult." There are in this class, too, seven ancient MS. psalters, one of which was once the property of archbishop Thomas Becket.

Perhaps the MS. of most *general* interest, however, is the famous copy of the "Articles" issued in 1562, with *autograph signatures* of the prelates who were present, *and the marginal marks and excisions in red chalk, in Parker's own handwriting.*

In *Anglo-Saxon literature* this great library of the Elizabethan archbishop is extraordinarily rich. A very precious copy of Elfric's lives of the saints and of his celebrated "Canons," several times referred to in this History, is among these. The Anglo-Saxon collection includes MSS., of the greatest value and antiquity, of the Gospels, annals of England, glossaries, and homilies, etc.

There are some curious volumes of French literature, showing the wide range of the Protestant archbishop's literary knowledge, true pioneer as he was of the Elizabethan renaissance of letters. These include poems, Anglo-Norman fabliaux,



THE PAGE OF THE FORTY-TWO ARTICLES, REDUCED BY EXCISION TO THIRTY-NINE, IN THE LIBRARY OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, CONTAINING THE SIGNATURES OF THE BISHOPS (*see opposite page*). AMONG THEM MAY BE SEEN THOSE OF MATTHEW PARKER, EDMUND GRINDAL, BISHOP OF LONDON, RICHARD COX OF ELY, EDWIN SANDYS OF WORCESTER, THOMAS YOUNG, ARCHBISHOP OF YORK, AND JOHN JEWEL, BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

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proverbs, romances In one of these, "Le Miroir des Dames" (No. 324), appears the autograph signature of king Charles V. of France.

In the Parker library, too, is included a collection of *autograph* letters of his contemporaries. Among these are signed letters of king Edward VI., of the hapless queen Anne de Bouillan (*sic*), letters of Luther and Calvin, Colet and Erasmus, Melancthon and Bullinger, and indeed of almost every notable character of the Reformation age.

In Latin and Greek MSS., No. 480 contains marginal notes in the handwriting of bishop Grosseteste, the famous and admirable bishop of Lincoln referred to in this History in the time of Henry III.

These are only a few specially remarkable specimens of the treasures contained in this noble collection of Elizabeth's great archbishop, who, though worn with sickness and bodily weakness, in the midst of his crushing anxieties and his noble and enduring work of organising the Church of England, yet found time to play the part of the tireless student, the indefatigable book collector, the editor of many works, the writer himself of some. And, what was perhaps still more important, archbishop Parker, occupying the first place after Elizabeth in the realm, the powerful primate, the queen's trusted friend and adviser, the man to whom so many divergent schools of thought among the Protestants looked for guidance, by his intense love, his burning zeal for letters, set an example which was quickly followed by others who had stronger health, comparative youth, and splendid natural powers to advance the cause of literature, which so long had languished in our island. It is not too much to say that the great Elizabethan archbishop, to whom our church owes so much, was the pioneer, as we have ventured to style him, of that illustrious group of men who, in the words of Macaulay, "have made the Elizabethan age a more glorious and important era in the history of the human mind than the age of Pericles, Augustus, or Leo."

[The above little sketch of the great Parker Collection of books is from a memorandum written by the Rev. S. S. Lewis, F.S.A., formerly librarian, and given to us by Dr. E. H. Perowne, master of Corpus Christi College.

EXCURSUS F.

SPENSER'S PORTRAIT OF GRINDAL.

THE sympathetic reference to archbishop Grindal is in the seventh eclogue of Spenser's "Shepherd's Calendar," the argument of which runs as follows:—"This Æclogue is made in honour and commendation of good shepherds, and to the shame and dispraise of proud and ambitious pastors." Grindal, under the scarcely disguised name of "Old Algrind," is immortalised as the type of good shepherds in the following lines:—

"Such a one he was (as I have heard
Old Algrind often sayne),
That whileome was the first shepheard,
And lived with little gayne;
And meeke he was, as meeke mought be,
Simple as simple-sheepe,
Humble, and like in eche degree
The flock which he did keepe.

* * * *

But shepheards mought be meeke and mild,
Well eyed as Argus was,
With fleshly follies undefiled,
And stout as steeds of brasse;
Sike one (sayd Algrind) Moses was,
That saw his Maker's face,
His face more clear than crystall glasse,
And spake to him in place.

* * * *

But say mee, what is Algrind hee,
That is so oft bynempt;
Hee is a shepheard great in gree,
But hath bene long ypent.
One day he sat upon a hill,
As now thou wouldest mee;
But I am taught by Algrind's ill
To love the low degree."

("Bynempt," named; "gree," for degree; "ypent," pent up.)

Then follows an account of Algrind's misfortune—how an eagle, probably signifying the queen, let fall a great shellfish on Algrind's head; and the hapless shepherd is represented as

"So now astonied at the stroke,
Hee lyes in lingring payne.
Ah good Algrind! his hap was ill,
But shall be better in time."

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